

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY

The **ASIATIC REVIEW**



Incorporating the Proceedings of
THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

JANUARY, 1946

VOL. XLII. No. 149

SIXTY-FIRST YEAR
NEW SERIES FOUNDED 1886

5s. per Issue. Annual Subscription £1
All Rights Reserved

FAMINE PREVENTION IN INDIA
CHINA'S POST-WAR PROBLEMS
EDUCATION IN TURKEY
[See complete list of Contents overleaf]

Published Quarterly by
EAST AND WEST LIMITED
BOMBAY

All classes of Insurance Transacted
MOTOR UNION INSURANCE Co., Ltd.,
10, ST. JAMES'S STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1.
Branches at BOMBAY and CALCUTTA

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION :	
PLANNING AGAINST POVERTY IN INDIA	By Sir William Stampe 1
TRANSPORT IN INDIA IN WAR-TIME	By the Hon. Sir Edward Benthall 12
VICTORY RECEPTION	20
SOME PROBLEMS OF FUTURE SECURITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA	By Lieut.-General G. N. Molesworth 26
INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM	By Sir John Woodhead 35
THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY IN THE NEW INDIA	By Frank R. Anthony, M.L.A. 46
POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL INDIAN STATES	By Sir William Barton 55
<hr/>	
CHINA'S POST-WAR INDUSTRIALISATION	By Yun Chen 63
COMMERCIAL REHABILITATION IN CHINA	By Wang Hsiao-Lai 65
THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN TURKEY	By K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop 66
NORTHERN TURKEY AND MEN OF THE WEST	By I. E. Jago 73
THE CHINA CLAY INDUSTRY IN MALNAD	By a Correspondent 76
WHAT IS GOPHER WOOD ?	By C. C. R. Murphy 79
HINDU NUMERALS	A Note by Sir Richard Burn 81
WATER PROJECTS AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT : Tungabhadra and Godavary	By a Special Correspondent 83
THE ABORIGINAL IN THE FUTURE INDIA	By W. V. Grigson 84
PYRETHRUM CULTIVATION IN KASHMIR	By Thakur Harnam Singh Pathania 85
SILHOUETTES OF INDO-CHINA : I. Fishermen on the Annamese Coast	By E. W. Hutchinson 87
THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ART IN THE U.S.S.R.	By Professor V. Pavlov 90
SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE : IV. Sir Francis Younghusband	By Ranjee G. Shahani 92
WAR OF IDEAS IN IRAN	By F. J. Goulding 95
WELL-BALANCED PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES	From a Special Correspondent 96
REVOLUTION OF THE ROSE	By Professor A. J. Arberry 99
LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC	By J. Bell 103

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

INDEX TO VOL. XLII

INDIA

	PAGE
THE CHINACLAY INDUSTRY IN MALNAD. By <i>A Correspondent</i> - - -	76
WATER PROJECTS AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT : TUNGABHADRA AND GODAVARY. By <i>A Special Correspondent</i> - - -	83
THE ABORIGINAL IN THE FUTURE INDIA. By <i>W. V. Grigson</i> - - -	84
PYRETHRUM CULTIVATION IN KASHMIR. By <i>Thakur Harnam Singh Pathania</i> -	85
WELL-BALANCED PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES. From <i>A Special Correspondent</i>	96
THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE STATES. By <i>H.H. The Maharaja of Bikanir</i>	161
INDIA AND AMERICAN OPINION. By <i>Sir Robert Holland</i> - - -	162
THE STATES AND INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. From <i>A Special Correspondent</i> - - -	195
A DISTINGUISHED INDIAN BATTALION CELEBRATES ITS CENTENARY. By <i>Brigadier J. G. Smyth, V.C.</i> - - -	244
THE KARENS IN THE WAR IN BURMA. By <i>Colonel T. Cromarty Tulloch</i> - -	248
TWENTY YEARS' PROGRESS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR - - -	281
HYDERABAD PROMOTES "FREEDOM FROM WANI" - - -	282
AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURE IN MYSORE - - -	283
BARODA AND THE NEW INDIA. By <i>Sir Brojendra Miller</i> - - -	329
THE PORT OF COCHIN. By <i>Sir Robert Bristow</i> - - -	331
PROGRESS IN THE PRINCIPALITIES. By <i>A Correspondent</i> - - -	344
THE BASIS OF AN INDO-BRITISH TREATY. By <i>K. M. Panikkar</i> - - -	357
THE INDIAN STATES IN THE FUTURE. By <i>Professor K. R. R. Sastry</i> - -	360

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

PLANNING AGAINST POVERTY IN INDIA. By <i>Sir William Stampe</i> - - -	1
TRANSPORT IN INDIA IN WAR-TIME. By <i>The Hon. Sir Edward Benthall</i> -	12
VICTORY RECEPTION - - -	20
SOME PROBLEMS OF FUTURE SECURITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. By <i>Lieut.-General G. N. Molesworth</i> - - -	26
INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM. By <i>Sir John Woodhead</i> - - -	35
THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY IN THE NEW INDIA. By <i>Frank R. Anthony, M.L.A.</i> - - -	46
POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL INDIAN STATES. By <i>Sir William Barton</i> - - -	55
SOME ASPECTS OF THE CAMPAIGN IN BURMA, 1944-1945. By <i>General Sir William Slim</i> - - -	105
CURRENT AFFAIRS IN BURMA. By <i>Sir Harold Roper</i> - - -	113
INDIA IN TRANSITION. By <i>Sir Henry Richardson</i> - - -	127
POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL INDIAN STATES. (Discussion) - - -	137
RESETTLEMENT OF INDIAN EX-SERVICE MEN. By <i>Brigadier J. H. Wilkinson</i> -	142
THE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO INDIA. By <i>Godfrey Nicholson, M.P.</i> -	153
THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA. By <i>Ashwin Choudree</i> - - -	201
BROADCASTING IN INDIA : BASED ON PERSONAL EXPERIENCES THERE. By <i>Winifred Holmes</i> - - -	211
INDIA'S ROLE IN ASIA IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. By <i>Ayana Deva</i> - - -	221
INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS IN THE FUTURE. By <i>Dr. Percival Spear</i> - - -	232
THE WORK OF THE CABINET MISSION TO INDIA. By <i>The Right Hon. L. S. Amery, C.H.I.</i> - - -	297
RECEPTION TO INDIAN CRICKET TEAM - - -	309
THE BENGAL FAMINE : THE BACKGROUND AND BASIC FACTS. By <i>Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, F.R.S. (Statistical Adviser to the Bengal Government)</i>	310
THE FUTURE OF BRITISH AND INDIAN RELATIONS. By <i>Sir Kenneth Mealing</i> -	319
ANNUAL REPORT - - -	321
ANNUAL MEETING - - -	325

FAR EAST

CHINA'S POST-WAR INDUSTRIALIZATION. By <i>Yun Chen</i> - - -	63
COMMERCIAL REHABILITATION IN CHINA. By <i>Wang Hsiao-Lai</i> - - -	65

	PAGE
SILHOUETTES OF INDO-CHINA. By <i>E. W. Hutchinson</i> - - -	87, 190
THE RURAL RECONSTRUCTION MOVEMENT AND THE NEW HSIEN GOVERNMENT SYSTEM. By <i>Professor C. W. Chang</i> - - -	174
THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT OF CHINA. By <i>Kuang-Mien Lu</i> - - -	176
FRANCE IN INDOCHINA. By <i>Henri Brenier</i> - - -	187
UNDERSTANDING KOREA. By <i>M. F. Lloyd Prichard</i> - - -	264
JAPAN TO-DAY. By <i>Francis J. Horner</i> - - -	277
THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM. By <i>Louis Védérines</i> - - -	283
A TALE OF TONKIN : TRUNG-TRAC AND TRUNG-NHI. By <i>Tran van Tung</i> ; translated by <i>Miss Daphne Cannon</i> - - -	286
WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA. By <i>Daniel Lee</i> - - -	290
BRITISH CO-OPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE INDUSTRY. By <i>Professor William Band</i> - - -	340
THE NEW CHINESE AMBASSADOR. From <i>A Correspondent</i> - - -	356
ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF RECOVERY IN THE GREAT EAST. By <i>N. D. Malewa</i> - - -	361

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN TURKEY. By <i>K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop</i> - - -	66
NORTHERN TURKEY AND MEN OF THE WEST. By <i>I. E. Jago</i> - - -	73
WAR OF IDEAS IN IRAN. By <i>F. J. Goulding</i> - - -	95
REVOLUTION OF THE ROSE. By <i>Professor A. J. Arberry</i> - - -	99
A TURKISH INDUSTRIAL VENTURE. By <i>F. E. M. Thrupp</i> - - -	269
MARIE PETIT'S PERSIAN ADVENTURE. By <i>Laurence Lockhart</i> - - -	273
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANGLO-TURKISH ALLIANCE. By <i>Professor Nihat Erim Kocaeli</i> - - -	347
BROADCAST TALKS ON TURKEY - - -	103, 167, 169, 351
TRANSLATION FROM THE PERSIAN OF MINUCHIHRI. By <i>Professor A. J. Arberry</i> - - -	302
MUSCAT. By <i>Laurence Lockhart</i> - - -	303

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

THE MALAYAN UNION. By <i>A. G. Mackill</i> - - -	181
THE STORY OF THE DUTCH NEW GUINEA. By <i>Isle Bunbury</i> - - -	251
THE FUTURE OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES AS A WORLD ECONOMIC UNIT. By <i>Charles M. Morrell</i> - - -	262
THE MALINO CONFERENCE AND AFTER. By <i>B. Whittingham Jones</i> - - -	370
FRANCO-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS. By <i>P. T. S. J.</i> - - -	374
LITERATURE IN ANNAM. By <i>Phan Giang</i> - - -	382

U.S.S.R.

THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ART IN THE U.S.S.R. By <i>Professor V. Pavlov</i> - - -	90
A KHWARIZM CITY OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD. By <i>Professor Sergei Tolstov</i> - - -	171

GENERAL

WHAT IS GOPHER WOOD? By <i>C. C. R. Murphy</i> - - -	79
HINDU NUMERALS. A Note by <i>Sir Richard Burn</i> - - -	81
SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE. By <i>Ranjee G. Shahani</i> - - -	270, 378
REVIEWS OF BOOKS - - -	198, 295, 296, 384-389

CORRESPONDENCE

Letter from Mr. Charles A. Kincaid regarding Hindu numerals - - -	199
Letter from H. D. Graves Law, of the Middle East Division of the Ministry of Information - - -	200
Travel Scholarships for Indians in America : A Correction - - -	390

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1946

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

PLANNING AGAINST POVERTY IN INDIA: IRRIGATION AND FOOD PRODUCTION

BY SIR WILLIAM STAMPE, C.I.E.
(Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India.)

THE importance of expanding irrigation as a factor in increasing the food supplies of a sub-continent in which the population, already excessive in relation to the cropped area, is increasing at the rate of some 4 or 5 millions per year (15 million births less 10 million deaths) can hardly be over-emphasized. A graph shows that whilst the total yield of food grains in India has remained fairly constant for the past twenty years the pressure of the population on the land—already as high as 800 to 1,000 souls per square mile in some of the great plains—has increased at an alarming rate. One result of this human overload on the land has been a steady diminution in the standard of nutrition of a large proportion—reliably computed at one-third—of the population (or, say, 150 millions) who are at present existing on less than two-thirds of the minimum diet necessary to maintain healthy life. The appalling spectacle of the Bengal famine, even if allowance is made for certain transient causative factors, has focused world opinion on the calamity that is threatening India and which must soon occur in catastrophic form unless systematic measures are promptly taken to increase food production in conformity with the rising population.

The palliative adopted in 1943 of importing wheat on a large scale obviously cannot continue as a long-term solution in times of post-war world shortage. It is hoped to show, however, that a ready remedy lies in the early exploitation of India's vast water resources, both surface and underground, the bulk of which still remains largely undeveloped in spite of all that has so far been done to expand irrigation in various parts of the country. The fact that, as recently established in the United Provinces, the expansion of widespread hydro-electric power can proceed economically *pari passu* with the development of irrigation pumping is a further argument for expediting large-scale schemes of ground water irrigation. By means of such a parallel development low-cost energy can be broadcast over the countryside, thus leading to a wide expansion of agricultural industries with irrigation as a base load.

THE PRODUCTION TARGET

The following basic facts will enable readers to appreciate the part that irrigation can and must play in the food production programme. In presenting them emphasis is laid on the time factor by stressing the value of those short-term—or so-called “emergency irrigation”—schemes, which can yield substantial results in the shape of additional grain within a period of, say, two years, by means of power pumping from wells and rivers. Essential as long-term irrigation projects obviously are, they cannot generally give more food for seven to ten years from the time of projection, and, as such, do not come within the writer's present responsibility as emergency

2 *Planning against Poverty in India: Irrigation and Food Production*

irrigation adviser. Their potential scope as long-term measures is, however, emphasized later.

Enough additional food must be produced without delay to satisfy two immediate demands if the threat of famine is to be averted, apart from the establishment of a better national food economy :

(a) To provide for the annual increase in population, say 5 millions per year, at an all-round minimum consumption rate of perhaps one ton of food grains to five persons per annum, thus requiring a yearly recurring increase of roughly 1 million tons per year.

(b) To raise the standard of nutrition of the underfed population referred to above by providing an additional 4 ounces of food grains per capita daily, representing a basic total increment of 6 million tons of food grains yearly. Apart from food grains, in order to secure the balanced diet necessary for healthy human existence, the provision of a large tonnage of vegetables, milk, fruit and other items will be essential. The necessary acreage for producing these can, however, probably be found by crop rotation within the basic food acreage computed below.

It is believed that, say, one-third of these additional quantities can be procured by adopting improved agricultural methods, including the provision of chemical fertilizers at economic rates, leaving the balance of two-thirds of the increased production to be obtained from expanded and improved irrigation.

ECONOMIC VALUE

The value of systematic irrigation in a country of erratic rainfall is twofold. Firstly, by providing sufficient water in the right place, at the right time, it ensures a higher yield from the cropped area, both in so-called "dry" tracts and also from soils at present sparsely irrigated by means of bullock-operated open wells. Secondly, it secures the vast bulk of crops in the areas commanded by the canal system from partial or, sometimes, complete failure in those drought years, say one in seven or eight on the average, when seasonal rainfall fails, thereby serving as a vast insurance system for the food supply of India. Credit is often denied to irrigation projects in this respect when their importance is assessed. The value, both to the cultivators and to the State, of such a service in cycles of low rainfall is incalculable, and it is suggested in passing that more weight should be given to this aspect when irrigation projects are reviewed from the financial angle.

The classification hitherto adopted by most finance departments under which projects are divided under "productive" or "protective" heads, depending on their "direct" contribution (or otherwise) to the State revenues, tends, in the writer's opinion, to react adversely on the useful development of India's latent water resources. Reverting to the direct value of irrigation, it is impossible, within the scope of a short paper, to compute accurately the increased irrigated area that will be necessary to produce two-thirds of the required annual food grain increment. An approximate forecast, however, indicates that, assuming an average increase of production of one-third of a ton per irrigated acre per year, an additional area of 2 million acres must be added every year to compete with the rising population and a further increase of 12 million acres must be secured immediately to produce two-thirds of the basic food shortage referred to above.

METHODS OF INCREASING IRRIGATION

Irrigation can in general be expanded in the following four ways :

(a) By new gravity canal systems taking additional water from sources as yet either (1) not tapped at all, or (2) inadequately tapped for economic reasons.

(b) By expanding existing gravity canal systems by means of (1) stabilizing the fluctuating (seasonal) sources of supply by providing storage; (2) increasing the available river flow by pumping into the canals from the sub-soil reservoir where suitable aquifers exist—*i.e.*, in many alluvial tracts; (3) increasing the efficiency (duty) of the canal systems by (a) better distribution; (b) reducing percolation losses by (1) lining channels and/or (2) regarding them.

(c) By mechanical pumping for local irrigation—*i.e.*, lifting water from (1) tube-wells sunk in the great alluvial belts—*e.g.*, the Gangetic plain, the Punjab extra-

canal tracts, the coastal alluvial zones of peninsular India, etc.; (2) deep-set rivers flowing at a level too low to command the high riparian tracts by gravity flow; (3) power-operated open wells in non-alluvial areas—*e.g.*, Madras, Mysore, etc. The value of tubewells for providing a safe domestic water supply for adjacent villages, and thus reducing epidemics, requires no emphasis.

(*d*) By indigenous methods, less spectacular but generally applicable throughout India—*e.g.*, open wells, contour bunds and small tanks for impounding surplus monsoon run-off in undulating areas.

As methods (*b*) and (*c*) above are capable of yielding the earliest results, this paper is devoted mainly to them.

NEW GRAVITY CANAL SYSTEMS

A glance at the irrigation map of India shows that most of the great perennial rivers that command the dry zones (where irrigation is most needed) have already been tapped at their most advantageous points—*i.e.*, where they can command the largest dry areas with the least capital outlay on major works. It follows, therefore, that those unlucky regions that now stand in need of water must either remain dry or pay more for it. For not only have the best sites gone, but, owing to the rising cost curve, even the inferior sites must inevitably involve higher capital outlay in their development. It is hoped, however, that the higher cost of post-war construction will not be held as a reason for further postponement of these essential projects.

Extensions of existing canals and the construction of new canals can be effected on the major rivers of the United Provinces, Bihar, the Southern Punjab, also in Sind and Madras. As already stated, these projects cannot, however, be regarded as an immediate solution of the hunger problem.

STORAGE RESERVOIRS

Storage reservoirs besides stabilizing the flow of the larger rivers for extending direct irrigation, also offer an economic source of power. As this power can eventually be utilized for irrigation pumping from both rivers and underground sources, the principles of river storage will be briefly touched upon. The river systems of India, due to erratic or seasonal rainfall, are subject to heavy fluctuations in their flow, a fact which reacts seriously on the utility of the canal and power systems depending upon them.

The great rivers can conveniently be divided into those of (*a*) the Himalayan system, which are mainly snow fed, and (*b*) the Vindhyan, or Central Indian, system, which derive their flow from direct rainfall and rain-fed springs. Thus, by a beneficent provision of nature, the main Himalayan rivers yield their maximum dry weather supply in the hottest season when the demand for the early summer crops (*e.g.*, millets, sugar-cane and cotton) is the highest. The Vindhyan rivers, on the contrary, yield their minimum supply in the hot weather when their spring water sources almost entirely fail.

On the other hand, the monsoon discharge of *all* the main Indian rivers is very much in excess of irrigational requirements—incalculable volumes of flood water not only passing wastefully to the oceans, but taking with them millions of tons of valuable soil at the expense of riparian cultivation. As if to compensate for these vagaries, nature has offered our engineers on almost all the Indian rivers, more especially in the Central valleys, which are more stable geologically than the “recent” rocks of the Himalaya, excellent sites for the construction of storage reservoirs. The main functions of these are thus threefold. (1) To store a proportion—the degree depending upon the features of the site—of the surplus monsoon run-off for dry weather utilization. (2) To reduce as a corollary of (1) the intensity, and thus the erosive effect of the monsoon floods; and (3) to generate electric power, thus conserving the limited coal supplies of the country and reducing the cost, both of heavy industry and—still more important—of irrigation pumping.

Various multi-purpose dam projects are now being examined on the major river valleys of India, notably on the Sone and Ganges in the United Provinces, the Indus River System in the Punjab, rivers in Bombay, and on the Tungabhadra-Godavari

4 *Planning against Poverty in India: Irrigation and Food Production*

rivers in Madras and Mysore. As a specific instance, the Nayar project on the tributary of the Ganges may be briefly quoted. By impounding approximately 1 million acre-feet (or some 40,000 million cubic feet), some two-thirds of the annual run-off normally available from the Nayar catchment (720 square miles), sufficient storage can be obtained by a dam some 600 feet high to maintain the Upper Ganges Canal at its full capacity of 8,400 cusecs, throughout the irrigation season, thereby enabling a large additional acreage of food grains to be secured. Similarly, the Ganges Canal hydro-electric system can be proportionately expanded enabling additional tubewells to be developed in the Ganges valley tract.

In passing, the technical difficulties of harnessing the waters of the Himalayan valleys must be emphasized, especially those prevailing in the seismic zones of the Punjab. The instability of the geological set-up, the hydraulic problem of evacuating vast floods from catchments of high rainfall on to alluvial river beds, added to the earthquake dangers in certain zones, will call for knowledge and resource of the highest order on the part of the engineers concerned.

REGIONAL ASPECTS

Apart altogether from the physical problems involved in developing India's water potential, some reference must be made to the administrative difficulties arising from the political set-up of the country. Whereas both irrigation and power development are the responsibility of the Provincial (or State) Governments concerned, the fact that the main rivers of India often form the boundaries between adjoining administrations has frequently militated against the exploitation of common river resources. Failure to co-operate in such mutual developments is in no small measure due to the absence of an adequate co-ordinating body at the Centre. It was most regrettable, for instance, that the post of Inspector-General of Irrigation was suspended some fifteen years ago. It is to be hoped that the recent setting-up of two Central Commissions, one for co-ordinating power policy on regional lines and the other for securing uniform river control for joint irrigation and navigation projects, will assist to solve these regional development problems.

Adopting the world-famous Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States as a pattern, an effort is being made to organize a regional authority with a view to exploiting the resources of the Sone valley in the United Provinces on regional lines for the benefit of cultivation and industry in the U.P., Behar, the Central Provinces and a number of adjacent States. Firm power to the extent of a quarter of a million kilowatts can be developed by means of four storage dams, to be built in stages. Further advantages will comprise flood control, extended irrigation by means of stabilized flow, and improved navigation in the lower reaches of the valley. Incidentally, the Rihand dam on this system can alone furnish power for the vast ground water irrigation scheme outlined in the paragraph below.

Similarly, in Western India there is scope for controlling the rivers of Kathiawar, where, due to lack of co-ordination among the riparian owners, the monsoon floods have hitherto passed wastefully to the sea, whilst millions of acres of dry but fertile land have been deprived of irrigation that scientific storage could have effected. The field for regional co-operation on Indian rivers is, in fact, almost infinite, and it is hoped that an effective lead can be given to the administrations concerned, possibly with the aid of a financial subsidy, to induce them to pool their resources in the interest of cultivation.

GROUND WATER AS A SOURCE OF IRRIGATION SUPPLY

When the writer was invited to return to India in 1943 to assist with the immediate expansion of irrigation for the grow-more-food campaign, he advocated, amongst other measures, the rapid development of power-operated tubewells as a means of exploiting the hidden resources of the great Gangetic plain. Previous experience, notably in the United Provinces, had indicated that, given adequate organization and the availability of cheap power, hundreds of tubewells could be installed yearly, and, as each well can irrigate 400 to 500 acres, a million acres might be secured within two years.

A brief reference to the Ganges valley installation will be helpful here. In 1934-7

some 1,600 wells, each of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cusecs yield, were installed to protect one and a half million acres of which some 800,000 have since been irrigated yearly. The depth of the water table averaged about 25 feet below ground, and a $12\frac{1}{2}$ h.p. motor pump lifts sufficient water to irrigate some 480 acre-feet per well in the crop demand period of, say, 180 days. The fact that water was distributed to the cultivators on a quantitative basis led to such economy in its use that a tubewell system secures a much higher "duty" than that prevailing on the gravity canals on which water is sold on a crop rate basis.

Apart from the direct agricultural value of tubewell water, the introduction of low-cost electric power over an area of many thousand square miles has also opened up vast possibilities for developing village industries associated with agriculture, such as cane-crushing, flour milling, cotton ginning and the like. If such machinery is operated only during the off-peak or non-pumping periods, a highly economic rate can be offered to the villagers, often as low as a halfpenny (or one cent.) per kilowatt hour. Various domestic amenities can also be secured from such a system—e.g., (1) pure water supply; (2) cattle troughs; (3) radio loud-speakers; (4) fruit and fuel trees can be grown around the wells under the supervision of the local operators. There is, in the writer's opinion, no reason why a wide extension of this beneficial system should not be obtained at an early date throughout alluvial India, provided certain prerequisites are furnished by the Central and/or local administrations. These include (1) facilities for the reconnaissance and survey of suitable tracts in regard both to their surface and sub-surface suitability for development; (2) the provision of widespread power networks energized in the first instance from local thermal stations and connected later to the large power stations to be established on adjacent river systems in accordance with an economically co-ordinated development programme.

A HIMALAYAN DREAM

Whilst flying over India lately the writer has frequently asked himself why the tubewell system, which has proved so beneficial in the Upper Ganges valley, should not be extended to similar alluvial tracts in the arid plains below. To answer this rational question it is necessary to examine for a few moments the origin of ground-water supply. Let us trace these sources in the Ganges valley first and then apply the same principles, *mutatis mutandis*, to other—often less favoured—areas. It will be understood that in order to locate a subsoil irrigation system the underground flow in the aquifers (water-bearing sands) of the tubewell tract should be adequate to meet the surface demand for water. Unless this essential condition is secured an ever-increasing lowering of the basic water table of the great plains would be inevitable. Such a result, which has, by the way, actually occurred in vast areas of the Californian valleys recently visited by the writer, would not only increase progressively the cost of pumping tubewell water, but would also throw most of the shallower cultivators' wells out of economic action. Whereas, under the wealthier national economy of the United States, such a calamity can be offset by expensive methods of water restitution, such as wholesale surface "waterspreading," it is doubtful whether such methods could be carried out by the more impoverished agricultural economy of India.

Before proceeding with a vast programme of ground-water exploitation in India, therefore, it is vital that the potential yield of the subsoil sands should be carefully ascertained. The alluvial deposits in the great Gangetic trough between the Vindhyan and Himalayan ridges consist of alternating layers of surface soil, clay and sands of ever-varying thickness and texture. These layers being mostly lenticular are generally non-continuous, at any rate in the upper valley. Southwards, towards Bihar, the aquifers tend to become finer and thus less yielding, and the strata more regular in their occurrence. The water in all these aquifers, which is derived from various sources discussed below, is not static, but is seeping very slowly under the ever-decreasing force of gravity towards the Bay of Bengal. This hidden river, the Saraswati of Hindu mythology, is the basic source of *all* the deep well water required for cultivation in the plains above. It thus constitutes a vital asset in our post-war plans. To arrive at a quantitative estimate of its discharge would involve a difficult and wearisome analysis of factors far too complex in their interrelation to discuss here. The following valuation, however, is illustrative even if inexact.

WATER LIFTING

Taking the depth of the aquifers as, say, 700 feet and the voids in the sand as 40 per cent., the cross sectional area of the Saraswati would be about 150 million square feet for a mean width of trough of, say, 100 miles between the Vindhya and the Himalayan foothills. Again, assuming the average rate of flow in the upper valley as half a mile per year, the underground discharge might be of the order of 12,500 cusecs, or, say, 18 cusecs per foot of aquifer, compared with 6,000 cusecs, the minimum surface flow of the Ganges River where it emerges from the hills. When considering the safe rate of possible abstraction of pumped water from the upper aquifers it must be borne in mind that the Saraswati receives important reinforcements along its course to the sea. These are threefold :

(a) From rainfall (and irrigation) on the tract itself—perhaps 20 per cent. of this water reaches the water table, the fraction depending on (1) the degree of surface vegetation; (2) the ground configuration; (3) the intensity of rainfall (and irrigation); and (4) evaporation.

(b) From rainfall on the flanking hills to the north and south, a portion of which seeps into the water table from the porous submontane hillsides and swamps.

(c) From the rivers entering the great plain from the north and south—e.g., Ganges, Jumna, Sardah, Gogra, Sone, etc.

It is impossible to evaluate these reinforcements quantitatively, but it can be stated that source (c) alone furnishes an important field for expansion of tubewell irrigation.

It has been rightly argued that, as the Ganges meanders southwards towards the sea its sands become finer in texture, and thus less suitable for tubewell development. But each tributary, especially those from the laterite hills to the south in Bihar, contributes its own quota of coarse sand, which forms a suitable "delta" of considerable area for local exploitation. In Bihar, for instance, the Sone "delta" near Dehri already yielded copious supplies of subsoil water.

A similar analysis indicates that suitable conditions occur, but perhaps to a less degree in view of the lower rainfall, in the vast alluvial plains of Western India, notably in the upper zones of the great Indus basin. Again, in the riverain zones of parts of Rajputana, Kathiawar, Baroda, etc., conditions exist which certainly justify a large-scale investigation into the possibilities of tubewell development.

Apart from tubewells, experience in river pumping on the Ganges grid has shown that water can be economically lifted from deep-set rivers on to high bluffs commanding local areas by means of suitably aligned canals, provided that certain conditions are fulfilled. Investigations are proceeding into the economics of river pumping on these lines in various areas where experiments indicate that grid power can be economically utilized for such irrigation.

Finally, as one flies over these arid areas of India one cannot but wonder why the millions of horse-power in the hills above should crash to waste yearly within sight of toiling peasants beneath whose feet millions of tons of water seep silently through the sands to the sea. The Himalayan dream which the writer and his friends have long cherished visualizes the early linking of these great resources for the benefit of cultivators whose interest it has been their privilege to serve.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, September 27, 1945, when Sir WILLIAM STAMPE, C.I.E., lectured on "Planning Against Poverty in India: Irrigation and Food Production." Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON, K.C., M.P., occupied the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, having expressed his pleasure at taking the Chair, said that as those present could perhaps imagine he was still feeling his way in his new office as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma. During the short time

he had been in the India Office, however, he had been very much impressed with the great need for improving the standard of living of the Indian people and with the necessity of removing the spectre of famine which constantly menaced their lives. It seemed to him that the problem of food supply in India had to be attacked in many directions, but, as in all tropical countries, the greatest determining factor was the influence of water supply on India's own crops.

Sir William Stampe, who had been Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India for two and a half years, had had as good an opportunity as any living person to study the food problem both generally and from the point of view of irrigation, and the meeting would listen with the greatest of interest to what he had to say. When Sir William retired from the service of the Government as Chief Engineer in charge of irrigation in the United Provinces he had become well known in India and beyond as an enthusiastic champion of the application of electric power to the problem of irrigation. It was natural, therefore, that when the loss of the Burma rice imports threw upon India the necessity of increasing her own food supply, Lord Linlithgow should send for Sir William Stampe and ask for his services. As soon as the Air Ministry could be induced to release him from his war-time service in the R.A.F. Sir William flew to India, and from that time to this he had been at work on tubewell schemes, river lifts and every other device his experience could devise to bring water to the land requiring it.

He had very great pleasure in introducing Sir William Stampe, not only as a man who had made wheat grow where none grew before, but as a man who had driven water uphill to achieve it.

After the lecture the CHAIRMAN said he was sure the meeting felt much indebted to Sir William Stampe for his address. He himself did not propose to touch upon political topics that afternoon except to say that the Government intended to do their utmost to bring about an early realization of full self-government for India. Whilst, however, those vital constitutional issues were so prominently in their minds they must never, he thought, allow themselves to forget the urgent work which needed to be done in India in the economic sphere. Sir William had shown them how much was being done and how much more could be done regarding irrigation, and he felt that by taking full advantage of the knowledge possessed by British engineers a great deal could be done to convince the people of India of Britain's sincere desire to help them in every possible way.

Sir William's task had not been an easy one in war-time; machinery had been hard to come by, labour was scarce, and skilled labour even harder to find, but through all that he had maintained the flying tempo which he brought from the R.A.F., driving machines, Governments, men and manufacturers without sparing himself. His contribution to the solution of the food problem of India was a notable one, and time might well show that he had laid the foundation of the solution of India's food problem.

Sir BERNARD DARLEY congratulated Sir William Stampe on a most interesting and most timely lecture. He did not think, however, that Sir William had emphasized sufficiently the dreadful danger of the increase of population in India. From 1921 to 1931 the population of India had increased by 11 per cent. and from 1931 to 1941 by 15 per cent. In the future, if nothing interfered, that increase would be compound, and if it continued the population of India would double itself before the end of the present century. Nature had, however, her own method in dealing with such matters, and in the past there had been various plagues and epidemics which had reduced the population. Now, medical science had got the better of some of those plagues and epidemics. That, in conjunction with greater prosperity due to irrigation schemes, helped to increase the population. In the Punjab, where people were particularly prosperous, due to irrigation, the increase was 20 per cent. against 15 per cent. for the rest of India. It was obvious, therefore, that something radical must be done to increase the food supply in India.

Irrigation would undoubtedly be a tremendous factor in increasing the food supply, but unfortunately irrigation had a limit. It was essential to be very careful

8 *Planning against Poverty in India: Irrigation and Food Production*

about that; if Sir William's forecast of an increase of two million acres of irrigation a year was fulfilled that limit would be reached rather quickly. There were very few large tracts of waste land in India where there was water available, and in many of the areas already irrigated the intensity of irrigation could not be increased to any great extent without danger of water-logging.

Again, storage schemes could not produce anything like the amount of water obtained from the flow of the great rivers already harnessed. Sir William mentioned a scheme on the Ganges for storing 40,000 million cubic feet of water; that, however, would only irrigate half a million acres of land every year. Other storage schemes would also only irrigate a limited area. For the tubewell schemes in the United Provinces one must give Sir William the greatest credit, but unfortunately there were only a limited number of areas in India where the substratum was such that those schemes could be used. He felt, therefore, that while everything possible must be done to increase the area of irrigation in India, other means to increase the supply of food must also be looked for and the output of the land must be improved. One way of doing that was by means of improved seed, a method which had already been adopted to a considerable extent. Of the wheat crop, however, only 25 per cent. was now sown with improved seed.

Sir William had also mentioned manure. That, too, would help, but he thought that in the long run they would have to look to an improvement of existing cultivation rather than to irrigation for any great increase in food supply. He thought there was a danger of fixing too much attention on irrigation. Unless something was done by every possible means there was no doubt that disaster faced India. They were about to hand over India to a National Government, and it was to be hoped that that Government would be able to take the necessary steps to avert that disaster. One of the biggest problems to be faced was that of the moneylender. Many people in India would not grow a good crop to be seized by the moneylenders. He had read that one Indian State Government was taking over the agricultural indebtedness in the State; perhaps Government could do something in this direction, though it would be difficult.

Another great trouble was the smallness of the holdings in India. There the ideal solution would be collective farming, but no alien Government could impose that on the cultivator, who would certainly resist. He did think, however, that something could be done in that direction in the future, probably by a National Government, provided it were strong enough.

Lastly it was to be hoped that education would soon advance sufficiently to enable a vigorous campaign on birth-control to be launched with some chance of success.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD said that undoubtedly the provision of an adequate diet for the people of India was one of the most important problems awaiting solution. As Sir William had said, it had been estimated (though the estimate was only approximate) that 30 per cent. of the total population of India was underfed. That, however, was not the complete picture; the diet of a still larger proportion, although sufficient in quantity, was inadequate in quality to keep them in a healthy state. In other words, under-nutrition and malnutrition were widespread throughout India, and therefore the greatest problem facing the country today was an increase in the production of food, not only from the point of view of the major food grains, but from that of increasing the supply of protective foods such as fruit, milk, eggs and vegetables—i.e., those which gave the vitamins so essential to a healthy existence.

Irrigation was undoubtedly one of the most potent ways in which food production could be increased. Great strides had been made in irrigation during the last forty years—he believed that the increase in the irrigated area had been 8 million acres since 1921-22. There was, however, still scope for developing irrigation, though not so much as there had been forty years ago. Many of the Provincial Governments had under examination, with a view to construction, many large irrigation schemes. The Sind Government were considering the construction of two additional barrages across the Indus River—one on the upper and one on the lower Indus—and it was estimated that when those barrages had been constructed an additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of land would come under cultivation.

There was also scope for irrigation in Madras. In that province there was one scheme which it was estimated would provide another $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of irrigated land. Even in Bengal there was scope for irrigation works. Land in Western Bengal was losing its fertility owing to the lack of flooding from the big rivers. The Provincial Government had several schemes under consideration, all designed with a view to bringing the fertilizing silt on to the land in Western Bengal.

Irrigation was, therefore, one of the most potent factors in solving the tremendous problem of food supply in India. Nevertheless, he agreed with the last speaker that one must not lose sight of the fact that other means of increasing production must be proceeded with. Manure was very important in that connection. The rice tracts were already well supplied with water, either through ample rainfall or irrigation, and therefore an increase in the yield per acre—which was essential—would have to be obtained by means of manure.

The first essential in the production of an increased food supply was water; second came manure; thirdly improved varieties of grain, and finally prevention against pests and diseases. Water, however, was undoubtedly the most important factor which would assist in solving the food problem caused by the increasing population. The population of India would continue to increase during the next twenty-five years; population growth was very difficult to estimate, but it was unlikely that the increase in the population of India would be less than 100 millions during the next twenty-five years. That gave some idea of the importance of increasing the production of food if the standard of living in India—which was low enough today—was not to fall even lower.

Sir BERNARD DARLEY said that he had just one question to ask which concerned the Bombay Plan. The authors of that Plan had said that the irrigation of India could be trebled within the next fifteen years. The present area irrigated from all sources was about 60 million acres out of a cropped area of 217 million acres. He felt that this was a gross over-estimate, and he would like to know what Sir William thought could be done in fifteen years. His own feeling was that the Government would have done very well if it increased the irrigated area by 25 per cent.—*i.e.*, by 15 million acres.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON congratulated Sir William Stampe on the extraordinary success of his development of the Ganges Valley tubewell scheme. Only those who had had to deal with the development of well-irrigation could really appreciate the many difficulties which Sir William must have encountered in bringing such a big scheme to success.

In 1941 he had noticed that it was a century since the beginning of irrigation work by British engineers in India, and in an article in the October number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* of that year he had thought it worth while to summarize what had been done during that period. During the last hundred years an average of one and a half crores of rupees had been spent annually on irrigation work. During the last few years before the war the rate of expenditure had greatly increased, and when one came to look at the programme of possibilities put forward by Sir William one realized that the rate of expenditure would be twenty to thirty times higher.

He had been very interested in the monograph shown by Sir William regarding the work done in the Ganges Valley. He himself had studied that area, and he had found that there were roughly 35 million acres of cultivated land which were not irrigated at all, and he had already suggested that at least 10 million acres of that area might be cultivated at a cost of 60 crores of rupees. Today the cost would be considerably more—perhaps 90 or 100 crores. If that work was carried out it would not only increase the amount of food produced, but would give a further fillip to the engineering industries in Bengal and Bombay, where a good deal of the work was done by natives and which would probably cease now that the war was over.

With regard to the question of fertilizers, he believed that some distinction had been made between the manurial value of water from reservoirs and water from flowing rivers. The latter was said to contain a large amount of silt which was sup-

10 *Planning against Poverty in India: Irrigation and Food Production*

posed to be very valuable. It seemed to him very important that the relative manurial value of river water, well water and stored water should be ascertained.

One of the most important steps which could be taken at the present time regarding the development of irrigation would be to stop the waste of water in existing irrigation works. When the major projects were originally designed a conservative estimate of the quantity of water available was usually assumed, whilst at the same time a very liberal allowance of water per acre irrigated was allowed. There was a general consensus of opinion that in consequence the area under irrigation had been unduly restricted. The time had now come when a large measure of economy in the use of water should be introduced in the national interest, and this could be affected without prejudice to the existing cultivation.

Dr. H. S. BATRA congratulated Sir William Stampe on his brilliant paper, and said it seemed to him that when the food supply was short and one-third of the population of India was under-nourished it was wrong to allow food to be exported. He did not feel that the export of foodstuffs from India was justified. On the contrary food should be imported into India from Australia. Such a course would benefit both India and Australia. There were other ways of increasing the standard of nutrition of India; there were certain tracts of land open to cultivation, for instance. There was also the question of cultivating by tractor, and then there were vitamins which could be supplied from cod-liver oil and so on.

He felt that some of Sir William Stampe's suggestions for irrigation were not practical. His grandfather, for instance, had been persuaded to install a tubewell, but as soon as he had gone to the city the people of the village had disconnected it and filled the tubes with stones. Those stones were still there today! It must be remembered that there were practical difficulties of that kind to contend with.

Mr. BRANDER said that it appeared that as far as short-term policy was concerned Sir William Stampe had been very successful, but when it came to long-term policy it must be remembered that the verdict of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India was that no matter what improvements were effected the pressure of population would rapidly overtake them. That was already happening in the Punjab Canal colonies. At first the people were prosperous, but they multiplied so rapidly that the standard of living fell greatly. For that reason he had been glad to see a recommendation by the recent Famine Commission that birth-control or family limitation should be encouraged. He felt that that was the best, and the only permanent, remedy. No matter how many engineering improvements were made regarding food production the pressure of population would overtake them rapidly.

A great parallel to the case of India was the case of Ireland during the last century. In 1847 the potato famine had occurred; that had killed 1 million people, and the result of that, plus emigration to America, and fewer and later marriages, was that the population was now half of what it was 100 years ago. Ireland was now much more prosperous than it was then.

It seemed to him that the most important thing for India was education—especially adult education—regarding family limitation. Unless that were done there would always be under-nutrition and over-population in India.

Sir WILLIAM STAMPE, replying to Sir Bernard Darley's suggestion that the scope for tubewell irrigation was very limited, said that a widespread investigation was now to be carried out in India in conjunction with the Geological Department to ascertain what further tracts were available for development. It was hoped that comprehensive plans for the irrigation of such areas as were declared suitable would then be drawn up by the Administrations concerned. It should then be possible to determine to what extent tubewell irrigation could contribute to the solution of the food problem. He himself was of the opinion that, given adequate organization for co-ordinating hydro-electric power in the adjoining hills with ground-water pumping, up to 1 million acres could be added to the irrigated area each year in the northern alluvial plains of India.

With regard to the estimates quoted by the Bombay Planners, referred to by Sir

Bernard Darley, he did not know how the authors had arrived at the figures. It was possibly a shot in the dark, as he himself did not think there was scope for such a large amount of additional irrigation; at any rate, in the early future.

Sir John Woodhead had referred to the necessity for supplying India with a balanced diet; he thought that the requisite produce for such a diet could be obtained by the rotation of crops within the acreages he had given.

One speaker had referred to the relative advantages of silted water and clear water. He agreed that very often the coarse sandy silt of the rivers was more of a nuisance than a benefit, but fine colloidal silt carried in suspension usually possessed fertilizing qualities.

Dr. Batra seemed to be under some misapprehension as to the type of tubewell scheme advocated. A system of irrigation tubewells owned and operated by absentee landlords might well prove a total failure. The system previously introduced in the United Provinces, and which he now advocated should be extended, was a system of tubewells owned and operated by the State, who would be responsible for the proper maintenance.

Major-General Sir FREDERICK SYKES, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman, congratulated Sir William upon his most interesting address. The subject was of such great scope that all the points put forward in the discussion were germane to it. The historian of the future would find an enduring monument of our rule in the vast irrigation schemes which we had established. He (Sir Frederick) was particularly interested in irrigation, as he had had the good fortune to be Governor of Bombay at the time of the opening of some 6½ millions of acres of desert under cultivation. The importance of irrigation did not merely lie in the prevention of famine when the monsoon failed. The great economic problem of India was the phenomenal increase in population which was the inevitable result of the Pax Britannica. One of the ways in which the extra millions could be fed was by greatly extending the area under cultivation.

It seemed to him that perhaps one aspect, and a very important one, which had not been touched upon was a tendency in all the schemes mentioned to overlook the personal element and to forget that the man primarily involved was the consumer of the water and the actual producer of food—the ryot. Unless one could arouse the interest of the peasant whose livelihood and the possibility of raising his standard of life depend largely on a supply of water for his fields, the schemes would not work. The peasant was intensely interested in his fields, and if he were given the opportunity and knowledge to irrigate his land, there is no doubt that he would help with the other methods which had been put forward in the discussion. The prime necessity was to enable the peasant to help himself.

Another great problem which had not been mentioned was that of the money-lender. When he, Sir Frederick, was in India one of the Rulers of a State in the Bombay Presidency had already brought in a scheme for gradually eliminating the money-lender and by this means enabling the peasant to take greater advantage of the Village Improvement Scheme which had been launched throughout the Presidency.

He also congratulated the Chairman, Mr. Arthur Henderson, on his appointment as Under-Secretary of State for India, and wished him on behalf of the East India Association the utmost success in the work to which he had set his hand.

Captain S. T. BINSTED writes: The paper shows that India might soon be facing a further crisis on the food front, with famine round the corner. The alleviation of such a position is largely in the hands of our engineers to produce quickly capital equipment for the many irrigation, hydro-electric and other schemes projected. I would appeal to the British industrialists, both electrical and mechanical, to give India the highest priority possible for the delivery of the orders already placed and those about to be placed. It must be simply frustration for the promoters of these schemes, who have the progress of India at heart, to be told that they must wait at least two years, in some cases much longer, for delivery of the necessary plant.

In most cases India is prepared to accept prices quoted in this country, but they are rightly insisting that delivery must be given in a reasonable period. Both Mr.

12 *Planning against Poverty in India: Irrigation and Food Production*

Tata and Mr. Birla and other recent visitors have made public statements on these lines since their return to India.

I would plead with the Board of Trade and other official bodies to give first priority support to our industrialists for speedy delivery of these orders, and clear the line, and, incidentally, the bottlenecks, for the raw materials required in the workshops. I am sure we may rely on the sympathetic support and consideration of our distinguished Chairman today in this all-important matter.

TRANSPORT IN INDIA IN WAR-TIME

BY THE HON. SIR EDWARD BENTHALL, K.C.S.I.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY gave to a recent meeting of transport officers in New Delhi the slogan "Transportation is War." There is, of course, nothing spectacular about the maintenance of an army or of a civil population, however vast in numbers, for in transport matters smooth operation is always taken for granted until there is a breakdown. Today I welcome the opportunity of placing on record something of what the personnel of the Indian ports and railways have done in war-time and how they have done it.

When the war broke out the ports of India were in good trim, but the railways had not yet emerged from a decade of economy which had resulted in their running to a high degree of peace-time efficiency, with all wagons under a pool control, but with no margin to meet the abnormal demands of war.

In the early stages of the war in the West India's part was that of a subsidiary base for the Middle East campaign. Her ports handled the relatively small volume of traffic with ease. The railways parted with 4,000 miles of railway track, practically the whole stock of maintenance sleepers, $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their metre gauge engines and 15 per cent. of their metre gauge wagon stock and a quantity of broad gauge stock as well. Four railway workshops were turned over entirely to munitions, others partially, and at one time 20,000 men were so employed. It may be an exaggeration to say that the battle of El Alamein was won in the workshops of the Indian railways, but they made a most valuable contribution, as more than one Middle Eastern commander has testified.

In addition, 280 out of some 1,750 railway officers volunteered for war services. The provision of these transport experts, while a most valuable contribution to the war effort, turned out in the later stages to be one of the greatest handicaps to the railways themselves, which had to carry the heavier load and incidentally to supervise 180,000 additional men with fewer trained officers than in the leisurely days of peace. In addition such tasks as the improvisation of rationing over 850,000 railway men had to be faced. They rose to the occasion splendidly but the burden thrown on the trained supervisory staff remaining was immense. Trained man-power was always a major difficulty.

INDIA THE MAIN BASE

When Japan overran South-East Asia in the winter of 1941-2 a new situation arose. India at once became the main base for the war against Japan. The Bay of Bengal was closed to shipping: coal, jute and tea, which were normally railed to Calcutta for shipment, had to be carried up to as much as 1,500 miles over the long rail journey to Western and Southern Indian ports. War stores and troops had to be landed in the West Coast ports and railed, sometimes a matter of 2,500 miles, to the far north-east corner of Assam. The ports of Bombay and Karachi were congested with diverted and frustrated cargoes with no consignor to remove them, and at one time there were 250 ships lying in Bombay harbour. The ports gradually cleared the congestion, and the railways kept essential supplies moving. We received valuable and sympathetic help at this stage from the Anglo-American Ports Mission.

In August, 1942, the railways had to face their most bitter experience. Mr. Gandhi's "open rebellion," directed largely against all means of communication, resulted in the damage to a greater or lesser degree of 289 railway stations, the destruction of electrical installations and signal cabins, sixty derailments, and the tampering with track, of which in one place two miles were removed. The damage was effected with some technical skill, and significantly enough was most thorough and dangerous on some of the main lines of communication to the Burma front, notably on the East Indian Railway and on the Oudh and Tirhut Railway to Assam. Prompt action by the military and civil authorities and by the railwaymen themselves averted disaster. It is to the credit of the railwaymen that they were true to their salt. Not a single railwayman, I believe, was proved to have taken part in the rising, and many received decorations for faithful and gallant service in most trying circumstances. Normal traffic was resumed on the E.I. Railway at the end of September and on the O. and T. Railway on November 2, but several hundred million net ton miles of traffic had meanwhile been lost.

THE TURN OF THE WAR TIDE

Throughout 1943 the strength of the British armies on the Burma frontier was being built up, and the Americans went on developing what is one of the romances of the war, the air lift "over the hump" to China. The railway, handicapped by a break of gauge and a ferry crossing of the Brahmaputra at Amingaon, had, with the wholehearted and efficient support of the I.G.N. and Rivers Steamship Companies, to maintain an ever-increasing volume of military traffic to the railheads for the American airfields and for the Imphal and Ledo roads, while at the same time carrying very large volumes of traffic for the doubling of certain sections of the line, the development of yards, the construction of the petrol pipe line from Calcutta via the Brahmaputra Valley to China, and the maintenance of the augmented civil population. Two of the main bridges over the Beki and Balkadoba Rivers which had been washed away by floods had to be rebuilt. Much of the traffic still emanated from far distant depots or from the West Coast ports, but with the war taking a turn for the better the Bay of Bengal was suddenly reopened to traffic and the tonnage of imports into the port of Calcutta jumped from 117,000 tons in July of that year to 254,000 tons in August.

This unheralded increase threw an undue strain on the port; a shortage of cranes for handling heavy military consignments and an insufficiency of reception depots threatened a serious congestion, for you cannot for long put into a port more than you can take out of it. It became apparent that it was necessary to key up the working of the different agencies operating and using the port, but it was not until the middle of 1944 that Mr. F. A. Pope, C.I.E., of the L.M.S. Railway was appointed Regional Port Director, and assisted splendidly in improving all-round co-ordination and efficiency and consequently the volume of traffic. Meanwhile, the operation of clearance in King George's Dock by the Americans had been of great assistance, and steady general improvement had been achieved. The main anxiety during all this period was really the stability of the dock labour, which was affected by the exodus which took place on the Japanese advance on India in 1942, and again by the accurate daylight bombing by the Japanese of the docks in December, 1943.

Simultaneously with the intensification of military activity on the lines of communication to Assam in 1943 the Bengal famine developed, and to crown the difficulties there occurred one of the greatest physical disasters which the Indian railways have ever experienced. The River Damodar burst its banks and carried away the four main lines of the East Indian Railway connecting Calcutta with the coalfields and the Mofussil. There is probably no single spot on the whole Indian railway system where such a disaster could cause greater inconvenience at any time, let alone at the crisis of a war. The energy and determined improvisation of the staffs of the E.I.R. and B.N.R., however, ensured that the fullest use was made of the remaining three lines available into Calcutta, essential supplies were somehow kept going, and, above all, as the Woodhead report clearly showed, the volume of food imports into Calcutta from the north and west, so far from decreasing, was actually increased, and failure of transportation into Bengal was in no way a contributory factor towards the situa-

tion which arose there. The work of restoring and safeguarding the breach was handled by the railway engineers with the most commendable energy.

THE INCREASING LOAD

As the cold weather wore on the load on the eastern communications continued to become heavier and heavier. At this stage Mr. Inglis, of the L.N.E.R., and Colonel Appleton, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, came out and gave most valuable help in suggesting various methods of speeding up traffic. At the same time we began to get the advantage of the delivery of metre gauge engines and wagons from America and of the first of the improvements to line capacity on the lines of communication which incidentally comprised not only the Assam front but also the Arakan. The Brahmaputra ferry was doubled and later trebled and facilities for transshipment at Parbatipur and Santahar greatly improved. The engineering staff of the railway did well. But it became obvious that to convert what had pre-war been a poorly equipped line into a key military communication system something else was necessary, and that something was extra staff and extra driving force. At one time 40,000 out of the available stock of 67,000 metre gauge wagons were concentrated upon the Bengal and Assam Railway at the cost of traffic congestion elsewhere, but the call for volunteers of all grades to operate them met with limited success, because in spite of the high pay offered service in Assam at this juncture was not attractive. The British military transportation units available were limited.

The Americans came to the rescue. On March 1, 1944, 4,500 skilled American railway men were superimposed on the existing staff on 748 miles of the metre gauge line from Parbatipur to Ledo. Under Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Appleton, C.B.E., succeeded by Brigadier Yount, they took over the traffic operation on that section of the line, an experiment which, thanks to the fine spirit of co-operation shown by both the Americans and our own staff and the inspiring energy of the Americans, turned out a brilliant success. Although from the earlier days of 1942 the receipts at railhead were, with negligible exceptions, always in excess of the releasing capacity of the depots at railheads, it is unquestionable that this result could not latterly have been obtained without the drive which enabled the Americans to utilize the improving capacity, for they increased the lift in their time by at least 125 per cent. It would be difficult to praise the American military units too highly for the grand job of work they have done. They have, however, been the first to recognize the fine support given to them by the staff of the Indian railways and inland steamship companies. Our own men were, of course, entirely responsible for delivering the troops and stores on to the American section of the line, and for operating the remaining 40,000 miles of railways.

When the Japanese invasion took place in April, 1944, the railways stood up to the test, and the thanks of the S.E.A.C. Commanders have been received in generous measure for the emergency conveyance of troops and stores to railhead in support of the triumph of air supply which enabled the Japanese to be defeated disastrously at Imphal and subsequently to be chased to Rangoon.

In 1945 the general pressure on the ports and railways steadily continued and extended to South India. We had indeed worked up to the climax of launching the big amphibious operation against Malaya just at the precise moment when Japan collapsed. This was mercifully turned into the despatch only of an army of occupation. It is no secret that Bombay was one of the main embarkation ports. The terrific explosion of an ammunition ship in April, 1944, had put the whole of the Victoria and Princes Docks out of action, but the energetic action of the Army engineers restored these docks to fine working order for military purposes by November, 1944, and it is noteworthy that even before that date imports and exports had been remarkably well maintained in what was left of the docks.

This short story for lack of time can give no account of the other activities of the transport services in organizing road transport controls, the procurement and distribution of Lease-Lend vehicles and parts, the improvisation of lorry group schemes for the emergency construction of airfields and other military works, the better use of coastal country craft, inland water transport and coastal shipping and the develop-

ment of producer gas units of which India has in use ten times the number ever put into operation in the United Kingdom, and so forth.

PASSENGER TRAFFIC

One of the greatest difficulties which the railways faced was the great increase in civil passenger traffic, due partly to war activity, but mainly to the fact that when an Indian has money in his pocket travel he will, whatever the conditions of comfort. The reduction in passenger train services, to provide for the military load, has been some 37 per cent. Longer trains have been run and conveniences such as restaurant cars cut out or reduced, but the problem has been, broadly speaking, to fit 160 per cent. of normal passenger traffic into 80 per cent. of normal passenger accommodation. Passenger travel continuously resembled the conditions of Bank Holiday travel or the hopping season here, and, of course, the heat and the distances are even more trying. The Indian public has been very patient, but the crowds which on occasions adorn the footboards, the buffers and even the roofs of the trains are a feature which we hope will soon cease. We just could not provide the army of officials necessary to put a stop to such methods of travel.

On the goods side the transport services can claim that though much of the less essential traffic was delayed, there was never a breakdown of essential movement either through the ports or on the railways. Troops and military stores were delivered reasonably punctually and the civil machine was kept going. A great deal of this was due to the success of the priority organization which, set up by Sir S. N. Roy, K.C.I.E., in good time and operated by picked railway officers, gave priority to movements in consideration of their urgency and essentiality, arranged programmes and special assistance to essential movements, gave quotas of wagons, diverted movements to coastal shipping and other forms of transport where suitable, zoned and rationalized in order to make more capacity available, restricted or banned unnecessary and uneconomical movements and kept a check upon waste of capacity. This organization was undoubtedly a key factor in ensuring that the right foodstuffs, stores and other goods were in the right place at the right time.

ENCOURAGING PROSPECTS

It is not out of place to say a word regarding the effect of the war on the future. The prospects are, in my opinion, encouraging. To take first the ports, the estimated annual war-time capacity of the seven major ports in tons, excluding bulk petroleum, country craft cargoes and bunkers, has been increased by additional construction of berths and by other means from some 19·7 million tons to 24·8 million tons. It may be accepted that the ports will be able to deal with a higher tonnage of civil cargo of all kinds in post-war years than of mixed cargo during the war, and should be able for some years to handle comfortably the increased tonnage calculated to be forthcoming as the result of post-war development.

The railways, now Government owned and operated, have considerably developed their line capacity on many of the important sections. By the time present orders for wagons in India and locomotives and wagons from overseas are completed, and allowing for some cancellation under Lease Lend arrangements, some 1,400 engines and 50,000 wagons, broad and metre gauge, will have been added to the pre-war total of some 7,500 engines and 200,000 wagons at a capital charge which, owing to the procedure adopted in dealing with the large war-time railway surpluses, means that the railways will not be overburdened with excessive war costs. Most of these, particularly of the engines, are in replacement of overage stock, and some particularly from the United States have been of a war pattern with a relatively short life. Nevertheless, the railways should start the post-war period in a better position for power and wagons than ever before, for maintenance of rolling stock has by all testimony been well preserved, better perhaps than on the home railways. The coaching stock, however, is in a pretty poor state, and more passenger engines will be required.

The opportunity now occurs to provide a better class of carriage for third-class passengers, and full opportunity will be taken to achieve this and to provide other amenities for lower-class passengers who contribute so much to the earnings of the Indian railways. There are good prospects, therefore, that the Indian railways, as one

of the world's largest commercial undertakings, with a capital of Rs. 800 crores, will enter on the post-war period in a relatively sound technical and financial condition, although there are plenty of arrears of general maintenance and development to make up. They will, however, have to face intense competition from the roads since the vigorous development of roads and road transport is one of the major items of India's post-war programme.

These results have been obtained only by the close support of the military authorities, other departments of the Government of India and the Ministry of War Transport in Berkeley Square, with all of whom relations have been of the happiest nature. As General Lindsell, Principal Administrative Officer, G.H.Q., India, said on a public occasion, "The railways in India have never let the Army down, and I feel I can say with confidence that the Army will not let the railways down." I can testify most cordially to the truth of the latter part. We had splendid backing. The Railway Trade Unions, too, gave most loyal and valuable co-operation. But in the long run the safety and speed of operation depend upon the individual attention to duty of the driver and guard, the gangman and the workshop staff, the signalman, the crane-driver, the coolie and other humble people who to their honour kept the wheels turning and the ships moving steadily throughout the war.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, on Monday, October 1, 1945, with the Right Hon. Lord PETHICK-LAWRENCE, Secretary of State for India, in the Chair.

The PRESIDENT of the Association, Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, welcomed Lord Pethick-Lawrence and wished him the best of luck in the great office he now held. He would inform Lord Pethick-Lawrence that the Association had been in existence for nearly eight decades and throughout its long life it had done its utmost to get the two races together, to understand each other, to help each other, and if there was any direction in which it could help the new Secretary of State he had only to ask.

Lord PETHICK-LAWRENCE then took the Chair. He thanked the President for his kindly introduction, and would only say that he felt it a great privilege to come to the Association with its long history and to occupy the position of Chairman.

Sir Edward Benthall was to give a paper on a subject on which he was specially qualified to speak—namely, the war transport of India. Sir Edward had had a long and distinguished career in India. In the year 1942 he consented to become a member of the Executive Council in order that he might take charge of the war transport of India.

Sir EDWARD BENTHALL then gave his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN said that Sir Edward Benthall had given a most interesting and informative address. The main theme of his own remarks arose out of the old saying that an army moved on its stomach, and by its "stomach" was understood today every item from the commissariat to the supplies which the modern army needed in order to achieve its objectives.

Sir Edward had covered almost the whole ground of war transport during the years he had control of it, although no doubt he could have added more had time permitted. One matter which he did not touch upon which it fell to the speaker to recall to the audience was that of the most valuable services which Sir Edward himself rendered in acting as the controller of the whole of war transport. The people of this country and of India owed a great deal to him for the self-sacrificing way in which he gave up his own personal interests to do this public service. As a result of

his action large numbers of the citizens of this country and of India had been enabled to contribute to the common cause.

The speaker would emphasize Sir Edward's tribute to those who helped him to carry out his task, to the Railway Board, to the managerial staff, and to the employees of the railways, whether European, Anglo-Indian, or Indian, who, because of their loyalty, devotion and efficiency, enabled the great system of war transport to be carried through.

There were two matters in particular which Sir Edward touched upon which he would like to emphasize in a little greater detail. One of the problems which faced the war transport was that the men and military depôts in India had been devised to deal with the normal requirements; they were situated mainly in the north-west in order to deal with trouble on the frontiers. In this war the centre of gravity of the military operations was not in the north-west but in the north-east, and that involved improvisation which was of supreme importance for the carrying on of the war. Improvisation was always difficult and tested the initiative, ability and resources of those who had to forge the implements by which it was carried out.

Another matter was wagons. In the early days of the war a great deal of the manufacture which could have gone into the making of the wagons necessary to assist the railways was diverted to other channels, and India and this country, to a large extent, was not able to do as much in the production of wagons as was required. That need was met from other sources, in the main, but as the war went on and productive capacity in India increased there also developed a considerable power to produce wagons, and the stock in hand would be of great value as the days went by.

The very large part played in transport by means other than the railways should be kept in mind, and now that the war had come to an end and the future was being faced that element must not be forgotten. If it be true that transport was war, then surely it was true that transport was peace. It was the means by which demobilization could be consummated, and it was as urgent a problem as the carrying on of the war to see that transport was available to effect demobilization to the extent required.

Looking forward to the years of peace and reconstruction—it was more than reconstruction, it was construction for India to a degree which India had never experienced up to now—all the resources of the country had to be mobilized, the goodwill of the people of every section and walk of life had to be mobilized. In the world of the future the workers would play a more and more important part, and all these things had to be brought to a perfection in the days to come which they had not had. For instance, the road system in India, wonderful as it had been, still needed development. Great roads had been built, but there was room for a very large measure of further development of second- or third-class roads. India was not a country of great towns; it was a country with an enormous number of villages, and it was essential for the future life of India that the villages should be brought into touch so that, not only during the good months of the year but during the difficult months of the year, there was access not only from one village to another but to the main lines of communication.

Sir LEONARD WILSON (late President of the Railway Board, India) said that when Japan succeeded on the eastern front and India was turning from the west to the east there was great confusion, but Sir Edward Benthall throughout all the troubles and the disputes which occurred between Government departments always maintained a steady bearing, and gave confidence not only to those working with him but to those in other departments.

When the war started the Indian railways had just pulled through a very severe period of depression; they were in debt to the extent of about Rs. 80 crores, but it had been possible to discharge this debt owing to the very heavy traffic of the war and also to save a substantial sum to be used for the rehabilitation of the railways and to meet unanticipated needs in the future. After the last war conditions were very much as they were now, but the railways had no depreciation fund and no resources with which to overtake the arrears of wear and tear which had occurred during the war. The setting up after the last war of the depreciation fund had placed the railways in a very much better position. In adjusting the contributions to

be made from railway surplus revenues to general revenues great assistance had been received from Sir Jeremy Raisman (Finance Member of Council).

Sir Edward Benthall told him when he arrived in India that he was surprised to find that the efficiency of the railway department of the Government of India was certainly no lower than that of the British Government departments. As Sir Edward had said, the railway workshops were employed on war work. In addition to the workshops, which comprised about 75 per cent. of the machine tool capacity in India, the railways also trained 38,000 men for the military railway units and 30,000 men for the labour department. This was done in addition to the training of the additional staff required by the railways themselves. These facts, reinforcing what Sir Edward had said, spoke of the splendid work which the railwaymen did. Over 95 per cent. of them were Indians, and a central service of that description had a cementing value throughout the whole country. One heard of trouble between Muhamimadans and Hindus, but when the two worked together in a common employment such as the railways there was never such difficulty. It was a service which cut across provincial borders; it went throughout the whole country and had advantages which some of the other services did not possess.

Sir Edward had said that the Government of India owned most of the railways. When war broke out there were, however, still five major railways managed by boards in London. These were taken over by the State during the war. It was considered that even in peace-time it would be difficult to take over these railways, but it was found possible despite the war. Four minor railways were also taken over.

The shortage of skilled railway personnel was obvious in all branches of railway work, and the Board had to administer nearly a million men and 30,000 miles of track with an officer cadre at headquarters of something like forty men. Such figures made one realize some of the difficulties of administration with a shortage of staff.

He worked with Sir Edward with the greatest pleasure, and he knew that all railwaymen serving under him felt the same. The effect of his ability to smooth over difficulties had been of the greatest value to India's war effort.

Mr. H. S. MALIK (Prime Minister of Patiala) said that the last time on which he had the pleasure of hearing Sir Edward Benthall was when he spoke before the National Defence Council at Delhi. There was then a shortage of wagons and equipment, but the picture he gave was one which inspired his hearers with confidence for the future, and subsequent events have shown that that confidence was fully justified.

So far as the Indian States were concerned there was very little to be said separately for them on this particular subject. The States had more than played their part in the war effort, and Sir Edward's closing remarks emboldened the speaker to say a few words which he felt were very important. Transport was vital to any task of construction or reconstruction. The States realized that as well as anyone in British India and in their plans for the future they were making full allowance for the necessity of developing both the railway and road transport. It was possible to over-emphasize and exaggerate differences between conditions in the Indian States and British India. In many fields of human activity, certainly in the economic and social fields, the problems which faced them in the States were very much the same as those which faced their brothers and sisters in British India.

To put it briefly, the biggest problem of all was the necessity for the raising of standards of living and increasing the prosperity of the people. In that the development of transport would play a very great part, but the States had come to believe that their aim could only be achieved by a better balance between agricultural and industrial life. It was the definite policy in the Indian States to develop industries as far as possible, and in reply to the accusations that were sometimes made that the States were resorting to all kinds of questionable methods for attracting industries he could plead entirely not guilty. The fact of the matter was that the States had been backward in comparison with British India in industrial development and that leeway would have to be made up as quickly as possible.

The mission for which he was in Great Britain was to obtain machinery, to obtain technical advice and assistance, and to ask for co-operation and help in the great task ahead. He was encouraged by the talks he had had here, and he believed

there was great hope for the future because there was a growing realization in this advanced industrial country and in the United States of America that by helping to develop the industrial economies of backward countries such as India they would not only be helping India but themselves, because prosperity in advanced industrial countries must ultimately rest on the increase of purchasing power of the masses which would create more extensive markets for their own goods. But there was more than selfish motives at work, and there was a general feeling that the industrially backward countries should be helped along in the interests of peace and general well-being.

Mr. F. A. POPE (Chief Commercial Manager, London, Midland and Scottish Railways) said that he was sent out from this country to undertake a very pleasant piece of work—to increase the capacity of the Port of Calcutta. What that meant was that he was hospitably received by everyone connected with the port, and they then proceeded to increase the capacity themselves. In the course of his stay in Calcutta he had the chance of seeing a certain amount of what the railways were doing, and although he did not regard himself as an expert railwayman he could look at the work with a certain amount of knowledge. He had visited India previously and found great improvements in very many ways.

Sir Edward mentioned the loyalty of the Indian railwaymen. During a war a railway could not be measured entirely by its equipment, because until the human being took control the equipment was not of much use. He would like to pay his tribute to the Indian railwaymen because they worked under great difficulties. The discipline was excellent. In connection with the various crises which arose at Calcutta the railway people did extremely well.

There were many problems of the same kind in this country, the main one being that of personnel. The question of handling personnel had really been the important thing and made the difference between efficiency and inefficiency. There were difficulties connected with the appalling winters which occurred for the first three years of the war, during part of which the oil froze in the axle boxes, so that although conditions were different from those in India the problems were the same and the railwaymen dealt with them exceedingly well.

He added that he was very happy working with Sir Edward Benthall. Nothing that Sir Edward had said had exaggerated in any degree the work which the Indian railways had done.

Mr. GUY ST. GEORGE HIGGINSON (Commercial Traffic Manager, Bengal-Nagpur Railway) said that there were many problems which the commercial departments of Indian railways had to face, with the constant necessity before them of not impeding transportation. He had no doubt that there were similar problems here, but in India there was the additional complication of a railway system consisting of over forty separate railways with a wide distribution of managerial interests between the Government of India, the Indian States and, for the greater part of the war, boards of companies sitting in London. This rendered rate-making and the apportionment of through rates between railways more difficult, and also necessitated precise rules regarding the interchange of traffic and rolling stock between railways. During the war rating was to some extent simplified because a large proportion of traffic was carried at standard military rates, but claims for goods lost or damaged rose to a phenomenal figure, and were a constant source of worry to both railway administrations and the public.

The closing of the east coast ports on account of Japanese successes early in the war necessitated a large number of new rate quotations for the carriage of traffic in new directions. A considerable proportion of this traffic was reversed when the Royal Navy and the 14th Army restored the situation.

A further duty imposed on the commercial departments of railways was priority control, which, in view of the fact that railways are public carriers, was a drastic departure from normal practice.

In replying, Sir EDWARD BENTHALL recognized the force of the Chairman's dictum that transportation today is demobilization. One of the recent difficulties in India was

to move troops homewards at the same time as mounting an offensive. He noted in the Chairman's remarks confirmation of the quotation also made by Lord Wavell that transportation is civilization. The extension of roads and road transport into the Indian villages would have a marked effect on the development of rural life, but these subjects were under the Constitution primarily Provincial and States subjects and the Centre could only co-ordinate and encourage.

In response to Mr. Malik, he paid tribute to the support always received from the Indian States, and said he felt confident that the railways would be ready to cater for the industrial development which was the policy of the Central Government as well as of the States.

His comparison of the efficiency of the British and Indian Government Departments referred to by Sir Leonard Wilson must not be misunderstood. In India decisions had frequently to be made on inadequate data, and with insufficient preparation, owing to the shortage of trained administrations, but, perhaps in consequence, quicker decisions seemed frequently to materialize.

He was interested in Mr. Higginson's remarks, corroborated the growth of claims on the railways, but took comfort from the fact that the British railways had also experienced parallel difficulties.

He expressed great appreciation of the kind remarks of the Chairman, Mr. Pope and other speakers, but said that the credit lay in the teamwork of all concerned. The human element in the operation of transport was of equal importance to mechanical efficiency. A decisive factor was that on the whole Indian railwaymen realized that they were fairly treated, and the credit for this must go to the Railway Board, under Sir Leonard Wilson, K.C.I.E., who had borne the burden of the day in the difficult years.

Sir JEREMY RAISMAN proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Pethick-Lawrence for presiding and to Sir Edward Benthall for his paper. At the present moment H.M. Government was faced with a large number of problems of unprecedented complexity, not the least of which was the problem connected with India, and the presence of the Secretary of State was all the more appreciated. He and Sir Edward Benthall had been friends for very many years; they were working together at a time when the most extraordinary changes were taking place both in general and in railway finances, and he was grateful to him for his co-operation and assistance. It was a happy result that the war left the Indian railways in a solvent condition.

The vote of thanks was accorded by applause, and in making a brief acknowledgment the CHAIRMAN said that the future of this country and of India and of the whole world depended upon one thing: whether the human race was capable of intelligent co-operation for life or whether by its quarrels and disagreements it was faced with death. Among the principal items of that co-operation was industrial co-operation, co-operation in transport of which they had been hearing that day. Sir Edward had spoken of a great chapter in the history of co-operation in transport, and he hoped that that lesson would be taken to heart in all the essential services of man to man in the days to come.

VICTORY RECEPTION

A Victory Reception was held by the Association on Tuesday, October 16, 1945, at the Imperial Institute, South Kensington, S.W. 7, to meet distinguished Service leaders of the South-East Asia Command, and also some of the rank and file of the Indian fighting services, including three Indian Army V.C.'s. The President of the Association, Sir FREDERICK SYKES, and Lady Sykes received the guests, numbering 400.

The PRESIDENT, in welcoming the special guests and those assembled to do honour to them, said that the East India Association had existed for nearly eighty years to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India and Burma, so that it was fitting for the Council to decide to arrange a celebration of the victories of the South-East Asia Command, and to do honour to the outstanding leaders of that most severe and testing sphere of operations, and to convey to them the profound gratitude of the people of this country to the leaders and the vast numbers of soldiers, sailors, airmen and labour forces whose combined efforts drove the enemy from Burma in face of the most appalling difficulties.

The date of the reception was fixed to coincide with the presence of a number of leaders and Service chiefs in London, and one of the Army leaders was Sir George Giffard, who commanded the Allied land forces. It was hoped to welcome General Sir Mosley Mayne, but he was unwell and unable to attend. General Sir Mosley Mayne was G.O.C.-in-Chief of Eastern Command in India before coming to this country as Principal Staff Officer and Secretary of the Military Department of the India Office. Although he was unable to be present, Sir Frederick wished to record the great debt owed to him for all the work, assistance and advice he had given in making the arrangements for the function.

Other Army leaders invited were Lieut.-General Sir Montagu Stopford, who commanded the 33rd India Corps and later the 12th Army in Burma, and Lieut.-General Sir Henry Pownall, lately Chief of Staff to Lord Louis Mountbatten. Air operations were essential to victory, and he welcomed Air Marshal Sir William Coryton, who was commanding in Burma, and Air Marshal Sir Leslie Hollinghurst, lately commanding Base Air Force S.E. Asia.

For the Navy Admiral they welcomed Sir Geoffrey Layton, who was Commander-in-Chief in Ceylon and now Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, and Vice-Admiral Sir Algernon Willis, now Second Sea Lord, who commanded the Third Battle Squadron, and in 1942 was second in command of the Eastern Fleet.

Another outstanding contributor to victory by his devoted leadership in organizing India for and in the war, Lord Linlithgow, had written to express his great regret that an important engagement at York had prevented his being present. They agreed with the ex-Viceroy that this was "most unfortunate," but they welcomed Lady Linlithgow with special pleasure, and her son, Lord John Hope, who fought in the Mediterranean campaigns and now represented his native county in Parliament.

It was their privilege to have with them representatives of various ranks of the Indian Army which in the war occupied the proud position of being the largest volunteer army that the world had ever seen. All present would be glad to convey their sincere congratulations in person to three members of that Army who that morning went to Buckingham Palace to be invested by His Majesty the King with the Victoria Cross. All these Victoria Crosses were won by men in the Burma campaign. Time did not permit the recounting of the citations published in the *London Gazette*, but he would briefly mention Havildar Umrao Singh, 30th Indian Mountain Regiment, who was described as having "by his personal example and magnificent bravery set a supreme example of gallantry and devotion to duty," Rifleman Bhanbhagta Gurung, 3rd Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army, who showed "outstanding bravery and complete disregard of his own safety." Lastly it was stated of Naik Gian Singh, 4/15th Punjab Regiment, that "his magnificent gallantry, devotion to duty and leadership, although he was wounded, could not have been surpassed."

While doing honour to the fighting forces, the heavy responsibility which rested upon members of H.M. Government and of the Government of India who were more directly concerned with the Far Eastern war must not be forgotten, and therefore it was with great pleasure they had hoped to welcome Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Amery. During the long years of the war Mr. Amery carried unflinchingly the great burden and strain of the high office of Secretary of State for India and Burma. He welcomed with great pleasure Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the new Secretary of State for India, and Lady Pethick-Lawrence. This was the first of the Association's receptions which Lord Pethick-Lawrence had been able to attend, although he had already presided at one of the afternoon lectures, and the Association was grateful to him for the interest he took in its work. Lord Pethick-Lawrence would add a

few words to the welcome offered to those whom the Association wished to honour and to those who had come to honour the South-East Asia Command.

LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE, who was warmly received, said that it was a very great pleasure to him to be able to be present and to take part in the proceedings. They were present to celebrate a victory, or, should he say, to remember the great campaign and to express thanks to those through whose exertions, courage and endurance it was brought to such a successful conclusion. In the years 1941 and 1942 our position was very different from what it became later. We were suffering disasters in every quarter of the globe, in Europe, in Africa, in the Mediterranean and in the Far East. At that time the idea was abroad that we were no match for the Japanese, particularly in jungle warfare. But the first glimmer of better things came in the great fighting retreat of General Alexander through Burma which enabled the withdrawal in safety of a substantial number of our troops to the barriers of North-East India. Forces were scanty, preparations were inadequate, and standing there he would like to pay his tribute to the late Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, and to the Chiefs of Staff, who throughout the war had to weigh the essential demands of the Eastern war against the vital necessities of the West. There had perhaps seldom been a greater display of the finer gifts of military judgment than in the allocation of our resources during those years.

Throughout this and the later stages of the campaign the Navy kept guard in the Indian Ocean. In 1943 the South-East Asia Command was constituted and placed under the inspiring leadership of Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, and in spite of many disappointments in matters of supply the new Command kept the Japanese under constant pressure. Here he would like to refer to that remarkable man, General Wingate, who conceived and put into practice the new tactics of infiltration with airborne support. The Chindit Expedition demonstrated new possibilities and gave back the confidence that British troops, rightly led and equipped, could beat the Japanese in the jungles.

Before final victory came the Japanese counter-offensive, which was defeated, on the frontiers of India, and from that time we never looked back until we reached Rangoon. General Stilwell's American-trained Chinese troops played an important part, but the master stroke was the landing from the air of large British forces which cut the Japanese forces in two, and which were maintained from the air for many weeks. This was arranged by General Wingate, who, unhappily, did not live to see success achieved. Tribute was due to the Americans in the air, to General Stilwell's Chinese forces; but the main brunt was borne by British and Indian troops and predominantly by the Indian Army, and Generals Slim, Stopford and others were worthy leaders operating in the later stages under the command of General Leese. Of the one million troops in the Burma campaign no fewer than 700,000 were Indians, and twenty of the thirty-one Victoria Crosses were won in the S.E.A.C. theatre. They were pleased to have three of these V.C.s with them that day.

Throughout the campaign the R.A.F. and the U.S. Air Force supported and supplied the Army, and in spite of appalling flying conditions established complete air superiority. He would like to say a word about the magnificent work of the medical services. In the early stages the sickness rates on the Burma front were so high that it was a most serious factor hampering any offensive action. Some of the areas on the N.E. Indian frontier were the most heavily infected in the world, but in course of time the doctors overcame these difficulties, and in the latter part of the campaign the health of the troops was remarkably good.

Another body of persons who should be mentioned were the prisoners of war and interned civilians who maintained the honour of our people in the presence of the enemy. We must also remember the benefits received from the vast American assault on Japan from the Pacific which weakened and undermined the Japanese in the East. There could seldom have been a greater change of scene than that which occurred in South-East Asia between 1942 and 1945, and we could now rejoice that peace had come.

Now we had to face all the difficulties of re-establishing and resettling the vast area in which the old order had endured for hundreds of years and which had been

shaken to its foundations. Before the war new ideas were germinating in Asia, the East was changing every day and every hour, and it was our responsibility and pride that we in this country and other members of the United Nations should bring our imagination and our genius into play so that we could help and guide the people all over the world to recognize the greatness of the task of building the world in the days to come.

Admiral Sir GEOFFREY LAYTON said that now that the war with Japan was ended it was interesting to look back on its progress since December 8, 1941, when they launched their attack on Malaya, and carried on with their full flood of success until they had conquered the whole of their much coveted and talked of South-East Asia. They quickly ran through Malaya, Borneo, the Philippine Islands and the Dutch East Indies, and met no check whatever until they attacked Ceylon in April, 1942.

With the fall of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies the Navy had to fall back on Colombo and Trincomalee, which were our farthest eastern harbours which provided necessary facilities for our fleet to operate from, and there reconstruct our very much shattered naval forces in the East. The gravity of the situation was obvious. If we lost Ceylon we should be denied our life-line between the Middle East and Australia. We should have been denied the whole of the exports from India and from Ceylon, including the practically only remaining source of our crude rubber supplies, and, worse even than that, we should have had no harbours east of Africa from which to launch our ultimate offensive.

Ceylon at the time was to all intents and purposes unarmed, but thanks largely to the efforts of the Ceylonese, when the Japanese attacked in April, which was only about a month after we were able to commence building up our defences, we had advanced to such an extent that we were able to give the Japanese the first real rebuff they had so far received. They sent a powerful fleet to the Indian Ocean for this attack. Fortunately Admiral Sir James Somerville, with his very much inferior fleet, was able to avoid action, retiring to the west of the Maldive Islands, or we should have undoubtedly had still further disasters to record in the unfortunate chapter which terminated at that time.

Admiral Somerville retired to the east coast of Africa to reconstruct his fleet and remained there until the September of 1943, by when he was in a position to offer battle to any attack the Japanese were likely to launch, and he shifted his bases back from Kilindini to Trincomalee. In the meantime preparations for the offensive were rapidly progressed in the island. The South-East Asia Command under Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten was set up and he moved his headquarters at the end of 1943 to Ceylon. From then on during 1944 we gradually took the offensive. The Fleet attacked Sabang, Palembang, Penang and the Nicobar and Andaman Islands. Our submarines carried out an active offensive in the Straits of Malacca and even farther east. The Pacific Fleet came into being also at the end of 1944 and set up its headquarters under Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser in Australia where, together with the United States Fleet, it joined the attack on the Japanese in the Pacific and, as a result of their combined relentless pressure, together with the East Indies Fleet under Admiral Sir Arthur Power, who had succeeded Admiral Somerville, operating on the western flank, the final collapse of Japan was brought about.

He took the opportunity of stressing the credit which was due to the people of Ceylon who, in the early days of 1942, practically unarmed, watched with trepidation the successive collapse of world-famed strongholds such as Hongkong, Singapore, Manila and the East Indies, collapsing like packs of cards under the Japanese attack. It was easy to imagine what their feelings must have been, knowing full well that they would be the next target upon which the full might of Japan would fall; but they buckled to, and the way in which they assisted and eventually, together with our own forces, succeeded in giving the Japanese their first real rebuff must go down in history to their eternal credit.

The work of our ships in the Far Eastern waters had not been easy. Many of them were not designed for tropical service. They had to carry far greater ships' companies than they were originally built for, owing to the introduction of radar, ack-ack and other modern developments of warfare. Mess-decks have been heated

and over-crowded; recreation has not been easy to provide. Sea-time has extended to periods never before dreamt of in modern warfare, but the personnel have stuck to it and their reward for their devoted service under the most difficult conditions has now come about. We hoped it would not be long before they returned home and enjoyed the fruits of their labours.

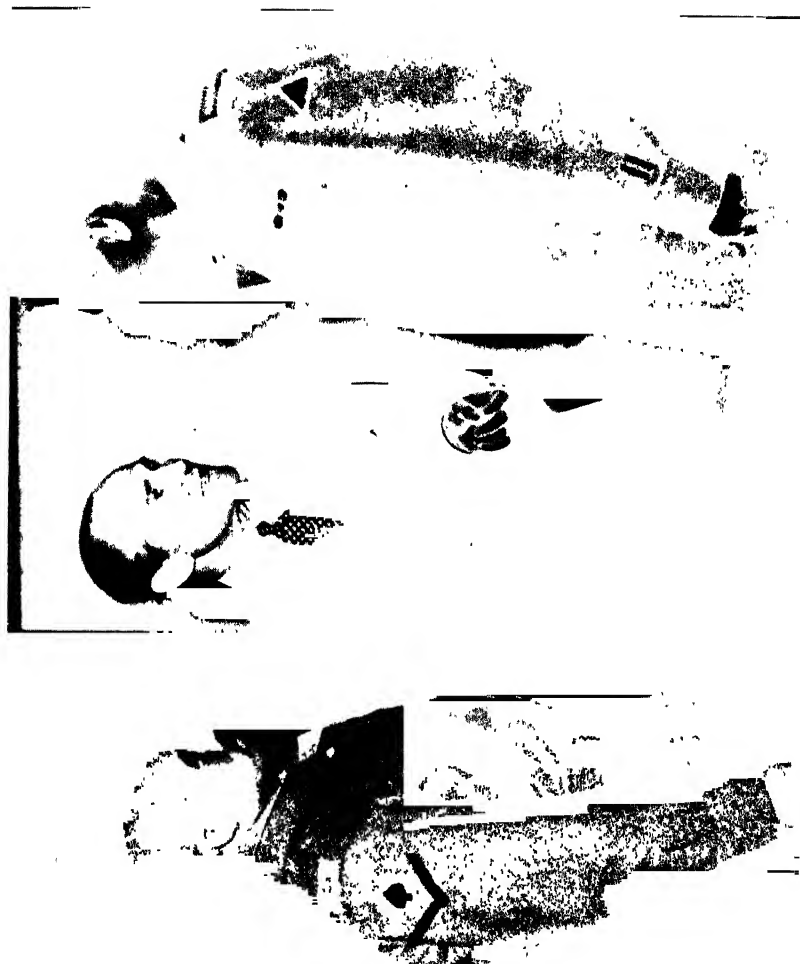
General Sir GEORGE GIFFARD said that he was glad to be able to pay a tribute to the magnificent body of men who had conquered Burma, and who would undoubtedly have reconquered Malaya and the other possessions in the Far East but for the collapse of Japan. Last year Mr. Winston Churchill, in speaking of the Fourteenth Army, said: "This Army has by its aggressive operations guarded the American air base and air line to China and protected India from the horrors of a Japanese invasion." In those words he put in clear perspective the vital part which the Fourteenth Army had played under General Slim during the battles of last year. The crushing of the Japanese advance towards Imphal and Kohima and the advance towards the Chindwin was all one battle, which ended in the capture of Rangoon.

When Field-Marshal Lord Wavell visited the troops at Imphal during the course of the battle he said: "You will find that when the history of the war comes to be written the recent fighting will go down as one of the turning points of the war when the Jap was routed and the end of the war began. . . . You have dealt a damaging blow to the enemy's morale; and it is the breaking of the enemy's morale which finishes wars in the end." From this victory followed the descent into Burma, the capture of Rangoon and the driving of the relics of the Japanese Army out of Burma.

That was the culminating point, and that success was built up from very small beginnings. When the withdrawal from Burma was completed a completely new Army had to be formed. India was unprepared for war on her eastern frontier, and owing to her magnificent contribution to the Middle East there were not many troops in India. An attempt was made early in 1943 to take Arakan, which the Japanese had occupied, and to cover the base at Chittagong and the aerodromes from which the aeroplanes were working in Bengal, but owing to lack of training it was not a great success, so that in May, 1943, a fresh start had to be made. There were deficiencies in equipment, shortage of trained reinforcements, lack of welfare arrangements, long service overseas for the British troops, inadequate leave in India due to slowness of transport, indifferent rations, much sickness, slow mails and apparent indifference at home, and these, together with the exaggerated opinion of the efficiency of the Japanese, combined to lower the morale and sap the confidence of the Army as a whole. During the monsoon of 1943 a drive was made to retain, re-equip and reorganize to a large extent, and to bring up reinforcements. A tremendous lot of work was done by everybody in India, and by October, when Lord Louis took charge, and when the weather improved and it became possible to operate, the Fourteenth Army was formed and the fruits began to appear of the work put in during the past six months.

Operations began slowly at first, but they gathered momentum when the troops found that the Japanese were neither so skilful nor so well equipped as they were themselves. From that time there was a steady and ever-increasing rise in confidence and morale which carried the men right through from victory to victory. These victories were not won under easy conditions; the conditions were of great hardship both in climate and terrain. Rations were never very good. For instance, the times that one could give the troops fresh meat were relatively rare, because it was impossible to carry the beasts over the long distances. It was possible later to fly frozen meat to the British troops, but the Indian troops suffered severely because the killing of their beasts had to be carried out in accordance with their religious rites.

Then there were diseases such as malaria, dysentery, jungle typhus and other tropical complaints, which caused a great deal of sickness. He wished to reinforce what Lord Pethick-Lawrence said with regard to the wonderful work done by the medical services. In 1943 the rate of entry into hospital was 11 per 1,000 per day, but



EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION VICTORY RECEPTION.

Lance Naik Bhanbhagata Gurung Bogader J. G. Smyth, V.C.
 V.C., 34 Gurkhas. 39th Indian Mountain Regt.



LAST INDIA ASSOCIATION VICTORY RECEPTION.

Admiral S. Geoffrey Layton.

Lady Giffard.

Lady Sikes.

by the middle of 1944 it was less than 3 per 1,000 per day. Since then further improvement had taken place.

Fighting the Jap was always a tough business because he did not surrender. Every single Jap had to be killed; the proportion of prisoners was very low.

What the Army succeeded in doing would never have been possible without the close co-operation, the assistance and help of the Royal Air Force and the United States Air Force. They supplied the troops with food, ammunition, petrol; everything that one could think of was flown to the troops and either dropped from the aircraft or delivered by landings on hastily prepared airfields. Nothing could have been done without this assistance from the air.

Owing to lack of landing craft it was not possible, until just before the end, to have close co-operation with the Navy, but whenever it was possible it was first-class. He would like to say a word of thanks to General Headquarters in India, under General Sir Claud Auchinleck, for the great support they gave. Whatever it was—reinforcements, equipment, it did not matter what he asked for—Sir Claud Auchinleck always seemed able to produce it.

What did the Army consist of? There were battalions from nearly every British regiment: there were Scotsmen, Englishmen, Welshmen, Irishmen, in every unit up and down the Army; there were West Africans and East Africans, and then there was the Indian Army itself, the backbone of all the fighting in Burma and that part of the world. The Indian Army was a truly magnificent Army; its regiments were recruited from races whose names have been household words for centuries, and all of them volunteered. It was the first time that Africans had ever fought outside their own continent, and they were all volunteers. The success of the Army was the best testimonial to its officers and men. Victory was won by the inspired leadership of the commanders, from the junior lance-corporal to Sir William Slim, by courage in battle, by steady endurance under conditions which were as bad as any in the world, by determination to defeat the enemy, by that spirit, which really made an Army, of co-operation between all arms and all services, and finally by discipline. The Secretary of State for War, after his return from the Far East, said: "Their self-control was wonderful, and perhaps the victory over themselves was not their least achievement. The self-control and the fine bearing of our men out there have increased my faith in the future of this country." He was speaking of British troops, but those words could be applied to the whole of the Army, which had distinguished itself by these great qualities.

Air Marshal Sir WILLIAM CORYTON said that there was no need for him to go back into the early history from the air point of view in the war in Burma. In the first two years it was rather a repetition of what one met elsewhere, unpreparedness and lack of resources, and it was better to pass to the middle of 1944 when the Air Force began to get not only adequate air equipment but also a proper technical standard. Not very much could be done without an adequate technical standard.

The real interest from the air point of view of the campaign had undoubtedly been the enormous use which had been made of air supply. Air supply was not a blessing which could always be supplied because a very great deal of hard fighting had to be done by the Air Forces before they could meet a heavy air supply commitment. To carry out this enormous task, which attained a peak figure of 3,000 tons a day flown to the Fourteenth Army, one had to make certain that one's opponent in the air was innocuous and that the air was clear, and he would therefore pay credit to the squadrons of heavy bombers and the medium bombers and fighters which enabled the transports to do their work.

Those squadrons were composed of American, Indian, British and Canadian squadrons. They had two main tasks; they had to clear the Japanese completely out of the air, and, secondly, they had to ensure the very maximum destruction on the Japanese lines of communication from Siam and from Rangoon to their forward area. Results show that they did the work magnificently. Another unique feature of the campaign from the air point of view was the intensity of the fighter bomber support which was given to the forward fighting troops of the Fourteenth Army. In spite of maintenance and supply difficulties these squadrons operated at

a continuous rate of effort which had not been approached before. A glance at the map will show that with the existing land communications aircraft were, in fact, the most economical and almost the only method of producing for the Army the support and supplies which they required over such a large battle area.

Sir William Coryton wished to pay a very great tribute to the assistance received from the Army and from the Navy. The Army were responsible for producing the airfields and ground communications—no mean problem—and the Navy met all the enormous demands made upon it to enable the Air Forces to supply the Army.

SOME PROBLEMS OF FUTURE SECURITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL G. N. MOLESWORTH, C.S.I.

Now that both Germany and Japan have surrendered the world turns from the arduous task of making war to the stupendous task of ensuring world security. Unless security arrangements are 100 per cent. foolproof there can be no possible hope or guarantee of lasting peace, and all our sacrifices will go for nothing.

The task of ensuring peace has not been made any easier by the discovery of the means of releasing atomic energy. It is not a matter that can be kept secret; indeed, if it is to be used for the benefit of mankind it should not be kept secret. Control will not be easy. This scientific discovery has placed in the hands of mankind a vast instrument for good or ill, which may either revolutionize civilization or destroy it.

Thus we are today faced with problems which are no longer the exclusive concern of Governments, but affect each one of us individually. We have, each one of us, a vital responsibility for understanding the principles on which lasting peace can be based—for peace is the only future hope for civilization—for thinking continually about these principles and contributing our own small individual share to their practice and preservation.

Today I am only going to consider very tentatively a small portion of this question of future world security over a very limited field. My object is little more than "to start you thinking" on problems which lie before us in the immediate future, in an area in which this Association is particularly interested. I would, however, like to stress that, whatever arrangements may be made in the future, we have always the unknown factor of human nature before us. Occasions arise when human elements predominate, and no considerations of equity, economics, life and death, or common sense will prevent people breaking the peace, whether it be for considerations of greed or despair. It is when we are faced, as we may well be faced, with such a situation that world security will be really put to the test. Either it will succeed or civilization will collapse.

THE CHARTER

Already some of our best brains are thinking deeply and much valuable preliminary work has been done at San Francisco. Public interest has been aroused and the Charter of the United Nations is before the world. It is not my intention to discuss this important and imposing document in any detail. But for my purpose today certain articles require brief mention.

Articles 1 and 2 set forth purposes and principles. These are briefly: firstly, to maintain international peace and security; and, secondly, to achieve international co-operation in economic, social, cultural and humanitarian questions.

Articles 23 to 54 deal with the establishment of the Security Council, which will have primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. This is outside my field today. But Article 43 is of particular interest, for it deals with the contributions to be made by all members of the United Nations in the event of any threat

to the peace. Such contributions include arrangements for the provision of armed forces, assistance, facilities and right of passage.

As I see it, the outstanding features of the whole document are, firstly, interdependence and co-operation between units on a world-wide basis; and, secondly, contribution by each unit, in some form, to the common cause. Perhaps the main factor in cementing the interdependent and co-operating units, and the underlying element in the Charter, is common funk. It is with the application of the elements of the Charter to India and its limitrophe countries that I am concerned today.

It is necessary to look back very briefly to some of India's security problems in the past. Defence has been, and will be in the future, closely related to constitutional, political, economic and social factors, in both the internal and external fields. It is no longer possible to consider defence in a professional, or even national, vacuum. It is closely linked with every facet of national and international life. Expenditure on defence in peace was the insurance premium which every country was prepared to pay in the hope—generally a slender one—that it would be an adequate guarantee against an aggressor. If civilization is to be preserved in the future that premium may have to be increased; those who can afford it will, in their own interests, have to contribute to aid those who can afford less. Parish-pump policy must take a back seat.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

During the period of British occupation—I need go no further back—India has never been able to stand on her own feet in matters of defence. The commitments for which she could accept financial responsibility have been governed by limitations of subcontinental size, vast land and sea frontiers, special racial and tribal factors, low standards of living and the difficulties of raising revenue, rather than the lack of actual resources.

At sea she has relied for security on the British taxpayer and the Pax Britannica, which is the gift of the Royal Navy. She has in recent years made a valuable contribution to her own local naval defence and the security of trade routes in the Indian Ocean. But that has literally been a drop in the ocean.

Within her boundaries her land forces have been sufficient to :

- (a) Defend her major ports.
- (b) Secure her internal strategic communications.
- (c) Aid the civil power in an emergency.
- (d) Maintain the *status quo* in tribal areas.
- (e) Defend her frontiers against an aggressor.
- (f) Provide a small general reserve.

Air forces have been a comparatively recent and valuable, though expensive, addition. At first responsibility fell on the Royal Air Force, but now India has her own Air Force, which will grow in efficiency and size—and cost.

There have also been forces available in those maintained by Indian States. These have maintained security within State confines, and of the strategic communications which pass through State territory. They have also made a great contribution to imperial and allied causes.

But India has never been called upon, unaided, to resist a major aggressor, either by sea, land or air. It has always been recognized that aid would be sent to her in such circumstances, and she was not called on to provide forces to meet this major emergency. During the two world wars she made a great contribution in men—apart from anything else—to theatres outside India. But the criterion, in peace and war, has been that any forces sent out of India should not be to the detriment of her own territorial security. The main picture is one of the acceptance of limited local responsibility, based on the capacity to discharge it.

INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

India has in the past been fortunately situated for defence. Her geographical position, with no major power in close proximity by sea or land, has been her saviour. Natural obstacles of mountain, desert and forest have combined to render the defence of her enormous land frontier a reasonable commitment with limited resources. The

28 *Some Problems of Future Security in the Indian Ocean Area*

traditional gateways on the west have always been vulnerable spots, whether the danger has come from central Asiatic hordes, tribal incursions, Tsarist Russia or Hitler in his drive to the Caucasus. To the east there has never been a threat, until Japan showed how closely Burma, though separated politically and geographically, is strategically joined to India. But what held for the past no longer holds for the future. Aircraft are only in their infancy, and to them physical land obstacles are little or no obstacles at all. Her vulnerability has increased by several hundred per cent. and is increasing.

By sea her enormous coastline is extremely vulnerable, as the Japanese have shown. Here her safety lies in keeping potential aggressors far from her waters.

Politically she is not so well placed. She is enclosed by nations which are constitutionally, economically or socially unstable. To the west lie Iran and Afghanistan; to the north-west Sinkiang, in which both Russia and China are interested; to the north are Nepal and Tibet, both undeveloped; to the east is Burma, with Siam beyond. Leaving Burma aside, none of these countries may, in itself, be likely to wish to disturb the peace. But indirectly, by reason of their instability and weakness, they are individually and collectively potential danger-points.

In general, the outlook for the countries bordering the Indian Ocean is not too rosy. Not only have modern developments complicated and increased their defence problems, but there are many other problems of interdependence and co-operation which are at present almost virgin soil.

SECURITY REGIONS

I now turn to the future. The San Francisco Charter has cleared the ground as regards principles, but there is much detail yet to be worked out. Beneath the umbrella of the World Security Council there will have to be local responsibility in regions yet to be defined. Such security regions or zones will contain interdependent units, who will co-operate and contribute primarily to the solution of their own security problems. But the regions themselves will, no doubt, be interlocked, one region helping another in an emergency.

We do not yet know how or where these regions will take shape, or how many there will be. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that India, by reason of her size, position, man power and resources—to say nothing of her aspirations—might be the major partner in a region lying between Africa and the Middle East on the one hand, and such regions as may be formed in the Far East and Pacific on the other. The other units with which she might be associated would be those in close proximity to the Indian Ocean.

In considering such a region, with India as its centre, economic, cultural and social factors must come into full account, as well as those of strategy. We can no longer think solely in terms of imperial commitments.

To the west there would be obvious objections to the inclusions of any portions of Africa, the Red Sea littoral or Saudi Arabia. With the possible exception of the Hadramaut they look elsewhere than to the Indian Ocean. Culturally, Iraq and Iran are more closely linked to the Middle East—particularly if we bear in mind the terms of the Saadabad Pact. But strategically Indian Ocean defence is very closely linked with the Basra Vilayet, the Persian Gulf, the Trucial Sheikdoms, South Iran, and those parts of Eastern Iran through which runs the route from India to Meshed.

Afghanistan is in many ways linked to India, and her peoples are closely related to those on the Indian side of the Durand Line. Her outlet to the sea is through India. Nepal has close affinities to India, but Sinkiang and Tibet lie beyond the Himalayan wall and may perhaps be excluded. Affairs in both countries will, however, always be a concern to any Government in India.

Ceylon, Burma and Malaya, whose defence is closely bound up with that of India, are obvious candidates for inclusion. So also is the Netherlands East Indies, together with Borneo, Sarawak and Labuan. Siam and Indo-China are borderline cases. Culturally they have few connections with the peoples of the Indian Ocean. It may be that, weak as they are, they would fit more conveniently and appropriately into a Far Eastern Region.

THE LIMITS DEFINED

As a minimum, however, an Indian Ocean Region might well comprise the Persian Gulf and its littoral, Eastern Iran (possibly the whole of Iran for administrative convenience), Afghanistan, India, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, Borneo, Sarawak and Labuan. This would give an adequate number of interdependent units, but not too many; a sufficiency of material resources and man power; and strategically an area which would not be too large for the rapid movement of reinforcements in an emergency. Strategically, also, it provides space for defence in depth and for the central location of reserves of material, production and forces.

It remains to be seen what contribution the units so grouped could make to their own and world security. It must be assumed that the first commitment of any unit would be its own internal stability. Beyond that, any surplus—and there will have to be a surplus—will go, firstly, towards regional and, secondly, world needs. This assumption, of course, rules out the “internationalizing” of all armed forces. Any such project, except for very special needs, or for special weapons, bristles with difficulties.

India, by reason of her location, size, resources and growing importance, would probably form the hard core of the organization. Her responsibilities would be directly commensurate with her capacity. Indirectly she might be asked to place facilities at the disposal of the World Council for the location and training of reserves raised, and paid for, outside India. In the material and industrial fields her contribution may be even greater than in the purely military field. It might well be that the directional and co-ordinating organism for the region would best be located in India. In the fields of culture and research she would doubtless contribute much.

The other units, with the exception of the Netherlands East Indies, have limited resources and would, at any rate at first, contribute more in the form of material and supplies than armed force. The Netherlands East Indies possessed considerable armed forces in the past. No doubt she would wish to re-establish and, perhaps, increase these. But whatever the resources of a unit may be, it seems essential that she should be expected to prepare some force which, in an emergency, could be made available for a common cause.

In considering the purely military side of the problem of contribution we must remember that the size, composition and armament of forces may undergo very considerable change in the future. New weapons and new methods of transportation may reduce the number of men required. But whatever the weapons produced and the method of their employment, men will be required to handle them. Moreover, men will for a very long time be the most suitable medium for the preservation of order, in circumstances not amounting to major war. India has always possessed men who, by tradition and nature, are well suited to handle weapons, and whose integrity can be relied on. She may for some years be asked to include them, in full measure, in her contribution.

CO-ORDINATION

But it is not on armed force that the main basis of security within a region will rest. Much will depend on the quality of the co-ordinated and co-operative planning and interchange of information between the interdependent units. I quote the Charter again, which enjoins “the solving of international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinctions as to race, sex, language or religion.” Co-operation on these lines is the greatest guarantee for lasting peace.

It may be that the reaction of many of my listeners to what I have said may take the form of two questions. In the first place, what is the good of considering the theoretical problems of a small portion of the world security scheme, while the central structure is still in the melting pot?

It is a disturbing fact that the first conference of the Foreign Ministers of the United Nations has broken up without reaching any major decisions. This is, per-

haps, not so surprising as it appears at first sight. The stark fact of the emergence from the fires of this war of a new Russia as a world Power, with very definite ideas on her place in the future Europe, has not yet had time to sink in. It is only natural that the ideas of a totalitarian State on how other States should be governed in a reorganized world should not coincide with those of the great western democracies. But, although the hitch which has occurred will cause unfortunate delay, there seems no reason why, after a period for thought, a *via media* will not be found.

There is also a disturbing element in the reactions of American opinion and Congress to the appeals put forward by the United States Service Chiefs for the post-war forces to be maintained. General Marshall has asked for a nucleus on which to be able to mobilize four million men within one year in an emergency. It seems unlikely that he will get this. If the United States go back on world security the outlook is a poor one.

There is also the unknown element of the atomic bomb. This may or may not be a bogey. On the one hand, the secret will not be easy to keep; on the other, we are told that cost may be the limiting factor. Whatever the truth, atomic energy may be the determining element in any plans for security and may revolutionize any preconceived ideas.

But in spite of these disturbing and somewhat unknown factors there is surely no harm in considering and ventilating ideas on both major and minor problems. There is much force in the contention of General Smuts that patience and friendly discussion will overcome present difficulties.

POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

In the second place, what is the good of considering a world security region in which all the units are politically and militarily backward and undeveloped?

It is perfectly true that these terms can be applied to all the units I have suggested as those which might form part of an Indian Ocean Region. Iran and Afghanistan are constitutionally and economically unstable; militarily they are archaic. India is torn with disunity and communal feeling; but she has a sound military organization; an industrial system capable of much development; and Indian ideas have been broadened by the experience and responsibilities of war. Burma and Ceylon are poor, to a great extent defenceless, and politically inexperienced. Siam is dangerously weak in every department. Malaya has always had to rely on Britain for defence; her politics are extremely complex owing to her mixed population. In the Netherlands East Indies we now see a strong Indonesian reaction to European rule.

Throughout the region the war—and ideas of Japanese co-prosperity—have given a vast stimulus to popular aspirations and half-baked ideas of self-government and independence. We, as a democracy, have done much to sow and foster those ideas, so we cannot now complain. Indeed, it seems possible that many people in this country will have to revolutionize their own ideas on the future of Eastern peoples, and whole-heartedly accept the inevitable. It is surely the time not for repression, but for the wise direction of popular aspiration along sound channels, and for ensuring that progress to the ultimate goal is neither too rough nor too rapid.

If that view is taken it is surely necessary to begin to think out the problems at once, so that advances can be made beneath an umbrella of peace and constitutional progress go hand-in-hand with security. All of which, I am afraid, implies that for a very considerable period aid in one form or another will have to come from outside to ensure the security of the Indian Ocean Region.

In what I have put before you there is nothing new. The conception of an Indian Ocean defensive bloc has been considered in the past. It has, however, always foundered on the rocks of interdependence and co-operation—or, rather, independence and non-co-operation. Thus people like myself, and others of far greater eminence, have been regarded as dreamers and Utopians. But the dream has now got to come true. The world is face to face with stark facts. The dreams of independence and national isolation, in which many Eastern thinkers have been, and are, indulging, have been torn to shreds by the release of atomic energy. No one can afford now to allow others to be independent. We are all in the same boat and travelling over a stormy and unknown sea. Unless we all pull together we are

bound for the rocks. There are plenty of rocks, some known, some unknown. We are all responsible for keeping a sharp look-out, not only to point out dangers which we may spot, but to ensure that those who are responsible do not steer a course which will bring us to destruction.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, October 30, 1945, when Lieut.-General G. N. MOLESWORTH, C.S.I., read the foregoing paper. Lord HAILEY, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.F., presided.

The CHAIRMAN thought he need say little by way of introduction either of the lecturer or of the subject of the lecture. General Molesworth had high qualifications to speak on this subject, of which moreover he had made a special study. No one could doubt the importance of the question of defence, but in discussing it one was in somewhat of a dilemma. There were projects for an organization of the United Nations, which through its Security Council would supervise and supplement the efforts of individual nations for the provision of security and perhaps would entirely replace them. On the other hand, there were the undisclosed possibilities of the atomic bomb which might put war entirely out of court, or it might create a situation in which those very few nations which could manufacture it might dominate the whole world. In view of these undisclosed possibilities many thought that it was almost irrelevant to discuss questions of defence other than on a "global" scale. Was that really so? There were local problems of defence which could be discussed with some air of reality in the light of our experiences and knowledge of local factors. The problem of the defence of India was certainly one of them. It was a matter of supreme importance not only to India but to this country, because India was a focal point in our Imperial communications.

General Molesworth then read his paper.

Sir JEREMY RAISMAN said that he was very much indebted to General Molesworth for an extremely interesting and thought-provoking paper. The two factors which he emphasized, interdependence and co-operation, were the main factors in the problem both of regional security and world security. He had found himself constantly beset in the field of Indian activity during the war by problems arising from the absence of international co-operation, and now saw that the sort of problems which were always thought of as being confined to India and the British Empire were equally at home throughout the whole world. What had hitherto been seen was an India complaining of the disproportionate cost of defence, but the war came and India found that the cost of defence went up to figures which seemed fantastic. The total defence budget was multiplied about ten times, but in spite of that a situation arose in which the British taxpayer felt that he had been called upon to bear an undue burden in relation to the waging of the war in the territories contiguous to India.

There was the problem of the relation of America to the cost of the war, a problem which was now being worked out in Washington. Many present economic troubles were due to the fact that that problem had not been solved. It used to be said that finance would never stop a war, but at the present moment we all realized that the most serious aspect of war was its economic consequences. Finance could be ignored during the war, but it came back with terrific force at the end. The present position which we, America and India were facing, was due to the lack of any rational scheme of interdependence and co-operation in the maintenance of a

common responsibility. America only came in at a certain stage when a tremendous amount of blood and treasure had been poured out and Britain had become impoverished. The ordinary Congressman thought that America's responsibility dated from her entry, and he could not be made to realize that he should make a further contribution because of the additional burden which Britain bore during the stage when she was defending civilization singlehanded.

How did this affect India? India from her own resources had provided an enormous part of the material for war. At the outbreak of war the largest professional Army in the British Empire was situated in and being maintained by India, and that had much to do with the outcome of the campaign in North Africa, which saw the beginning of the turning point of the whole war. But it did come back to the question of why should India have to provide so much from her own resources. Did it not throw some light on the old question of what was the proper function of India? Later on Allied armies swarmed into India, and the old idea that India should maintain the armies located within her own boundaries became completely meaningless. A country as poor as India could not be expected to maintain the armies needed for the waging of the world war, and it was a difficult matter to disentangle and define the various elements which should be determined in order to answer the problem. That brought him back to a fundamental consideration in these matters. A country could not expect to be interested in the maintenance of peace unless its standard of living was such that the people found it worth while to make sacrifices to maintain peace. A man could not be persuaded to undergo great sacrifices in time of peace as well as war if, broadly speaking, life was not very much worth living. A tolerable standard of living was an essential part in the realization of responsibility for a general scheme of defence and the maintenance of world peace. It was precisely because problems of that kind had not been worked out that the world was in the trouble it was in at the moment.

These problems were not incapable of rational treatment. In the domestic sphere they had been solved where it was realized that the maintenance of internal law and order was something for which everyone had to pay; but those who could afford more had to pay a great deal more, and in times of war the wealthier classes of the community were made to contribute an enormous share. Similarly, an international system of peace required a gradation of contribution of resources, not merely money, but real resources. Countries like India would be given a tolerable quota, and countries like America would have to bear a very much larger share than they had been used to thinking of in the years of isolation, or even in the years when they first began to realize that the Atlantic was no more a defence to them than the English Channel was to Great Britain.

Colonel E. W. SLAUGHTER, C.B.E. (Adviser to the Nizam's Government), said that Sir Jeremy Raisman had spoken of the cost of the Army in India, but that was a small financial problem compared with that now before India. He thought that the strategic plan put forward by General Molesworth was one which could only be coupled with a much larger one in dealing with the defence of India. There were five partners in the defence of that part of the world: India, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the Far Eastern Colonies. He did not see how the smaller countries mentioned could possibly be relied upon even with co-operation and interdependence—so vitally stressed by General Molesworth—unless these five countries mentioned were of the same mind. They had faced two wars, and had endured great strain, and they would have to take a bigger view of the problems arising out of defence of the Indian Ocean. If they were not reliable partners in the Commonwealth of Nations we should have another failure. There must not be problems similar to those set us by Ireland. These members of the Commonwealth must be bound by a common purpose, and co-operate closely by both sea, air and land under one command.

Sir Jeremy Raisman had laid almost the whole financial burden on America; the General had suggested that India could not afford it. Who could? It must be proportionately borne, and it seemed to the speaker that, as Sir Jeremy Raisman had rightly said, it depended very much on the standard of living and national outlook

of the peoples. Many of those present had played a small part in trying to raise the standard of living in India, and if more was done as was anticipated India would not be so dependent on the other members of the Commonwealth.

It was the wider and dependable co-operation that should be the basis of our strategic policy in that part of the world. General Molesworth's plan was too narrow, and in his view it must be broadened to include the co-operation of the other members of the Commonwealth mentioned, to make the defence measures secure. To do this all must plan for improved social and economic standards; only this would make the defence of these countries worth while.

Major WYATT, M.P., said that assuming India had achieved her political independence Britain would still be under some obligation for her defence. At the moment one of our most direct air routes passed over Rajputana, and if India had her political independence then our direct responsibility for her defence must shift to Indian hands and must rest with the Indian Army. At the moment the senior officers of the Indian Army were British, and that could not continue indefinitely. He would like to know how long General Molesworth thought it would take to train a sufficiency of Indian personnel to make the Army efficient. It was a big question and one which had to be thought out straightaway.

General MOLESWORTH said that it took officers like himself thirty to thirty-five years to grow. Indian officers were now being brought to the rank of Brigadier, but there were not many of them when one thought of the enormous size of the Indian Defence Forces. He thought that the complete Indianization of the Indian Army and the time it would take for India to stand on her own feet militarily, and, perhaps, politically and constitutionally, would be from now to thirty to sixty years, and it could not be any figure less than that. Progress must not be too slow or too rapid, and that was the crux of the matter. In the meantime, in some form or another, with British personnel wholeheartedly co-operating as they had always done, progress would continue.

If India got her own Constitution how would the defence of India and the question of resources, communications and other things work? He believed there would have to be a clear indication by the World Security Council of its requirements on the basis of the Charter. India was one of the finest training grounds in the world; there was plenty of room, infinite variety in the terrain and in the climate; in fact, everything which was required for the training of forces. He believed that there would have to be in India definite areas in which strategic air reserves, and possibly strategic land and naval reserves, would have to be allocated. It was nonsense for anyone to suggest that an independent India could be isolated, but that did not mean that Indians would not have as much freedom as the British.

Mr. Z. A. SULERI said that he was very much interested in the regional scheme of defence around the Indian Ocean, as outlined by General Molesworth, but was surprised to hear Sir Jermy Raisman say that the inducement to go to war was determined by a high standard of living. For it was hard for him to believe that Great Britain went to war to maintain her high standard of living. To his mind the only inducement to go to war was whether the ideology believed in by a people was worth preserving and worth fighting for. If Mussulmans in India were for fighting the Japanese, it was not so much for strategic reasons as for the fact that the ideas the Japanese stood for were contrary to Islam.

General Molesworth was recommending his scheme of regional defence for the Indian Ocean area at a time when the question of partition was to the fore in India. Outwardly it might look as if Mussulmans could not appreciate the General's scheme of regional defence. Such an impression was erroneous. For let it be understood that the Muslim idea of Pakistan did not preclude Muslim association in any such scheme of defence. Muslim nationalism did not stand for isolation. On the contrary, Mussulmans stood for full-blooded co-operation with all the progressive countries of the world. That co-operation would be worth while only after the Mussulmans were assured that they would be free to live their own peculiar life, under the

34 *Some Problems of Future Security in the Indian Ocean Area*

governance of ideas which they held most dear. All Mussulmans sought to preserve was their distinct way of life, a way of life which Britons could easily understand, inasmuch as they themselves had a distinct way of life, of which they were justly proud. The Muslim way of life could be preserved only in partition. Otherwise the Hindu majority was bound to affect it adversely. It was at points like these that to the Muslim mind fighting became the only way out of the difficulty. Assured of that way of life, Mussulmans were anxious to play their part in any regional scheme of defence. For them interdependence was the keystone to world security.

In summing up the CHAIRMAN recalled his preliminary observations regarding the relevance of discussion of problems of defence in spite of the fact that there was looming in the distance the possibility of a global security scheme. He felt justified in having made those observations by what General Molesworth had said regarding the way in which India could fit into the scheme of global defence and the contribution which she could make to it. General Molesworth had examined the question from two points of view, (1) the contribution which India herself could make, and (2) the possibility of her making an increased contribution in association with some of the adjoining countries as part of a regional scheme of defence. Everyone would agree that, viewed as a region, the associated nations to which he referred, headed by India, would from the point of view of global security constitute at present a somewhat weak combination. In view of their present social and political factors many of these nations would be written off at once. The Netherlands Indies might have a contribution to make, but the chief burden would undoubtedly fall on India.

India might have great industrial possibilities, but they were only now being organized on a large scale. The chief obstacle, however, to her capacity to contribute to a scheme of security lay in the low economic standards of the great mass of her population. He feared, moreover, that India, still in the mentality of dependence, would be liable to look to the sources of global defence, and fail to make of her own initiative sacrifices on a scale to which she had not been accustomed in the past.

The chief contribution which India could make to world security would not be so much on the material side for the immediate or approximate future, but in the improvement of her own internal conditions, thereby rendering her better able to take her part in the scheme of security and less liable to be a cause of possible friction in world affairs. As Sir Jeremy Raisman had reminded us, a people with low standards of living would lack the incentive to make a real contribution to world peace.

Everything that had been said that afternoon emphasized one point, that for many years India must be dependent on others. One might emphasize the principle of interdependence, and he should certainly do everything to foster the growth of the spirit of co-operation, but for many years India would be dependent for security on partnership in the Commonwealth and her association with the United Kingdom. She would have more to gain from this than from reliance on such assistance as she might obtain from other nations in the world.

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Hailey for presiding, and to General Molesworth for his address, which was carried by applause.

INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM

BY SIR JOHN WOODHEAD, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

INTRODUCTION

THE following recommendation is contained in the Report of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture held at Hot Springs, Virginia, in the autumn of 1943 :

“(a) That the governments and authorities here represented immediately undertake the task of increasing the food resources and improving the diets of their peoples in accordance with the principles and objectives outlined in the findings of the Conference, and declare to their respective peoples and to other governments and authorities here represented their intention of so doing.”

By that recommendation the representatives of forty-four Governments, including the Government of India, declared that their aim and purpose was to achieve freedom from want for all men. In my address to you this afternoon I shall endeavour to deal with some aspects of the problem of increasing the food supplies and improving the diet of the peoples of India. I have used the words “some aspects” intentionally, for the question of nutrition in India is a tremendous one, and for practical purposes is co-extensive with that of the whole future development of the country. One item of the terms of reference of the Famine Inquiry Commission appointed by the Government of India in 1944, of which I was Chairman, was “the possibility of improving the diet of the people and yield of food crops.” My remarks today will be based upon our Report, which was published about two months ago.

THE PRESENT NUTRITION POSITION

India today has a population of about 400 millions, and it has been estimated that about 30 per cent. of that enormous population does not get enough to eat; approximately three out of every ten suffer from under-nutrition. That, however, is not the whole story, for a still larger proportion suffers from malnutrition. In the case of this section of the community the diet, although adequate in quantity, is inadequate in quality; it is unbalanced. Cereals, rice, wheat and millets form the staple articles of Indian diets, but a diet composed largely of cereals does not contain enough of the nutrients required for health and needs to be supplemented by protective foods to make good its deficiencies in proteins, fat, vitamins, and mineral salts. These protective foods include pulses, vegetables, fruit, fish, meat, milk and eggs. The diet of large numbers, though it contains cereals in adequate quantities, lacks a sufficient amount of these protective foods, and it is these persons who suffer from malnutrition.

Further, a good and well-balanced diet costs more than a poor diet containing little else besides cereals. The protective foods are more expensive than the energy-yielding foods—cereals and tubers—and the poor man is forced, in order to satisfy hunger, to depend largely on the cheaper kinds of foods. This point may be illustrated in this way. Before the war it was reckoned that the cost of a well-balanced diet was about 20 rupees a month for a family containing the equivalent of four adult males, whereas that of an ill-balanced diet, sufficient in quantity but defective in quality, was about 10 rupees a month. On the assumption that the poor spend 60 per cent. of their income on food, an expenditure of 20 rupees a month on food would require an income of at least 30 rupees a month. The average monthly income of large sections of the population, urban and rural, before the war was below that level. These figures, approximate though they are, serve to indicate the gulf between possible and desirable expenditure on food. The lack of purchasing power is probably the most important cause of malnutrition.

POPULATION GROWTH

In a country in which the great majority of the people is dependent on agriculture and in which the population lives to a large extent on the food it grows itself, population growth and its bearing on food supply are matters of great importance. Between 1872, the date of the first census, and 1921 the rate of increase of India's population was not remarkably rapid, the increase during this period of fifty years being 20 per cent. This relatively slow rate of increase was due to high mortality from famine and disease. The position changed in 1921 and during the next twenty years India's population increased by over 25 per cent., an average annual increase of 1.25 per cent. as against 0.4 per cent. during the previous fifty years. The reason for this change is not far to seek. During the years 1921 to 1941 India was free from major famines, and there was no abnormal mortality from epidemic disease, such as that caused by plague and influenza during the previous twenty years. Again, though during this period the death-rate steadily declined, the birth-rate remained relatively constant with perhaps a slight tendency to fall. In British India the death-rate fell between 1920 and 1940 from 34 to 23 per thousand, while the birth-rate only fell from 37 to 34 per thousand.

India's population increased by 25 per cent. during the twenty years ending with 1941. What course is the curve of population growth likely to follow during the succeeding thirty years, say, up to 1970? That is a question which cannot be answered with certainty. Population forecasts, like many other forecasts, are apt to be falsified by events, particularly when satisfactory scientific data are lacking, but the broad conclusion seems to be justified that, in the absence of major calamities acting as checks in the Malthusian sense, the population of India will continue to grow at the present rate for several decades to come. Age composition is favourable to growth. Though decreasing, the death-rate is still high—about 23 per thousand—and the possibilities of reducing mortality by the development of health and medical services are tremendous. Schemes are now being drawn up for extending and improving these services, which, if they come to fruition, are likely to produce early results.

On the other hand, there are factors which may check the growth of population. The birth-rate fell sharply in the three years 1941, 1942 and 1943. For the ten years ending 1940 it was 34 per thousand, but by 1942 it had fallen to 29 and by 1943 to 26. This fall is important and, if continued, will strongly influence the future course of population growth. At present, however, the underlying causes are not fully understood, and if it should be due to family separation, resulting from enlistment and the growth of war industries, it is likely to be followed by a compensatory rise when normal conditions return. The growth of industry acts as a check on population growth, because normally it increases urbanization, and people living in towns and cities generally have fewer children than those living in rural areas. The declining birth-rate in the west has been associated with increasing urbanization, and it is reasonable to suppose that urbanization will have the same effect on reproduction in India as it has had in other countries of the world. The population of large cities in India increased by 7 millions (81 per cent.) during the decade 1931 to 1941, and it is possible that, with the advance in industrialization in the post-war years, the process will not only continue but will proceed at a faster rate. The loss of life in the Bengal famine was considerable; this will influence population growth in Bengal during the next few decades, but its immediate and later effects on the total population of India will probably not be great.

An analysis of all the factors concerned with population growth suggests that, in the absence of major calamities, the population of India will reach a figure of 500 millions in twenty or twenty-five years' time.

IS INDIA OVER-POPULATED?

Having regard to her vast population, the possibility that the population will increase by 100 millions in the next twenty or twenty-five years and the low standard of living of the mass of her people, the question naturally arises, Is India over-populated? That is a question, however, which cannot be answered by a simple

"Yes" or "No." Pressure of population, which, of course, varies in different parts of the country, is shown and felt in various ways. First, by the general trend of food imports and exports, India having within almost a generation become an importing rather than an exporting country. Secondly, by the decrease in the size of agricultural holdings, the fragmentation of such holdings, and the increase in the number of landless agricultural labourers, all related to the fact that the total area under cultivation has not increased as rapidly as population, so that the *per capita* area has decreased. Finally, by the continuing poverty of the mass of the people and by the widespread existence of mal- and under-nutrition, in spite of the growth in total industrial and agricultural resources and in the total wealth of the country. In view of these facts we, on the Famine Inquiry Commission, came to the conclusion that in relation to the existing stage of development of her industrial and agricultural resources India is over-populated. We, however, laid emphasis on the words "in relation to the existing stage of development of her industrial and agricultural resources," and expressed the view that these resources, if vigorously developed, were such as not only to meet the needs of the growing population, but also to effect an improvement in the standards of living and nutrition. We emphasized strongly and repeatedly the magnitude of the task involved and its imperious necessity, and concluded with a warning in these words: "Either an effort must be made on a scale hitherto unthought of or a decline in standards of living and nutrition is inevitable."

INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

During the last one hundred years Governments in India have accepted the duty of preventing widespread death from famine. The further obligation must now be accepted of taking every possible step not only to prevent starvation, but also to improve nutrition and create a healthy and vigorous population. The State should recognize, as a broad principle, its ultimate responsibility to provide enough food for all, and all the resources of Government must be brought to bear in order to achieve that end. The yield of food crops, the basic cereals and the protective foods must be increased to the greatest possible extent. The technological possibilities of increasing agricultural production are great. Dr. Burns, who was for some years Agricultural Commissioner with the Government of India, in his monograph on "Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India (1944)," estimates that the yield of rice can be increased by 30 per cent.—20 per cent. by manures, 5 per cent. by improved varieties and 5 per cent. by protecting from pests and diseases. Indeed, he considers that there would be no difficulty in increasing the yield by 50 per cent.—40 per cent. by manuring and 10 per cent. by improved varieties. According to the same authority potential increases in the yield of millets and wheat are of the order of 25 to 30 per cent. The present average yield of sugar-cane is about 15 tons per acre. Dr. Burns considers it possible to produce yields of 30 to 55 tons per acre according to the part of India. It must, however, be emphasized that these are technological possibilities, illustrating what might be achieved by thoroughly efficient agricultural methods. They are not immediate possibilities for the vast majority of the small farmers of India, and will not be fully achieved without a tremendous effort on the part of the Governments in India and of the people themselves. It is impossible, within the limits of a short address, to deal with all the steps that must be taken to step up agricultural production, and I must content myself by referring briefly to the main lines of attack. I fear they contain little really new. They have all, except one, been advocated at one time or another, and in particular by the Royal Commission on Agriculture. The provision of an assured and regular water supply is a most potent—perhaps the most potent—means of increasing agricultural production. Irrigation canals, multipurpose reservoirs, tube wells, river pumping, open wells, tanks, private irrigation works in permanently settled estates, and the conservation of rain water by contour bunding must all be developed to the utmost extent. Next to the provision of an assured water supply, the use of manures offers the most important single means of increasing the yield of crops. Hitherto the use of manures has been largely confined to the more profitable among the cash crops, and the amount applied to land on which the main crops are grown has been very

small. It is essential that the use of organic and inorganic manures should be greatly extended. Every source of fertilizing material must be utilized to the fullest extent, the supply and distribution of manures must be so managed as to ensure that they are available in all parts of the country at the cheapest possible rates, cultivators must be educated in their use, and Agricultural Departments must be in a position to give advice as to the quantity and the manner in which they should be applied. Work on the breeding of better varieties of crops must not only continue but be greatly expanded, and larger quantities of improved seed must be made available to the cultivator. Protection against pests and diseases is an important factor in increasing production; improved measures of control must be investigated and applied. Large areas in certain Provinces are infested with deep-rooted weeds. The loss in production due to these weeds is enormous; the land which is most affected remains uncultivated, and in the less-infested areas the out-turn is greatly reduced. Work on the eradication of these weeds through deep ploughing by tractors has been undertaken, and one hopes that it will prove successful. Malaria, the most common and most debilitating disease in rural India, not only seriously affects the efficiency of the cultivator, but also prevents large areas of fertile land from being cultivated. A most vigorous attack on urban and rural malaria should be launched now that the war is over. Measures for the improvement of livestock must be continued and intensified, and the experiments into the possibility of the application of methods of mixed farming should be continued and extended. And last, but not by any means the least important, the administrative and field establishments of the Agricultural Departments must be very considerably expanded. There is undoubtedly great scope for increasing agricultural production in India. But the increase necessary to feed the growing population on a satisfactory standard of nutrition will not be achieved without a tremendous effort. It is imperative that the effort should be made.

FOOD POLICY : CEREALS

The Famine Inquiry Commission outlined a food policy for the future, and I will now indicate the main points we sought to make. Cereals are the basic food of the people of India, and the Commission recommended that self-sufficiency in cereals should be one of the cardinal aims of food and agricultural policy. In putting forward this proposal it was not, however, recommended that the producer should be compelled to grow cereals in preference to other food and non-food crops. It was not considered necessary or desirable that an uneconomical diversion of cultivation from non-cereal to cereal crops should be compulsorily effected for the purpose of achieving self-sufficiency in cereals. The main cereals are rice, wheat and millets. Before the war India was self-supporting in wheat and millets at the prevailing rate of intake; there was a small export of wheat of about 200,000 tons a year. Irrigation is the most important means of increasing wheat production, and it is mainly to the development of irrigation that one must look for the increased supplies to meet future requirements. The two principal millets, jowar and bajra, are grown in areas of comparatively low rainfall. Here also large increases in yield can be obtained by irrigation, but, generally speaking, millets are grown in areas in which irrigation is difficult and is likely to remain difficult. Reliance, therefore, will have to be placed mainly on, first, dry farming methods, which include contour bunding for the conservation of rainfall, and, secondly, manuring. According to Dr. Burns an increase of the order of 20 per cent. is possible by the application of dry farming methods and the use of fertilizers. As regard rice, the position is less favourable, for before the war India was not self-sufficient in this cereal, annual imports being about 1½ million tons. If India is to be self-supporting in rice by, say, 1960, production will have to be increased by about one-third, or, roughly, by about 8 million tons. Can this increase be achieved? Large-scale irrigation schemes in Madras, Sind, and Bengal can make a very substantial contribution towards future requirements, and it may be possible by anti-malaria measures to increase considerably the area under rice in Madras and the United Provinces. But it is clear that the major part of the increase will have to come from increased yields from land already under rice cultivation. Rice yields, as I have said, can be increased by 30 per cent.—20 per cent. by

manure and 10 per cent. by improved varieties and protection from pests and diseases. The possibilities of increasing supplies of rice to the extent necessary to make India self-sufficient in that cereal must, therefore, largely depend on a large increase in the supply and use of manures. The quantities of manures and fertilizers required are, however, enormous and well illustrate the tremendous and untiring efforts which will have to be made to expand agricultural out-turn.

CERTAIN HIGH-YIELDING CROPS

The potato and sweet potato both occupy a prominent position in world food economy. As a world source of food energy, the potato is not far behind rice and wheat, and its cultivation is of particular importance in the more densely populated European countries. The sweet potato is a root of great importance in many of the warmer countries of the world. Both potatoes and sweet potatoes give a larger return of food energy per unit area than cereals, and are of value where, as in India, the pressure of population on land makes it essential that the most profitable use should be made of land. The extended cultivation of potatoes and sweet potatoes should, therefore, be one of the objects of food policy. This, however, is subject to a qualification. These foods, particularly the sweet potato, are deficient in proteins, and if they are taken as the main ingredient in the diet, protein intake is seriously reduced. The aim, therefore, should be to increase the production of these two foods simultaneously with that of other foods, such as cereals, pulses, fish, etc., which are richer in protein, in such a manner that they form part of a diet otherwise containing a sufficiency of protein. Tapioca is another high-yielding crop, but it is a very poor source of protein, and in normal times the growing of tapioca should only be encouraged if it is possible to ensure that it does not become the chief ingredient in the diet, and that other foods richer in protein are consumed in sufficient quantities.

PROTECTIVE AND SUPPLEMENTARY FOODS

The consumption of protective and supplementary foods is quite inadequate. Pulses, vegetables and fruit are important protective foods and a large increase in their supply is perfectly feasible. Milk is the best of all supplements to cereal diets, and an increase in its consumption is urgently needed. But looking at the matter realistically there appears to be no immediate possibility of increasing milk production to such an extent that milk can become a regular article of diet consumed in adequate quantities by the poorer classes in the greater part of India, and the Commission reluctantly came to the conclusion that the ideal of half a pint of milk daily for every child is not a practical objective attainable within the next few decades. Every effort must, however, be made to increase the supplies of milk; the more milk the better. The other protective food to which I would draw attention is fish. In a country such as India, where the *per capita* intake of meat and milk is very small, fish has a special importance as a supplement to ill-balanced cereal diets and must be given a prominent position in food policy. Unfortunately Indian fisheries are for the greater part in a lamentable state, and it is most important that vigorous steps should be taken to develop them. In many parts of the country fish should form the main protective food of animal origin in the diet of the masses.

AGRICULTURAL PRICES

One fact clearly emerges from a study of agricultural economy in its various aspects during the decade preceding the war: it is the fundamental importance of the maintenance of agricultural prices at a level which will give a reasonable return to the producer. Any repetition of the agricultural slump of the thirties would be disastrous to India and might bring progress to a standstill. A fair return to the cultivator is one of the foundations not only of agricultural prosperity but of general prosperity also. Authorities all over the world are agreed on the need of assuring the cultivator of a fair price for his produce, and at the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture in 1943 a recommendation was adopted in regard to the action required on the international plane. The Famine Inquiry Commission laid strong emphasis on this aspect of food policy. They stressed the importance of the prices of food crops, as compared with other agricultural prices, in the economy of

the country, and emphasized the importance of the prices of wheat and rice in comparison with those of other cereal and non-cereal crops. They expressed the view that the hard core of the problem of stabilization of agricultural prices is the stabilization of wheat and rice prices, and recommended that a policy of stabilizing these prices at levels fair to the producer and the consumer should be adopted irrespective of any action in respect of other commodities.

THE ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

The possibilities of developing agricultural production in India are great. Government can and must assist in their realization, but in the last resort it is the people, the millions engaged in agriculture, who, by their individual and co-operative efforts, must ensure the increase in agricultural production on which the welfare of the community so largely depends. Are they capable of the effort which is necessary? Have they the necessary resources? These are questions of great importance, linked as they are with the thorny problems of land tenure, rural credit and unemployment and co-operation. I cannot do more today than just mention these problems, but their solution where they stand in the way of increased food production is a vital aspect of food policy.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Improvement in diet and a rise in the standard of living are nearly equivalent objectives. In order to increase agricultural production and improve the national diet, simultaneous industrial development to augment the total wealth of the country is essential. Industrialization will not by itself solve India's economic problems, but the growth of industry will materially help to solve some of the most thorny problems of village economy, such as excessive population pressure on land, rural unemployment, etc. Extensive plans for the development of industry are under preparation, and one hopes they will be brought to fruition.

FAMILY LIMITATION

In conclusion, may I say a few words on family limitation or birth-control. That is one of the many difficult questions on which that omnibus body, the Famine Inquiry Commission, felt compelled to express an opinion. I cannot do better than quote certain relevant passages from the Report :

"There are signs that among the upper and professional classes generally the birth-rate is falling. . . . The significant fact is that the first beginnings of the process (birth-control) which in its fully developed stages has strongly influenced the curve of population growth in the West are discernible in India. . . . At the present time, in our opinion, a deliberate state policy with the objective of encouraging the practice of birth-control among the masses of the population (e.g., by the free distribution of contraceptive devices) is impracticable. For religious reasons public opinion is not prepared to accept such a policy. . . . Further, the low economic condition of the poorer classes and their lack of education, together with the factor of expense, seem to make the widespread encouragement of birth-control a practical impossibility. . . . There is, however, no reason why the state should not take other steps, through the medium of health services, which will have the effect of encouraging family limitation. Knowledge of birth-control could be imparted through maternity and child-welfare centres, by women doctors, to women whose health would be endangered by further or excessive child-bearing, and also to women who seek advice because of a reasonable desire to 'space' their children. The satisfactory 'spacing' of children, to ensure that each child will be born healthy and can receive adequate maternal attention, is a legitimate and desirable public health objective."

The problem of securing an adequate diet for the people of India, covering as it does the whole field of agricultural and industrial development, is a gigantic one. While it would be wrong to underestimate in any way its magnitude, it would be equally wrong to approach it in a spirit of pessimism. To do so would only end in catastrophe. The solution lies in the vigorous development of India's agricultural and industrial resources by the united efforts, on a scale hitherto unthought of, of the Government and the people of the country.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, November 14, 1945, when Sir John Woodhead, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Chairman of the Council, gave an address on "India's Food Problem." The Lord SCARBROUGH, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., presided.

The CHAIRMAN said that Sir John did not need any introduction to members of the East India Association, for he was Chairman of the Council, an office which he had held for nearly six years. Neither did he need introduction to those who were not members, because his work in India and Bengal in particular was well known, especially his recent chairmanship of the Famine Inquiry Commission. Regarding the subject of the paper, there was no question affecting India, not even the great Constitutional questions, of greater gravity than the problem of food supply, and Sir John was perhaps better qualified than most to survey this vital issue.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking the speaker for setting out so clearly and comprehensively the nature of this problem, said that it was one which had come much to the front in war-time, but only recently had the underlying causes been widely appreciated.

During the past few years there had arisen what had appeared to be abnormal conditions from the cessation of imports from Burma and other handicaps caused by transport difficulties in and to India owing to the war, but it was not appreciated that it was anything more than a war-time problem. It could now be seen to be due in part to the great increase in population which had been taking place for some time. Steps had been taken for some generations to increase food production in India, such as the irrigation schemes and the introduction of better varieties of crops, but this improvement in food production evidently did not keep pace with the rapid increase in population.

If India was to be able to provide for her people on the scale desired, gigantic efforts would be necessary on the part of the Government and people. This called for co-operation between the people and the Government, however that might be constituted, and for changes in the habits and practice of the people themselves. He did not at all despair of a good response, and would give two instances as examples of co-operation. During the war it had become necessary to introduce rationing in India, starting in Bombay in 1943. There were doubts as to whether it would work, yet during the past two and a half years the arrangements had worked smoothly on the whole, because the inhabitants of the city of Bombay and those others whom it later affected, realized that not only the Government but they themselves would suffer if the scheme broke down.

As another instance showing that Indian cultivators would co-operate for their own good, he quoted the case of the district of Bijapur. In the last few years efforts had been made to ease the problem of the poor rainfall by contour bunding. Here, too, there had been doubts at first, and an Act was passed to bring in compulsorily those who might refuse to co-operate in the necessary schemes. There had, he understood, been no need to make use of those compulsory powers. Latest information suggested that the yield of crops might increase 30 per cent. on those lands on which the work had been carried out.

Gigantic as the problem of India's food supply was, he agreed with the lecturer that there was no need to view it with pessimism.

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE desired at the outset on behalf of the Association and its Council to welcome back to London Sir John Woodhead, the Chairman of the Council, who had been much missed during his absence, but they had the satisfaction that Sir John had in a comparatively short time accomplished the great task.

along with other members of his commission, of setting forth in full detail not only all that had gone amiss when the last Bengal famine occurred, but had also surveyed in a masterly manner the entire agricultural and economic situation of India and had made most valuable recommendations for the betterment of conditions there. He had had the privilege of reading the whole of the Famine Commission's Report, and he had been impressed by the way in which all branches of the subject had been dealt with. He regretted the difficulty of obtaining a copy of this document in this country. Sir Atul ventured to agree with practically everything the Commission had suggested except on one small point.

Sir John Woodhead's Commission had set before India the ambition of securing self-sufficiency in the matter of cereals, but the speaker would like to see something more than that, because India was always liable to natural disasters such as a failure of the monsoon, unsatisfactory distribution of the rainfall, and damage by cyclone or flood, and more than enough should be grown in favourable seasons to offset these possibilities in a bad season. The Government of India had always resisted proposals to put any export duties on wheat because they considered it was desirable to encourage people to grow more than they needed in a good year.

As Sir John had said, in the old days the Government of India strove to prevent starvation; in future it must have the still nobler task not only of preventing starvation but also of providing a diet better in quality and quantity. To get people to grow the necessary food a great propaganda drive would have to be undertaken, and this was perhaps a more important and immediate task than the solving of the Constitutional problems facing India. He hoped that the recommendations of the Famine Commission would be translated into every Indian language and published and broadcast throughout the land. The recommendations should be embodied in textbooks used in the schools. It was not only the Government but the people who must co-operate in the great new aim.

Sir ALBERT HOWARD (late Imperial Economic Botanist to the Government of India) declared that a scheme to provide the cultivators of India with artificial manures would soon prove one of the greatest disasters which had befallen the country. The effect of artificial fertilizers such as sulphate of ammonia would be to upset the balance of soil fertility by setting in motion oxidation processes which would burn up the vital store of soil humus. Increased crops would be obtained for a few years, but at what a cost—lowered soil fertility, lowered production, inferior quality, diseases of crops, of animals, and of the population, and finally diseases of the soil itself, as well as soil erosion and a desert of alkali land.

"No further investigations and practical trials are needed to establish the fact that the yield and nutritional value of the Indian rice crop can be increased by at least 30 per cent. in a very few years. All that is necessary is to set in motion an active and enthusiastic programme of work in the villages under the leadership of the local notables. It is only necessary to create examples of what could be done and encourage the landlords to follow the pilot schemes. A vast increase in the number of bureaucrats will be unnecessary."

The yield of rice depended on the fullest possible use of the soil fungi which formed the living bridge between the soil and the roots of the plant. This natural association was the means provided by Nature for ensuring the circulation of protein between soil and sap. The amount of humus in the rice nurseries and rice fields must be increased. The vegetable matter was already contributed by the water hyacinth, the animal matter by cows, oxen, and buffaloes. The preliminary work of converting these mixed vegetable and animal wastes into humus was done some years ago in the grounds of Government House, Barrackpore, by Mr. E. F. Watson, O.B.E., superintendent of the Governor's estates, and there had already been large-scale application of this work.

The effect of additional humus on the rice crop was first demonstrated in India in 1932 by one of the missionaries—the late Mrs. Kerr—at Dichpali, Hyderabad. A generous dressing trebled the crop and improved its quality. What had already been done could be copied all over the Continent, once it was realized that the water hyacinth was not a pest to be destroyed but a gift of Providence.

A most important step in improving the quality of the rice grain would be the giving up of the milling of rice, the grain being used instead in its natural state. Solution of the rice problem in India then involved two things: conversion of a common water weed into humus, and the prevention of the murder of the resulting grain.

DR. HAMIED: The facts and figures as given by the lecturer are absolutely correct. I have nothing to add to the picture which he has given you on the food problem in India. What, however, he has not mentioned, or avoided to mention—and very few people go into it—are the causes of the appalling food situation in India today. Agricultural methods in India are as primitive as they were perhaps 2,000 years ago. There is no regular training of the agriculturists in modern methods of agriculture. They are carrying on today the growing, collecting and harvesting of their produce by the most primitive methods known to mankind, methods which have been handed down from father to son. It is a tragedy that, in spite of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Reserve which was started about twenty-three years ago, and in spite of the immense amount of public money which has been spent by Government on Agricultural Departments, no advance has been made in improving the conditions of agriculture in the country. You will be surprised to know that the yield of rice in India per acre is 800 lbs., whereas in Japan it is 3,000, in Egypt 2,500 and in Spain 5,000 lbs. per acre. Who is responsible for this poor crop in India? You may say the Government of India, or the people of India are responsible. I say that it is not correct to throw the blame on others. Are you ruling India or are you not? If you are ruling India—as you are doing—then the ultimate responsibility for the primitive conditions in that country rests ultimately on you. What is the Government of India? Is it not supervised and controlled by you? Hence the responsibility lies on you.

I am saying all this as a friend of your country, because if conditions are bad in India, India suffers, and you and your country must suffer too.

Another cause for this downward trend in agricultural production is the taxation of agricultural income. The tax on agriculture, generally known as Land Revenue, is fixed in India in advance for thirty years. It is based on a calculation of the yield per acre of crops. It does not take into consideration the loss in crop due to the lack of rainfall or any other cause. Famine or no famine, the landlord must pay the Government the fixed tax on his land. He naturally collects from the agriculturist, who ultimately is the sufferer. In some parts the agriculturists pay direct to the Government, and here, also, whether it is loss or profit—which is whether the crop is good or bad—the agriculturist must pay the amount of revenue which has been fixed for years in advance. Is that, I ask, an equitable system of taxation? In industry, if a company makes loss in any year no income-tax is levied from that company. Why should it not be so in agriculture? I ask Sir Jeremy Raisman, whom I see sitting here, whether he will justify this policy of agricultural taxation for which he was responsible during his term of office as Finance Member in India.

Sir John Woodhead has attributed the famine to a great extent to the increase in the population of India, and he advises that birth control should be enforced. I beg to differ from him. India is large enough to hold double its present population and to feed a still larger population provided the methods of agriculture are modern and scientific. We are already facing various types of control, such as sugar control, food control, clothes control—why introduce birth control?

To me it appears that nobody is prepared to take the blame for the present primitive state of agriculture in India. The Indians think, and perhaps rightly, that the cause of this is inefficiency of the Department of Agriculture of the Government of India, and as the Government of India and the Government of the United Kingdom are ultimately connected the ultimate responsibility falls on Britain. The problem to me does not appear as difficult as Sir John has described. I last week visited the Rothamsted Experimental Station at Harpenden. I asked Dr. Crowther, the Director in charge, as to how he put his results of successful experiments into actual practice. Dr. Crowther said that they had a large number of trained workers who go from field to field, from county to county, and explain the methods of scientific

manuring to the farmer—sometimes he agrees, and, if he does not, they show him on the spot by actual farming the results of using fertilizers. The Government Agricultural Department have their organizations for this purpose in every village, and by this means the agriculturists in England are today producing almost 60 per cent. of their requirements in food, whereas some years ago they could hardly produce more than 30 per cent. Why can we not in India adopt this system and send trained workers from village to village? I think that the British Government should see that the same methods as are applied in England should be immediately applied by the Indian Government for increasing agricultural production.

If India is well fed England is also well fed. If India is strong and rich then England can consider herself to be strong and rich. The individual members of the body give strength and energy to the whole and make it healthy and strong.

I would recommend you to consider the problem of uplifting India both agriculturally and industrially to her full share in the comity of nations, and thus cease to think in terms of India and England alone.

Mr. N. A. McKenna doubted whether there was in the world today a more pressing food problem from the long-term point of view than that of ensuring adequate nutrition and health for the peoples of India. He would, however, like to consider this problem as it would present itself within the next ten years.

The population of all India was now about 400 millions. At the present rate of increase (generally agreed to be between 5 and 6 millions a year), it would, in the absence of any major epidemic such as followed the 1914-18 war or other calamity, reach 450 millions within ten years. The present production and consumption of food grains was approximately 60 million tons a year, and an overall increase of 10 per cent. on present consumption alone was required to bring the standard of nutrition to an adequate level. In ten years, therefore, India would require over and above present consumption a further $7\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of food grain per annum to cater for the additional population, and nearly 7 million tons per annum to bring cereal consumption up to adequacy—say a further 15 million tons per annum by 1955. Sir John had set out, as did the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the technological methods necessary to meet this target. But how were these to be put across to every village and every cultivator? What organization could be established now, over the vast areas under cultivation, to give results on the scale demanded within ten years?

That was the crux of the problem. There was no time to engage on long-term research programmes or to make extensive soil surveys and so on, which would require large numbers of trained men and could not yield results for some years. Attention should be directed first and foremost to three or four simple things which the cultivator could be taught and convinced of the benefit of doing—the use of manures and fertilizers, the improvement of water supplies and the control of crop diseases and malaria. These should be worked into a demonstration, training and distributive organization covering the whole of the areas where results would follow most quickly. Without some such scheme, essentially simple yet covering perhaps 100 million acres of land, India would be faced with an even graver position in ten years' time than she was faced with now. But if improved methods of cultivation were pushed ahead and use was made of what was known today, and a simple practical plan evolved which could be worked, it should be possible to "deliver the goods."

Mr. H. S. L. Polak said the population of India increased by about 630 births per hour so that consideration must be given as to what was to be done to satisfy that population. Among other matters there was the question of the destruction of manure which could otherwise be used for fertilization. How could this unnecessary destruction be avoided? By increasing fuel production and distribution and by a better education of the masses of the people by means of the travelling cinema and the radio.

The question of emigration, referred to in the Woodhead Commission's report, had been omitted from the paper, and he wondered whether that was because of

lack of time or whether it was deliberate, because it was a very weak pin upon which to rely. The Dominions would never accept Indian immigrants in any numbers, many parts of the Empire were already over-populated and under-nourished, and he would like to hear what Sir John Woodhead had to say on that point.

Mr. BRANDER said the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture stated that no possible economic improvements could cope with India's great population growth. A typical case is Java, where, coincident with great scientific agricultural development, population has increased from 5 to 45 millions in the past 150 years, but the standard of living has failed to rise. Sir John had quoted Dr. Burns' estimates of greatly increased crop productivity. But Dr. Burns in a recent lecture admitted that India's population growth, now over 5 millions a year, was far in excess of possible food increase. Penicillin and the new cheap malaria drug would lower the death-rate and increase population growth still more. The Famine Inquiry Commission's proposals failed to meet these hard facts. All backward peasant populations increased up to the margin of subsistence. There would be no escape from mass undernutrition and repeated famines until, like the nations of Western Europe, Indians by education and public health instruction developed the desire to limit their families and learn the methods of doing so.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD, in replying to the discussion, said that he was not an expert agriculturist, and therefore hesitated to give an opinion on the relative merits of organic and inorganic manures, but it was generally agreed that manures must be applied in a balanced form—there was danger in the indiscriminate use of chemical fertilizers. As he had said, the officers of the Agricultural Departments must be in a position to advise as regards the manner in which and the quantity in which manures should be applied.

As regards the present policy of limiting the degree to which rice is milled, the Famine Inquiry Commission had expressed the view that it was justified. It should, however, be remembered that in the case of parboiled rice the effect on nutritive value of under-milling was not very striking, and that a large proportion of the rice-eating population consumed parboiled rice. It was in the case of machine-milled raw rice that under-milling was of definite benefit.

Dr. Hamied had spoken of the backward and old-fashioned methods followed by the agriculturist in India. There is undoubtedly great scope for the introduction of improved methods, but the peasant farmer is not such a fool as he is sometimes represented to be. It is true that he is conservative, but the small peasant proprietor cannot afford to take risks; his margin is too small. When it was proved to him that it was to his advantage to alter his ways he had done so. He had willingly adopted improved varieties of sugar-cane and also of jute. It would be a great step forward if he could be provided with a substitute fuel for cow-dung, so that he could apply the farmyard manure to the land instead of putting it on the hearth. But this change would not be effected unless he was provided with an alternative cheap form of fuel.

Sir John said he had not referred to emigration because the Famine Commission saw little hope of large-scale emigration being possible at present. What the Commission said was that they looked forward to the time when Indians would be welcomed in the under-developed areas of the Empire as colonists and not as indentured labourers.

He thought Mr. Brander was a pessimist. Nothing would be gained by approaching India's food problem in a spirit of pessimism. It was true that ultimately a decrease in the rate of population growth was not only desirable but necessary, for the developments in food production had their limits. The birth-rate would have to decrease, but it was not practicable to effect an immediate decrease.

Sir JOHN HUBBACK thanked the lecturer for his address, and expressed surprise that in the discussion no one had taken up his point about giving a guaranteed fair price to the agriculturist for his produce, although this was a very essential point. Prices were controlled at present, but the control so far was aimed at keeping prices down. Arrangements had yet to be worked out for keeping prices up.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY IN THE NEW INDIA

BY FRANK R. ANTHONY, M.L.A. (CENTRAL)

It is almost impossible for anyone who has not spent some considerable time in India to gain even a remote idea of the bewildering complexities of the Indian problem. I would like, first of all, to make my position clear. I am the leader of one of the recognized minorities in India, but my education, training and profession have combined to make me not only a Liberal but a Nationalist. I defer to no one in my love for India and in my fervent desire to see her reach the goal of unity and self-government.

But I am also a realist. I deeply regret that India today is in the throes of the most bitter sectarianism. I am not going to attempt to point a finger at any leaders or parties or to apportion blame. Communalism in India springs from the widespread feeling of distrust among the numerically smaller communities. Until this distrust is effaced communalism will grow in strength and intensity. As long as different sections in India believe that the principle of a common nationality exists only on the lips and not in the hearts of those who purport to lead India, so long will the different sections of India insist, and I believe quite reasonably, that their rights and interests should be specifically recognized and, if necessary, specifically safeguarded.

I have a steadfast faith in the part the Anglo-Indian community can and will play in the future of India. More than any other community, perhaps, we are free from caste prejudices and inhibitions. More than any other community, perhaps, we are able to accept all Indians equally and at their real worth. We do not judge people by their caste or communal position. We look to our community to play a vital part in supplying the haven of Liberalism to the social, economic and political developments of the future.

The very proud history of our community has been little publicized or proclaimed. It is not known as it should be even in our own country. The average Britisher and even the British official in India is ignorant of it. Our tradition, our culture and our sense of discipline have made us, perhaps, the greatest stabilizing factor from the point of view of the Administration. Our service to the Administration in the past has been misunderstood by some of the other peoples of India. But this steadfastness and stability will be one of the greatest assets in the future of the country. As in the past, we shall lend our services to stabilize whatever Government is in charge in India.

WHO IS AN ANGLO-INDIAN?

Even the best friends of the community are mistaken as to who an Anglo-Indian is. In England, the man-in-the-street would, perhaps, conjure up a vision conditioned by ignorance and popular prejudice—a vision inspired by the figment of some cheap novelist. Even the British official in India often has a vague and imperfect idea as to the proper definition of an Anglo-Indian. The recent confused recruitment by the Army authorities is illustrative of this. The term "Anglo-Indian" was legally defined for the first time in the Government of India Act of 1935. Under the definition all persons of European descent in the male line whose parents are habitually resident in India are Anglo-Indians. Thus the community includes those who have not any admixture of Indian blood but who are born in India of parents habitually resident there. The touchstone of this definition is the habitual residence of the parents. For example, a British soldier marries an English girl and then settles in India. If his children are born in India they are Anglo-Indians.

And this is as it should be, for the definition protects the interests of the children. A domiciled European is not a statutory native of India and as such cannot claim the right to employment in India. His children being, legally, Anglo-Indians (who

are statutory natives of India) have the statutory right to such employment. Furthermore, whether white, brown or black, we all belong to the same community. We have the same economic, cultural and political problems. The Britisher who settles in India almost invariably marries an Anglo-Indian girl. We intermarry irrespective of gradations of colour. Contrary to the figment circulated by the sensation-mongering novelist, the community marries within its own limits. For generations there has been no intermarriage with other communities in India. Many of the better placed Anglo-Indians, who come to England for higher studies or on leave, have married and continue to marry British women.

The Anglo-Indian community is today, in fact, about half a million strong. The official census figures, concerning the community, are notoriously inaccurate. The community is one of the definite minorities, and we have certain inalienable rights as an important racial minority. While some may argue that the Scheduled Castes, for instance, are inseparable from the Hindu community and do not satisfy the definition of a minority, no such argument can be applied to us. In the words of the late Sir Campbell Rhodes, "the Anglo-Indian race, which has distinct racial characteristics of its own, is one of the few that can claim the possession of an Indian birthright."

The directors of the East India Company felt the need for establishing, as they called it, a Domiciled community in India, on which they could rely to fill strategic appointments and services. With this object in view the directors avowedly encouraged the marriage of British officers and soldiers to the women of India. These marriages were even subsidized. As a result of this policy the Anglo-Indian community was brought into existence. These unions were by no means confined to the middle and lower classes. Many marriages took place between the most distinguished Indian and European families. To mention only a few of some of the famous founders of the community: Job Charnock, the builder of Calcutta, married a Hindu. One of his daughters married Sir Eyre Coote, one of the most brilliant and spectacular figures of Clive's time. General Sir Hugh Wheeler, of Cawnpore fame, had an Indian wife. The House of the Earl of Duffus has descendants in the community, who are still proud of the family name of Sutherland. Major Hyder Young Hearsey founded the famous Anglo-Indian family of Hearseys. Gardner, nephew of the first Lord Gardner and founder of the famous Gardner's Horse, married a daughter of the Nawab of Cambay. Sir or Rajah George Thomas, Colonel Sir Michael Filose, and many others, followed what was almost a marital usage of the time. The half-brother of Field Marshal Earl Roberts had an Indian mother.

A SERIOUS SETBACK

Up to 1791 the Anglo-Indian community was perhaps the most wealthy and influential in India. Its members filled the highest posts in the civil and military administrations. There was no discrimination either social, economic or racial. Suddenly misfortune came owing to a change in policy of the East India Company. In 1791 the Mulattos in Haiti rose and almost exterminated the European settlers. Fearful of any similar possibility, the East India Company determined in 1791 that no Anglo-Indian should be admitted to their covenanted services. They deprived Anglo-Indian officers of their commissions. In 1795 the Company went further and decreed that Anglo-Indians were only eligible for non-combatant ranks. The loyal and distinguished services of the community were forgotten overnight.

The position was, if possible, to deteriorate. Lord Valentia was sent out by the East India Company to report on conditions in India. Ignorant of the traditions of loyalty and service and with the fear of the Haiti uprising fresh in his mind, he reported after a short visit that our increasing wealth and numbers constituted a menace to British supremacy in India. In 1808 an order was issued discharging Anglo-Indians from British regiments in India. In future, to be an Anglo-Indian was to be earmarked for subordinate service. Thereafter, a dense impregnable wall of social and economic segregation was drawn around the Anglo-Indian. However outstanding in character and ability, he was doomed to be a lifelong subordinate. Some escaped by claiming to be Europeans. Often they achieved wealth and distinction. A premium was thus placed on renegadism.

SERVICES TO BRITAIN

The dark days of the Indian Mutiny saw the Anglo-Indians rally to the hard-beset cause of Britain. No rancour for past neglect or bargaining of the marketplace ever entered into the part they played.

In the 1914-18 war about 80 per cent. of the available able-bodied men of the community were in the armed forces of the Crown. They served with distinction in every theatre of war. The credit of the achievements of many of them was lost to us, as we could only secure admission to the Army as Europeans. Specific mention may be made of certain outstanding examples of Anglo-Indian heroism: Flight-Lieut. Lief Robinson, v.c., of the Royal Flying Corps, brought down the first Zeppelin to be destroyed over England, and Flight-Lieut. Warneford, v.c., also of the Royal Flying Corps, accounted for the first Zeppelin over France. In addition to the V.C., Warneford was awarded the Croix de Guerre. Major Demonte won the M.C. in France and Peters the D.C.M. in South Africa. As always, the three strategic and vital services of the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs, and the Customs, owed their stability to their Anglo-Indian personnel.

The Indian Defence Force deserves a special, if brief, reference. This Force, now known as the Auxiliary Force, was and is drawn preponderantly from my community. It is India's second line of defence. Its yeoman service to the State has been crucial. In the first Great War, when Britain was fighting with her back to the wall and when India was completely denuded of British troops, the Indian Defence Force represented for two years the military personnel on which the Government could and did rely for maintaining law and order in the country. But the post-war period brought unemployment and disillusionment. Anglo-Indians who had given up everything in order to fight came back to receive cold and indifferent treatment by the Government. Many unemployed ex-soldiers, wearing their decorations, were to be found walking the streets, bitter and disillusioned. That tragically recurring Government complex, of welcoming the community's vital services in times of stress and then casting them off like a weapon, trusty but no longer needed, was once again shown.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

In the war so lately ended, as in its predecessor, no less than 80 per cent. of the available man-power joined the different armed forces. We claim that on a numerical basis we have contributed more to the war effort than any other community, not only in India but in the Commonwealth. There are hundreds of Anglo-Indian officers in the Indian Army, Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Indian Air Force. Illustrative of the extent to which members of the community have joined the Air Force is a recent passing-out parade. The Sword of Honour was won by an Anglo-Indian. Of the fifteen young men awarded their wings, eleven were Anglo-Indians.

It should not be forgotten that in addition to our contribution to the Indian Services thousands of Anglo-Indians have joined the British Forces. Many of them were fighting with the British Army in the epic Dunkirk evacuation. It is reliably estimated that between 3,000 and 4,000 Anglo-Indians were serving with the Royal Air Force during the Battle of Britain. Many of them won outstanding awards. We have reason to believe that at least two of the V.C.s were awarded to members of the community. Dyson, D.S.O., D.F.C. and bar, the grandson of a former leader of the community, holds the record for the largest number of planes shot down in single aerial combat. He accounted for six Italian planes in fifteen minutes during operations in the Middle East. Daniell was first awarded the D.F.M. and then the D.F.C. Parker, D.F.C., of Moradabad, and Lieut.-Commander Douglas, D.F.C., of the Fleet Air Arm, are two more of the many members of the community in the Royal Air Force decorated for gallantry. Other awards, such as the M.C., D.C.M. and M.M., have been won by a number of Anglo-Indians.

The heroism, sufferings and sacrifices of the Anglo-Indians in Burma deserve to be recorded amongst the greatest epics of the war. No official publicity has been given, such as that accorded to Burma Hill tribesmen and others, to the gallantry of the community in Burma. But one or two persons who know the truth, including

a military correspondent, have written of the Anglo-Indians as among the real heroes of Burma.

The contribution of Anglo-Indian women to the war effort is without comparison in India. It is worthy of very special note and consideration that Anglo-Indian women have contributed more to the war effort than other communities in India put together. About 70 per cent. of the Women's Auxiliary Corps, the Indian Military Nursing Service and the Auxiliary Nursing Service was drawn from my community.

But for the ready and complete response of the Anglo-Indian railwaymen, the Indian Railways would not have stood up to the unprecedented strain suddenly imposed on them by the vast war effort. If the inside story with regard to the Posts and Telegraphs is revealed, the same vital contribution by my community will be found.

THE SAPRU COMMITTEE'S SUPPORT

There has been a welcome change of attitude towards the community on the part of Indian leaders and other sections of the people. Strong proof of this change of attitude was given in the recent report of the Sapru Conciliation Committee, which consisted of eminent Indians. This Committee recognized and accepted the rights and needs of the Anglo-Indian community. The main proposals concerning us, adopted by the Committee, were as follows :

1. The right of the community to a seat in the Central Cabinet of the Indian Union.
2. Representation in the Central Legislature on the basis laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935.
3. Recognition of the disservice done to the community by the general formula for a Constituent Assembly, as set out in the Cripps proposals. Under that formula the Anglo-Indian community was not assured of even a single seat. The Sapru Committee agreed that we should have at least two seats in a Constitution-making body formed under the Cripps scheme.
4. Endorsement of the need to continue the financial assistance to Anglo-Indian education, as guaranteed to us under Section 83 of the Government of India Act, 1935.
5. Adoption of a resolution by which the community's quotas of service and the remuneration attaching to these services, as secured by Section 242 of the Act, were not to be affected.

It should be borne in mind that the Conciliation Committee Report was welcomed by the majority of communities and parties in India, including the Congress.

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

The non-inclusion of a representative of the community in the Simla Conference was a bitter and unexpected blow. His Majesty's Government owed us an inescapable duty in this matter. If it had been laid down not only that the community should be represented at such a Conference, but should also have a seat on the Executive Council, I am certain that not a single community or leader would have raised any demur. But so far from trying to repay, partially, their immense debt to the Anglo-Indian community, His Majesty's Government denied us what the Indian leaders were prepared to grant. By being excluded from the Conference we were denied the elementary right and opportunity of placing our case before the other communities and leaders. We sincerely trust that such treatment will never be repeated.

RIGHTS AND NEEDS

His Majesty's Government and the Government of India owe us the duty to ensure our adequate representation in any Constitution-making body. It is imperative that our case be pleaded with the maximum of knowledge, ability and persuasion before a Constituent Assembly. The Sapru Committee recognized that we should have at least two representatives in a body convened under the Cripps formula. But our case is that the proportion of representation granted to us in the Central Legislature under the 1935 Act be maintained for the purpose of representa-

tion in a Constitution-making body. Thereby we have four seats in the Central Legislature, the Sikhs six and the Christians eight.

Hitherto the community has not had a seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council. Our right to a seat has been recognized even by the Indian leaders, and, as I have shown, was accepted by the Sapru Conciliation Committee. Our claim is more than justified by our record of past and continuing services to the country to which I have referred. We are the only cent.-per-cent. literate community in India. We form, in fact, 10 per cent. of the educated section of India. The whole economy of the community is tied up with and dependent on the Central Administration.

There is an unfortunate tendency for the numerical yardstick to be applied, with mechanical precision, in according political representation to the different communities. But, as the Muslim League has always maintained, the principle of a "numerical democracy" cannot be applied to India. Political theory and practice justify our recognition on the basis of our service to the State. It can be said, without qualification, that not only relatively but absolutely we have done and continue to do more for the State than some of the numerically larger communities represented in the Central Executive.

We are anxious about the prospects of demobilized Anglo-Indian soldiers. Between 20,000 and 40,000 Anglo-Indians will require to be reabsorbed into civilian life. We look to the Government and the military authorities to see that conditions are established which represent some recognition of our proud record and which will enable us to maintain the economic standards to which we have been accustomed.

It is hoped that the Government of India will see its way to maintain at least two regiments of Anglo-Indians for use in occupied territory.

The community has taken its place in the stream of Indian national life. We have declared our policy to support all legitimate nationalist aspirations. Our education and our sense of discipline should be invaluable assets to the Administration, whoever happens to hold the reins of Government. At this critical period in Indo-British relations, if proper use is made of the community, we can be of untold value both to Britain and India. We are of British stock and culture, and so understand the British as no other community in India can. We are also of Indian stock and so understand our fellow-Indians as no Britisher can. Allowed to play our proper rôle, we can be the tried and highly tempered link between India and Britain.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W. 1, on Monday, November 26, 1945, with the BISHOP OF ST. ALBANS (the Right Rev. P. H. Loyd) presiding, when Mr. Frank R. Anthony, M.L.A. (Central), gave an address on "The Anglo-Indian Community in the New India."

The CHAIRMAN said that it was a pleasure to preside at a meeting at which the case of a community to which so much was owed was to be stated, and the main purpose of the meeting was to express appreciation for the most important part which that community had played during the last century in India. Mr. Frank Anthony was the President of the Anglo-Indian Domiciliary and European Association for all India and Burma. He read a telegram of good wishes to the meeting received from Mr. Edward Palmer, of the well-known Hyderabad family.

The CHAIRMAN wished there had been more time for Mr. Anthony to enlarge upon what the Anglo-Indian community stood for in the history of India, what it had done and what its potentialities were. He would like to give his personal testimony to the community. In 1925 he was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Bombay to work up a new diocese and was put in charge of two areas, the Ahmednagar and Aurangabad. When the new diocese was opened in 1929 he had to choose where

he should live, and asked that Nasik should be included, and never ceased to thank God that he did so, because there he found a community of Anglo-Indians who gave him every help and interest. When he left fifteen years later the diocese was properly organized, the Diocesan Council being far more effective than many English Councils. A most valuable element in it was the Anglo-Indians, people who came from the railway communities and press communities, who naturally took their part in the life of an Indian diocese. When he started work there were 14,000 Indian Christians in the area with 2,000 Anglo-Indian Christians, and when he left there were 23,000 Indian Christians and about the same number of Anglo-Indians, 'the business being conducted partly in English and partly in Marathi. Everybody recognized that the Anglo-Indian with his ready understanding both of the British and Indian points of view made a valuable contribution to the life of the diocese, and it gave the speaker a new insight into the powers for adaptation and sympathy within that community.

About twelve miles from his house there was an Anglo-Indian school, a very fine one, the Barnes Schools at Deolali. He got more and more to love and value the community, and it seemed quite natural to hear Mr. Anthony saying how they were becoming accepted by the leaders of Indian national life, and it was obvious that they could make a very valuable contribution to the life of India. Whatever was done about the Anglo-Indian community in India the best influences were recognizing its value.

He had been in places such as railway workshops where Anglo-Indians were in charge of a department where they showed the British sense of fair play and a painstaking understanding and sympathy with the young men learning their trade. That element in India must be developed; it was in India's interests that it should be given power to develop. One way of doing this was by backing up the Anglo-Indian high schools. The Government realized the value of these schools, and was not withdrawing the grants in spite of the Nationalists. Anything which could be done through the Indian Church Aid Association here, through scholarships, so that the boys and girls received the education which they needed, should be done.

Sir GEOFFREY CLARKE (I.C.S. retired, and late president of London Chamber of Commerce) said that Mr. Anthony mentioned the particular service with which he himself was connected in India, the Telegraph Service, but he did not mention the Post Office, which employed about 120,000 during his time, and the backbone of the Post Office was the Anglo-Indian community. A balance had to be drawn between the different communities and castes, but the man who could keep the balance was the Anglo-Indian postmaster. The difficulties of keeping a post office going, in which many of the people could not read, and where letters were addressed in a dozen different languages, were colossal. The Telegraph Service was very largely an Anglo-Indian service, and the great advantage was that if expeditions were undertaken the service was asked to supply the telegraph personnel, and that personnel could always be relied upon.

He was very impressed by what Mr. Anthony said, that in using the word "democracy" we were inclined to count it numerically. Eighty-five per cent. of the people of India were absolutely illiterate, and the Anglo-Indian community was an educated community; its schools were excellent, run on English public-school lines, and they produced a very good class of boy. The community was doing a great deal for India, and they could act as a great stabilizing influence. He would like to support what the Chairman had said, that they should do their best to see that the community received fair play and a voice in the Legislature and a seat on the Executive Council, so that the welfare of a very valuable community could be promoted.

Sir NESS WADIA said that he not only supported Mr. Anthony in the franchise which he claimed, but would suggest that he took a bolder line. He had been connected with Anglo-Indian schools, and was governor of a girls' school at Khandala. He thought that the rising generation, properly educated, could bring forward another generation which would take its place intelligently in the India of the future.

He took a very hopeful view of the future of the Anglo-Indians, wherever they might be placed. They had been working in the telegraphs, post office, and railways, but they were wanted in higher posts; they were needed to take an intelligent interest in holding the Indian population together and to form a nucleus in that respect, and he hoped Mr. Anthony would succeed in his aims.

Sir STANLEY REED, M.P., said that there were three points in Mr. Anthony's paper on which he would like to comment. One was with regard to the great Anglo-Indian names which flitted across the history of India. Only one of those families he believed was really in being to this day, the Skinners, with their home near Delhi. He believed the Filose family, so long associated with Gwalior, had become almost extinguished. Everyone who had lived in India and known members of the Anglo-Indian community as friends and colleagues would welcome the vigorous exposition of their case by Mr. Anthony. If it had not been for the fatal blunder after the paroxysm of Hindi Indian politics might be a far easier problem to solve than it was today. He would support Mr. Anthony in his demand for a place in the Indian Constitution-making body on the ground of their high percentage of literacy, the part they had played in India, and their service to the stability of the country.

The second point was with regard to the schools which, as had been said, were excellent; the third, the demobilization of the Anglo-Indians who had served in the war. They had a very raw deal after the last war, where some of them, particularly in Mesopotamia, did excellent work. Every effort should be made to see that in the demobilization programme their services are adequately recognized, and that they have every possibility of re-establishment in civilian life.

Bishop EYRE CHATTERTON said he was glad to think that when Mr. Anthony arrived in this country he was one of the first with whom he got into contact, for he was glad to welcome him and do what he could for him. His own interest in the Anglo-Indian community went back to the year 1892, the very first days he spent in India as head of the Dublin University Mission. When he was made Bishop of Nagpur in 1903 he had a great deal to do with them. In many cases they had no churches, and during his episcopate a number of little churches were built for them along the railway tracts.

The European schools in India gave a very good education, and for that reason in connection with Bishop Foss Westcott and other Indian Bishops and through the kindness of Archbishop Lord Lang an appeal for them was launched in England. Unfortunately the war intervened, and only £30,000 was raised. He felt that there was abysmal ignorance of the Anglo-Indian community, but whatever happened the European schools should be maintained at the highest possible standard.

When he was leaving India the Bishop of Calcutta, knowing his interest in the community, wished him to undertake the presidency of the Indian Church Aid Association and it, with the European Schools in India Association, started with Sir Robert Laidlaw's splendid gift, was doing valuable work in aiding the Anglo-Indian and European domiciled community. If these schools could produce men like Mr. Anthony they were really worth while. He hoped his mission would be very successful, and that he would go back feeling he had friends behind him.

Dr. RANJEE SHAHANI said that, although he was an Indian, he was a friend of the Anglo-Indians, and in 1939, long before Mr. Anthony thought of putting forward his people's claims, he devoted a long and appreciative chapter to them in one of his books. His only grumble with Mr. Anthony was that he had spoilt his own case: first, he had given a list of grievances and a list of war services—a tiresome combination; and then he had sent his appeal to the wrong address. The British could help the Anglo-Indians only temporarily: their fundamental problem was that they had to decide once and for all whether they were Indians, British or pseudo-British. He himself was educated in a school where he met a lot of Anglo-Indians; some of them were very bad: they thought they saw a god when they met an Englishman, and their attitude to Indians was not what it should be. They learned better manners when they were stepped on. However, the goal of the Anglo-Indian community should be to merge itself with the people: to ask for special privileges

was to invite their own doom. The Anglo-Indians must stand on their own feet and compete on equal terms with the best Indians. He would refer Mr. Anthony to a very interesting article in the last number of the *Hibbert Journal* about Eurasia: it would broaden his vision: it would show him that a new world was coming into being. There were millions of people with mixed ancestry: the future of the world lay in the union of East and West: and the Anglo-Indian must strive towards that by first being Indian. The supreme folly was to be without roots.

Lieut.-Colonel E. J. S. TROTTER said that he was very interested to hear that the Chairman was in Ahmednagar, because that was his first station. He as a subaltern knew the then Bishop of Bombay very slightly and thought he was one of the best. With regard to Mr. Anthony's very fine statement, he knew Colonel Gidney and had great respect for him, and he knew his views on the Anglo-Indian question. With regard to what Mr. Anthony had said about the Anglo-Indian community, he would write to his Member of Parliament and try to do what he could.

Dr. O. H. K. SPATE said that this was the first meeting of the Association he had attended, and he was glad that the subject should be one about which he had thought a great deal. He served in the unit to which Mr. Anthony referred; it had a very fine record, and anyone who served in that forgotten first Burma campaign could not speak too highly about what the Anglo-Burmans did, particularly on the railways and telegraphs. Their whole world was crumbling to pieces, but they kept to their posts in a most magnificent way.

He was interested to hear about the earlier work of the community; one always heard that the Portuguese wrecked their position by the very policy which the East India Company originally adopted, and he would like to know where a fully stated and documented account of the early history could be found.

Did Mr. Anthony really think that whatever the legal and constitutional guarantees his community obtained it could, looking more than twenty years ahead, continue to hold its position simply on those grounds? Although he agreed that the community owed its position not to favouritism, it could not continue to hold a position on the ground that the British were, or had been, behind them. Was it not essential for the community to create its own position in the job it could do in the technical services, and could not the Anglo-Indian schools contribute more to the technical side of education than they had up to now? There would be tremendous scope in this field if any of the planning schemes were carried out; was it not in that direction that the community should look for its future?

Mr. G. St. G. HIGGINSON, speaking from the point of view of a railway officer and a commanding officer of an Auxiliary Force Battalion in India, said that it had been his experience that the services which Mr. Anthony mentioned had found the Anglo-Indian community their absolute backbone. Whenever there was a labour dispute, which always contained an element of political dispute and involved the other communities in strikes, the Anglo-Indian community could be depended on to carry on. The Auxiliary Force, whose other ranks were almost entirely Anglo-Indian, could be relied on, and never more so than three years ago, when the whole of the communications of India were threatened, and possible complete sabotage might have altered the conduct of the war in the Far East. He had no doubt that his own battalion at the time of speaking was again giving military aid to the civil power around Calcutta, and he would like to support everything Mr. Anthony had said about the good citizenship of the Anglo-Indians. Good citizenship was the best argument for asking for political representation in government.

He would give one word of warning. He did not think the average Anglo-Indian, as represented in railways and other Government services, was prepared for the future social and economic life of India. He did not think that many Anglo-Indians of the type he knew best (the railwaymen) educated their sons to a standard higher than that which would enable them to start life as ticket collectors; these grades would have to wake up and realize that comparatively higher rates of pay would have to be earned and, if earned, would have to be spent on the education

of their sons, so that they could compete for better jobs in a market very much more competitive in the future than in the past.

He gave Mr. Anthony his best wishes in his task.

Mr. J. P. BRANDER asked Mr. Anthony what was his attitude and that of his community to Dominion status, supposing it was acquired by India. Had they taken into account the fact that when Dominion status was given to any country it could alter its Constitution entirely and take away all the rights given to any minority? He recalled the example of South Africa, which as soon as it was given Dominion status took away the Parliamentary franchise from the Africans in Cape Province and from the Indians in Natal. It might be said that the Church would protect the Anglo-Indian community, but he did not think that would be effective.

Mr. ANTHONY, in reply to the discussion, said that the request was not for privileges, neither was his community asking for representation on a mere counting of heads, but it was important that they should have representation based on their civic importance to the country, their literacy and the fact of their continuing contributions to the State in order to maintain and strengthen their economic position. If the community did not have political representation it was conceivable and more than probable that their economic position would be increasingly encroached upon. Technical education was one of the points on which he was working. A commission had been set up to survey Anglo-Indian education, and one of its objects was to study the bifurcation of such education. The community was not only urban, but had an industrial and technical aptitude, and he hoped to see it bifurcated in the middle school.

He was aware that many parents took their children away from school after the primary stage of education. It was comparatively easy for a child to get into the lower cadre without a high degree of educational qualifications, but this tendency was disappearing; more anglo-Indians were going in for education than any other community in India, and he believed the schools had a vital contribution to make not only to the life of the community but to India generally. They were far and away better than anything any other community had to offer; this was admitted by Congress Ministers who sent their own children to Anglo-Indian schools, not only because of the higher educational standards, but also because of the sense of discipline and the capacity for leadership engendered by the schools.

With regard to his attitude to Dominion status, it was right that any community in India should take its place in the general stream of life. The community supported the position that India should reach the stage of self-government. He did not think any provision in a treaty with Britain would be a safeguard; provisions which smacked of privilege always tended to attract hostility, but he wanted representation in a Constitution-making body to present his case. He was prepared to accept his fate at the hands of the other leaders of India.

With regard to Dr. Shahani's remarks he did not hold his community blameless, but it was not entirely blameworthy, and perhaps when Dr. Shahani was in India the attitude of the Anglo-Indian left something to be desired. He himself was the most ardent critic of the attitude which Dr. Shahani condemned, because it not only tended to create friction but to make the Anglo-Indian look away from his friends in India. That was all changing; he had set himself to change the psychology of Anglo-Indian education, to make the Anglo-Indian proud of his position, to know that India was his country and all Indians were his brothers. When that was accomplished the Anglo-Indian schools would make a most vital contribution to Indian life generally. With regard to Eurasia, there were no half-castes; India was the greatest hotch-potch of castes ever seen; and why were the Americans and the British the most virile races? Because of their age-long intermingling with the other races of the world.

Sir HARRY HAIG proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker and the Chairman, which was accorded by applause.

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL INDIAN STATES

BY SIR WILLIAM BARTON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

In a paper I read last May to members of the Royal Society of Arts and the East India Association I discussed the post-war economic policy of the States of Southern India. On that occasion I was concerned with five or six of the larger States—for example, the Dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, in size and importance rivalling Siam, Burma or Afghanistan; of the others Mysore, Travancore, Cochin are not only economically developed but have, in the political field, closely approached the position of constitutional monarchy.

The States of Northern and Central India vary greatly in size and importance. The Simla hill States, for example, are small patches of mountain territory where primitive people are governed patriarchially by Rajput chiefs. There were, till recently, hundreds of semi-independent fiefs in the Kathiawar peninsula and on the borders of the British Province of Gujarat; they have now been amalgamated with the States to which in pre-British times they were accredited. The great majority have been attached to Baroda.

In Central India there are about eighty States, varying from Gwalior, with an area of 26,000 square miles, nearly as large as Mysore, to States of three or four square miles. It is the policy of His Majesty's Government, through the Viceroy as Crown Representative, to induce these small States to form groups for common purposes, such as an up-to-date police administration, the establishment of High Courts, expert medical supervision, economic development and other administrative requirements which, left to themselves, they would be unable to provide.

Rajputana, the national home of the Rajputs, is a vast tract of country of 128,000 square miles, mostly desert. Several States of importance—Bikanir, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur—divide most of this territory between them.

Patiala and Bahawalpor are the leading States in the Punjab group. Most northerly of all is the great State of Kashmir.

In my earlier paper I sketched briefly the origin of the Indian States. I noted that many of them were succession States to the Mughal Empire; of those with which we are concerned this afternoon, the States of Bhopal, Bahawalpor, the Sikh State of Patiala, the Maratha States of Baroda, Gwalior and Indore come within this category. Patiala sought British protection early in the nineteenth century against Ranjit Singh, Ruler of the Punjab; the Maratha States came into subordinate alliance with the British after their defeat in 1818, with the exception of Baroda, which had been in alliance with Britain nearly half a century before.

The Rajput family which now rules Kashmir acquired that country in 1846. It had been ceded to Britain by the Sikhs in lieu of an indemnity of a million sterling after their defeat in an unprovoked attack on British territory. The Rajput chief of Jammu offered to pay the indemnity if Kashmir were handed over to him. The British had no desire to add to their administrative responsibilities and accepted the offer on condition that the chief acknowledged British suzerainty.

So much for the historical background. As in the Southern States, the administration in most of the States in Central and Northern India is modelled on British Indian principles. Much progress has been made in the constitutional field and in most of the important States—Kashmir, Patiala, Baroda, Bhopal, Jaipure, for instance—the people's representatives have been brought into close touch with the administration; in some—*e.g.*, Baroda, Kashmir—through responsible ministers. Government is

generally in the hands of an Executive Council. In some respects the States are in advance of British India. In Baroda, for example, child marriage was prohibited long before a similar step was taken by the Indian Government. The percentage of literacy in this State, 25 per cent. is twice that of its great neighbour.

Some of the States have already much to show in industrial and economic development generally. Indore, for example, stands fourth in India in the development of the textile industry. Kashmir has many indigenous industries—wood and metal carving, furniture and carpet manufacture, homespun woollen cloths, silk. The artistic excellence of Jaipur metal-work is well known. The production of munitions for the Government of India in most of the States has led to an improvement in technique in industry and the training of many new recruits for its mechanical processes.

Thus post-war development has a favourable start. The Princes and their advisers take a broad view of the principles involved; it is not, they feel, enough to concentrate on efforts to raise the standard of living. If the common man is to be better off it is necessary to improve his outlook on life. Better housing they consider is essential; so too is education; medical relief must be more readily available. Improvements in roads, railways and communications generally figure in most programmes. The leading Rajput States, especially Kashmir and the Maratha States, have furnished many recruits to the Indian Army, and have placed most of their regular forces at the disposal of the King-Emperor. It is satisfactory to note that in the economic policy of these States the resettlement of demobilized soldiers takes a prominent place.

As regards labour conditions in the States in question it may be noted that in practically all of them legislation encouraging the growth of Trades Unionism has been enacted. Workmen's Compensation Acts and Maternity Benefit Acts have been passed by many of them; child labour is regulated by statute.

As in British India, more than 80 per cent. of the people of the States live on the land. The principal market for urban industry is in the villages; the planners in the States realize that effective development demands a correct balance between industry and agriculture. The emphasis in most plans is on agriculture. Much is to be spent on irrigation, both from wells and canals, on animal husbandry and on improved methods of farming. As regards industry, the general policy is to leave a free hand to private enterprise. The State is, however, prepared to aid new industries, especially in providing cheap power. The absence of coal in most of the States is a handicap to industry; it is hoped to overcome this in many cases by the development of a cheap supply of electricity by means of water power. Large sums are set aside in most States for the training of technicians, both in State institutions and in Britain and the U.S.A.

BARODA

I pass on to consider the more important schemes of development in the larger States; Baroda takes a prominent place. With the 246 small States of Kathiawar and Gujarat recently attached to it, it has an area of 14,000 square miles and a population of 3,500,000. A Board of Industrial Advice has been set up, including several leading industrialists from Bombay, like Sir Homi Mehta and Sir Sultan Chinoy. (The former, by the way, has several mills in Baroda, and proposes to set up new ones.) A Development Minister has been appointed. Baroda has already 866 miles of railway; extensions of 157 miles are required to open up the attached States. It is proposed to spend £2,000,000 on roads and £1,500,000 on railways. An electric grid to supply power to industry and for lighting towns and villages is to be set up, current being taken from the grid the Bombay Government have planned for Gujarat. £500,000 is to be spent on electrically driven tube wells for irrigation pur-

poses. Other irrigation schemes are being taken up. The expansion of industry will be encouraged by loans. Already Baroda has nineteen textile mills. It is hoped to double them in the next five years.

At the western end of the Kathiawar peninsula Baroda has an all-weather port, Okhamandal, which handles some 300,000 tons of cargo yearly. It is proposed to instal a ship-building yard in this port, capable of building four steamers of 8,000 tons capacity a year.

As regards finance, for many years the public revenue of Baroda has been carefully handled and there are large reserves available. The capital resources of the State generally, built up by huge accumulations of war profits, should in the opinion of the Prime Minister, Sir Brojendra Mitter, be forthcoming to help carry out the State plans.

The Baroda Government have given a squadron to the R.A.F. The State and its people have made considerable contributions to war funds. The State has its up-to-date technical institute; hundreds of men have been trained for the technical services of the Indian Army. Textiles and drugs in large quantities have been supplied to the Government of India. A Baroda battalion is serving abroad.

CENTRAL INDIA STATES

The other two big Maratha States, Gwalior and Indore, emulate Baroda, both in administrative and economic development. Gwalior, like Baroda, is financially sound; the late Ruler not only built up very substantial reserves but did much to promote the success of the great steel firm of Tatas by investing huge sums in the enterprise. Many industries have been established in Gwalior; the State has given a lead to India in providing motor transport facilities. A seaplane base has been established on a great artificial lake near the capital city. Over £2,000,000 has been spent in the past few years on irrigation. Various hydro-electric projects are under consideration. Proposals have been made for setting up a system of collective farming, for regrouping holdings into economical units, and for finding employment for men who lose their holdings in the regrouping process. Old and uneconomical cattle are to be destroyed. One imagines that the Indian peasant would not readily adapt himself to such a revolutionary scheme.

Gwalior has one of the best armies in the States. The greater part is now serving overseas or in India.

Indore, as already observed, is noted for its textiles. Its mills have supplied £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 of different kinds of cloth to the Indian Army. In this State post-war planning generally follows the lines adopted elsewhere. The financial position is sound, helped by the policy of the Ruler in maintaining a comparatively small civil list.

Other important States in Central India deserving notice in the present context are Rewa and Bhopal.

Rewa is one of the largest Rajput States with an area of 13,000 square miles, and a population approaching 2,000,000. It is a backward country and a large proportion of the population are aborigines. Roads and railways are lacking; the State capital is not linked to the main railway system of British India. Defective communications are one of the reasons why the great natural resources of the State are undeveloped. The State authorities feel that the time has come to make good the leeway. There are extensive coalfields so far undeveloped, the output being only 35,000 tons a month. The reserves of coal are, in the opinion of the geological experts of the Government of India, enormous. Several new collieries are to be opened at once.

The post-war plans the State proposes to put into effect include the development of communications by means of roads and railways, hydro-electric schemes, and the extension of irrigation. A scheme of hydro-electric development, planned to pro-

duce 250,000 kilowatts, by means of a dam at the junction of two rivers in the centre of the State, the Sone and the Banas, is to be carried out with the co-operation of the Indian provincial governments of Bihar and the United Provinces, which will share the power and use the water for irrigation. Cement is to be manufactured on a large scale, and other industries are to be set up with State assistance. It is believed that reserve funds are available to finance the State schemes, and there is little doubt that much of the necessary capital will be attracted from outside, especially for the development of the coal industry.

Bhopal, under the able and vigorous leadership of its Ruler, is, after Hyderabad, the most important Muslim State in India. It has played a great part in the war, both in providing funds, military units, recruits and material. A large proportion of its Budget has been devoted to war expenditure. The post-war plans include a hydro-electric scheme and the development of the fruit and tobacco industries. A plan for establishing a seaplane base on the lake near the capital city is under consideration. An expenditure of some £8,000,000 is provided for post-war schemes.

BIKANIR

I pass on to Rajputana. Here the States that figure prominently in post-war development schemes are Jaipur, Bikanir and Jodhpur. Most of the other States have schemes for extending and improving irrigation. Bundi is offering 100,000 acres to ex-soldiers. Economic development generally in Rajputana is handicapped by the age-old semi-feudal tenure on which a great proportion of the land is held. Efforts are being made to counteract the impediment, especially in the States I have mentioned.

Bikanir, a desert State of 23,000 square miles, with a population of 1,250,000, has, under the inspiration of its late Ruler, done much to overcome its economic disadvantages. The State has in recent years spent over £2,000,000 on bringing in canal irrigation from the Punjab. Many of the colonists who have developed the area commanded by the canal come from that Province.

In its post-war planning the State owes much to the insight, inspiration and drive of its Prime Minister, Mr. K. M. Pannikar, a well-known Indian administrator. The most prominent element in the Bikanir scheme is the irrigating of 2,000 square miles of desert by means of the great new Punjab canal to be fed from a huge reservoir in the little hill State of Bilaspur in the Simla hills. The highest dam in the world, to be known as the Bhakra dam, is to be built across the Sutlej to form the reservoir. Several millions of acres will be irrigated from the reservoir in the south-east Punjab. The water on its way to the plains will be used to develop something like 250,000 kilowatts. The Bikanir share of the cost of the dam and canal is about £6,000,000. The State will have to rely on settlers from the Punjab to develop the new canal colonies. It will have a great opportunity of attracting a fine type of agriculturist by offering land to demobilized soldiers.

As regards industry the Bikanir plan relies mainly on private enterprise for development. The main concern of Government is to supply the pre-requisites of industry—*e.g.*, credit facilities, transport arrangements, facilities for training technicians; above all, the provision of cheap industrial power. There are no hydro-electrical possibilities in Bikanir; current should, however, be available in the northern districts from the Bhakra dam system. For the rest of the country it will be necessary to rely on a thermal system of electric supply. Fortunately for the State it possesses deposits of lignite officially considered as practically inexhaustible. The plan proposes to utilize lignite for producing electric power. Gypsum is found in large quantities. This will be utilized with lignite to produce chemical fertilizers. Lignite will also be used in the manufacture of cement. An output of 1,000 tons of

lignite a day is envisaged. The Bikanir Government would prefer to hand over the collieries to a company managed by experts. It is estimated that capital for this scheme will run into £2,000,000.

For other industries there is an ample supply of raw material for textiles in cotton grown in the canal colonies and in wool of good quality which is produced on a large scale. For technical assistance and trained and unskilled labour Bikanir will have to look abroad; British India can spare masses in the last category. The Bikanir Government are right in thinking that the Rajputana States should combine to set up an adequate technical institute of their own. They cannot expect British India to supply all their needs in this respect.

A State Bank has been recently established. The finances of the State, carefully watched over by the late Ruler, are on a sound footing. Private capital will, however, be required. It should be forthcoming.

It is an interesting fact that a large proportion of India's financial and industrial millionaires come from the Marwar country—viz., Bikanir, Jaipur and Jodhpur. One meets Marwaris in every big town in India; they dominate the economic life of Bengal; the lower levels prey on the industrial worker. The multi-millionaire, Mr. G. D. Birla, an enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Gandhi and a financial pillar of the Indian Congress, comes from Jaipur.

JAIPUR

Jaipur is one of the largest and most populous States of Rajputana. It has been fortunate, during a period when its economic policy had to be planned for years ahead, in having as its Prime Minister a statesman and administrator of the quality of Sir Mirza Ismail, fresh from great achievements in the economic development of Mysore. The Five-Year Plan booklet of 82 pages, prepared under Sir Mirza's auspices, may well be commended to those interested in economic problems in India generally. The emphasis is on agriculture. With an outlay of £4,000,000 it is hoped to irrigate about 320,000 acres by means of reservoirs and tanks. An experiment is to be made with tube wells when sufficient electric power is available. The Jaipur Government has concluded an agreement with the adjacent State of Kotah to take 20,000 kilowatts from a hydro-electric scheme estimated to produce five times that quantity. A dam will be constructed for the purpose at a gorge in the Chambal river. Three other States—Udaipur, Indore and Gwalior—will share the power to be developed and the cost involved. The scheme has been approved by the Electrical Adviser to the Government of India. The cost to Jaipur will be £750,000. 3,000 kilowatts will be utilized for tube wells; the remainder will be distributed by a grid all over the State for industry and lighting. A further block of 10,000 kilowatts will be available if required.

As to industries, there is a £4,000,000 project for the manufacture of heavy chemicals out of the bitterns on the Sambhur Salt Lake. The policy of industrialization initiated in 1942 has already yielded substantial results. Within three years 107 limited liability companies have been started with an authorized capital of £15,000,000. Many of the industrial establishments thus started have been manufacturing non-ferrous alloys, iron and steel articles, tanks, blankets, etc., for military use. Several other industries—e.g., woollen textiles, rubber manufacture, cement, cycle components—are to be started. Altogether the five-year plan in Jaipur is estimated to cost £7,000,000. Of this about £750,000 is to be spent in railway extensions. As in Bikanir, the Jaipur Government is entitled to expect substantial capital contributions from its Marwaris who have made fortunes in British India.

JODHPUR

Of other Rajput States Jodhpur is well known for the interest the Ruler, himself a skilled pilot, takes in aviation. There is a big civil aerodrome at the capital, and during the war Jodhpur has been an R.A.F. centre. The State, which is second in order of population in Rajputana, is mainly agricultural. A Development Minister has been appointed and a five-year plan elaborated. The resettlement of demobilized soldiers has a prominent place in the schemes. A combined hydro-electric and irrigation scheme, to cost £1,000,000, is to be carried out; heavy chemicals, cement, woollen and cotton textiles are among the industries it is proposed to establish. Several towns are to be electrified. About £1,000,000 is to be spent on railways, largely in re-equipment.

As already noted, Kotah and Udaipur share in a joint electric scheme with Jaipur. The small State of Bundi has a hydro-electric scheme on the Mez river.

KATHIAWAR

Only seven or eight States in Kathiawar are of any importance—*e.g.*, Kutch, Bhavnagar, Nawanagar, Porbandar, Junagadh, Rajkot, Morvu. Though small they are progressive. Bhavnagar, for example, ten years or so ago scaled down the rural debt carrying 25 per cent. interest, and lent the amount necessary to liquidate it to the peasantry at 4 per cent. Rajkot is planning an industrial town which will be supplied with electric power. The peninsula has a considerable maritime trade through its ports, Porbandar, Verawal (Junagadh), Nawanagar.

Most of the States are planning an expansion of industry and agricultural development. As regards industrial development much would be gained by a policy of co-operation in, for instance, the development of electric power, the joint working of railways, and telephones with a network of telephones over the peninsula. A big power station at the port of Bhavnagar on the East and another at Okha in the West could import coal cheaply from Calcutta or South Africa and supply the whole peninsula at cheap rates through a grid.

PATIALA

Patiala is the most important of the Punjab States. It is an important Sikh centre; the population of nearly 2,000,000 is mostly composed of Sikhs. Over 60,000 Sikhs from the State have enlisted in the Indian armies; a Sikh battalion from Patiala won renown in the defence of the Indian frontier against the Japanese. The State is mainly agricultural. Like Bikanir it is to share in the benefits to be derived from the Bhakra dam project. 500,000 acres will be irrigated from the new canals. Much will be done for the home-coming soldier. Patiala is only 50 miles from the Bhakra dam and will take power from the hydro-electric system that is to be set up there.

► In the time at my disposal I can only refer in passing to one other Punjab State, Bahawalpor, a Muslim State, third in importance in that category. Situated in the south-west of the Punjab it was in a position to benefit from the Sutlej Valley irrigation project engineered by the Punjab Government. With an expenditure of nearly £12,500,000, Bahawalpor has been able to bring water to 2,500,000 acres of desert country in recent years. This has absorbed most of its finance, and for the next few years the State Government will be occupied in developing the new canal colonies. An elaborate system of road development combined with a motor transport system is to be carried out.

KASHMIR

Last in the series is the great State of Kashmir. With an area of 86,000 square miles it is a little larger than Hyderabad, but has less than a quarter (4,000,000) of the Hyderabad population.

The State has vast resources at present very undeveloped. Extensive forests yield a large revenue; there is a flourishing pastoral industry; the finest fruit in the world can be produced in great quantities; the indigenous industries of the country already noted, such as wood carving and metal work, papier mâché and other art productions, employ large numbers of the population. The beauty of the hills and valleys of Kashmir with their bracing climate attracts thousands of visitors, Indian and British, in the summer months; tourism is, in fact, a very profitable industry. It is proposed to encourage it by an elaborate scheme of development in the favourite hill resort of Gulmarg. Coal of good quality occurs in large quantities in the valleys bordering on the Punjab, but lack of communications has so far prevented its exploitation. There is reason to suppose the existence of oil in the southern areas of the State. Many other minerals are found—mica, copper, barytes, iron ore, bauxite—but so far little has been done to exploit them.

The dearth of good roads is a drawback to economic development. There are no railways in Kashmir. Post-war planning aims at removing this defect, not only by expanding the road system but by setting up trolley buses on the main lines of communication with India. There is a scheme for connecting by this means Jammu, the winter capital, with Srinagar, at a cost of £1,500,000. This would involve tunnelling at 7,000 feet. Fifty motor buses will be run each way daily, carrying passengers and goods. In fact, the bus system is to be a substitute for railways; the scheme when carried out should be a great stimulus to trade, especially to the fruit industry, to tourism, and to the artistic products of Srinagar.

Kashmir has almost limitless opportunities for producing hydro-electric power. At present only a small-size almost worn-out system is working. It is proposed to set up a new installation in the Sind Valley at a cost of £250,000 to produce 6,000 kilowatts. Another much larger system is planned at Riasi on the Chenab, near the Punjab frontier. The cost has not yet been worked out. The current used by these schemes will be used to drive the trolley buses, in industry, for lighting and heating and for pumping water from the Jhelum for irrigation. Elaborate plans are being prepared for finding employment for and re-settling on the land of about 50,000 demobilized soldiers, most of them recruited for the Indian Army. Kashmir sent several battalions to the front, all first-class material. The Kashmir Mountain Battery did fine work at Keren in the Abyssinian campaign. Improvements in agriculture and animal husbandry and forestry are to be carried out. A drive has been made of recent years to abolish illiteracy among adults by a system of evening classes.

THE STATES INDUSTRIAL DELEGATION

In conclusion, I would remind British industrialists that the Indian States have sent over to Europe and America a Trade Delegation to invite co-operation in their development schemes. In parenthesis it may be noted that the States have expressed their readiness generally to adapt their economic policy to the policy of the Government of India, while keeping a free hand as far as possible in their own territories. British co-operation is especially desired. The States wish to maintain and strengthen the British connection, not entirely for their own selfish purposes, as their detractors would assert, but because in their view a self-governing India should, in her own interests, remain in the British Commonwealth; economic collaboration would strengthen the link.

62 *Development Schemes in Northern and Central Indian States*

Sardar H. S. Malik, Prime Minister of Patiala, leader of the Delegation, told Press representatives in London that they had orders to place for a very large amount of machinery and equipment. Machinery covers a wide range, and includes railway material and rolling stock, road-making machinery, machine tools, textile machinery and electrical apparatus of all kinds. Technical advice and assistance are specially desired. The States responsible for the Delegation are mainly those whose plans I have discussed in this paper.

The discussion on this paper read at a joint meeting with the Royal Society of Arts on December 6 will be given in the April issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association.)

CHINA'S POST-WAR INDUSTRIALIZATION

BY YUN CHEN

(Head of the Delegation of the National Resources Commission)

CHINA's post-war problem is quite different from that confronting Great Britain as well as from that of the United States. Whereas your problem is one of a comparatively smooth transition from a wartime economy to one of peace, a problem of how to maintain full employment when millions of servicemen and defence plant workers return to their normal life, ours is a problem of how to reconstruct our economic life, how to change our methods of production as well as our ways of living. In other words, your main job after the war is to readjust what you already have had, while ours is to construct what we never possessed.

If any one word could well represent our post-war problem and policy that word should be "*Industrialization*."

When an Englishman or American hears such a word he may find nothing particular in it, because he is already familiar with it. In China, however, this word carries a very deep meaning. It means a radical deviation from the traditional way of thinking. It indicates a new awakening, not only of the Government and leaders, but also of the common people. It is now no exaggeration to say that industrialization has become a *national* movement in China.

This movement has not arisen by accident. Bitter facts and painful experiences during the last several decades, especially during the eight hard years of war against Japan, have continuously taught us that industrialization is the only way out for China. Now, both the Chinese Government and people are determined to realize it, so determined, in fact, that nothing in the world can stop us from working for that goal.

China fully realizes that without industrialization the standard of living, or we may say the purchasing power, of her four hundred million people can hardly be raised; without industrialization she can hardly be a stabilizing factor in world peace and world prosperity. She realizes that if her eight years of war against the invader are not to be followed by a full-swing programme of industrialization, the blood of millions of her people will have been shed in vain.

Some friends in the United States and Great Britain warn us that in view of the present situation in China it is too early to talk about industrialization. China should first have a stabilized monetary system, then good roads and good communications, then good public utilities, then good irrigation systems and waterworks, then good farms, then and only then she can talk about industries. Such an idea is excellent. However, what we mean by industrialization is not the establishing of some industrial and mining enterprises alone. Industries and mines are only the backbone of industrialization. Their development must be accompanied by a sound money and banking system, modernized transportation and communications, adequate power plants, large-scale waterworks and irrigation systems, and most important of all, mechanized agriculture. This whole process is, for us, called industrialization.

Rome was not built in a day. Industrialization in China is a big job which is to be carried out step by step through many years to come. But it must be carried out, from the very beginning, in a well-balanced and well-co-ordinated way. The development of industries and mines must be co-ordinated with that of agriculture. And the development of capital-goods industries must be co-ordinated with that of consumption-goods industries. And Government enterprises must be co-ordinated with private undertakings.

We deeply admire the marvellous industrial achievements of Great Britain and the United States under their free-enterprise system. We also admire the wonderful industrial achievements of the Soviet Union under its planned State economy. But we are in no position to copy slavishly either of these two good systems, because

existing conditions do not permit of our doing so. We have to find our own way. That way is a co-ordinated economy with the Government playing an important part. We don't want to have a planned economy handled entirely by the State. But that does not mean that we cannot have economic plans. Actually we have a first draft of a post-war five-year-plan, a plan for industries and mines, for transport and communications, for irrigation and agriculture. We plan not only for our Government undertakings, but also for the major activities of private capital. We plan not only for the development of different branches of economic activity, we also plan for their co-ordination.

In one word, we plan for the most efficient way of achieving industrialization.

As I have already stated, the rôle the Government will play in China's economic reconstruction is all-important. This is so, not merely because of the intention of the Government to maintain the key economic activities of the country under its control, but also because of the fact that in a country like China private capital is far from being strong enough to take the whole responsibility of carrying out our economic reconstruction programme. There are enterprises which rank very high in the priority list and yet are not attractive to private capital from the profit point of view. There are enterprises which China needs most urgently and yet, because of their tremendous scope, private parties are not able to undertake them. There are other enterprises which, because of their monopolistic nature, are not suitable for private operation. Such enterprises will become "nobody's business" in China, if the Government is not prepared to take them up. The Government should do what private parties will not, cannot, and should not do. And there lies the reason why the Chinese Government has to play an important part in our post-war economic reconstruction. Taking enterprises individually, private operations may be more efficient than Government operation. When I say "may be," there is of course a possibility of "may not be." However, taking a nation's economic reconstruction as a whole, State enterprise and State-controlled undertakings will certainly be much more efficient and effective than private concerns in achieving a definite aim set up in a programme with a short time-limit.

As is the case with Great Britain, China's State enterprises will be confined to a limited field, such as some key industries, railways, central banking business, etc. There are a thousand and one industries and other economic undertakings, which our Government will encourage, foster, assist, and, when necessary, even organize private capital to develop. We do not wish to abolish private initiative and private investment, we even want to strengthen them.

China is an economically backward country. In order to carry out any sizeable reconstruction programme, we need foreign assistance, financial, technical, managerial and even moral. Just as we needed the close co-operation of the Allied Powers to win a war against the Japanese invader, so we now need your collaboration and assistance to win a war against our internal economic handicaps and backwardness. Every Chinese is grateful for what your country did in assisting us to establish a new monetary system in 1935. Without such a monetary reform eight years of war would, financially, have been unthinkable.

China always welcomes foreign investments. Several decades ago Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Republic, laid down the foundation of China's industrialization programme, under the title of "International Development of China."*

It is true that there was a time when the industrialists and business men of friendly foreign nations hesitated to make investments in China. And there was a time when the bona-fide intentions of foreign investments were somewhat doubted by some over-cautious Chinese because of the extra-territorial rights then enjoyed by foreigners. But now such times are past. China feels self-confident in her maturity in the family of the United Nations and has made up her mind to welcome foreign capital with almost no restrictions. New legislation will be enacted as soon as possible to facilitate such capital measures. The old limitations as to the percentage of shares owned by foreign investors are to be no longer effective.

* Published for the London Office, Chinese Ministry of Information, by Hutchinson and Co. (Publishers), Ltd. 7s. 6d.

Besides the assistance to be obtained from foreign Governments and investors, China will, of course, put up her own best. She must fully utilize both her public resources and the people's savings for the national programme, without much sacrifice of her people's standard of living, which is already very low. China is entitled to get heavy reparations from Japan in kind, especially in her industrial properties. Chinese exports must be increased in order to balance her heavy imports.

We are quite familiar with the fine workmanship and design of British machine goods and textiles. We would like to buy more capital goods from your country as soon as transport facilities are recovered. We hope you will help us in building up a textile industry which will take up Japan's former position, but which will not create keen competition with your fine textiles. As you know, Chinese silk and tea are exquisite. Please drink more Chinese tea and use more Chinese silk. As we grow to understand each other more deeply in our cultural relations, so will our trade relations become more intimate.

In conclusion, I cannot over-emphasize the fact that the most immediate objective of our modest industrialization programme is to raise the standard of living and the purchasing power of the common people in China. Chinese cheap labour must no longer be exploited by our foreign friends, nor by our own nationals. The worker must have decent living conditions and reasonable wages. As soon as he can buy more and enjoy life more the peace of the Far East, and ultimately of the world, is secured.

COMMERCIAL REHABILITATION IN CHINA

BY WANG HSIAO-LAI

(Member of the People's Political Council and Chairman of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce)

WITH the conclusion of World War II the attention of the protagonists has turned to the problem of rehabilitation. Commercially, China is faced with two main problems which await immediate solution. How should commercial prosperity be maintained and trade development be stepped up? And how should war-time commercial barriers and handicaps be abolished?

To maintain commercial prosperity and promote trade several steps must be taken. Now that the war has ended, many Government employees and a large number of refugees will be rushing back to the coastal provinces from the interior. Allied friends who have been in Free China will be sent eastward or else return to their own countries. As a result, commodity prices in the coastal provinces will rise while those in the interior will suffer a major slump. If the Government banks are ready to issue loans at low interest rates merchants in the interior will not have to dump their commodities on the market, and the fall in prices may therefore not be too steep.

Meanwhile, the Government should adopt relief measures for helping refugees and Government employees who are returning to the recovered areas. Subsidized travelling expenses would enable them to bring more material resources with them, thereby helping to balance markets both in the interior and the coastal provinces.

As the currencies issued by the Japanese and puppet Governments are now worthless and the amount of "fapi" (legal tender) in circulation in the recovered areas is limited, immediate steps should be taken by the Government to maintain local trade. This can be accomplished by restoring Government financial organizations throughout these territories and increasing their reserve funds.

Now that the banks owned by the Japanese and puppet Governments have suspended operations, their properties should be placed at the disposal of the Government. The Japanese should be held responsible for the notes which were issued as well as for deposits.

Transportation and communication between the interior and the coastal provinces should be greatly facilitated. The extension of communications over a wide area would mean an expansion of commodity markets, and this would have a favourable effect on prices. For the purpose of maintaining production industrial and commercial enterprises should be protected. Many a factory in the interior is too poorly equipped to be moved, but it was these concerns that battled hard to keep going during the long war years. It will need a large number of technicians and specialists to take over the factories owned and operated by the Japanese and their puppets, and the concerns in the interior should be given an opportunity of developing and promoting them.

With regard to the removal of handicaps to trade, our economic structure has been mainly built on lines laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his *Industrial Plans for China*.^{*} Industrial development will be along two lines: private enterprises, which should be encouraged so as to meet the vital economic needs of the people; and state enterprises, which are comparatively few as China is an agricultural nation.

The traditional price policy has been *laissez faire*, but during the war inflation and shortage of materials had caused an incessant rise of commodity prices. Hence price control, which was aimed at relieving the salaried class. Owing to lack of experience and ineffective control measures, however, this was not a success. It resulted in decreased production, market confusion and inconvenience to the consumer.

With the end of the war commodity prices are steadily declining. The necessity for price control, therefore, no longer exists. It may be argued that a fall in prices should also be controlled because it is unfavourable to the producer. But, judging from the actual situation, I am convinced that more panic has been caused by price control than by any sudden slump in prices.

Certain controls of materials and resources imposed by the Government should also be abolished. Taxes in kind which were aimed at increasing the national income, guarding against inflation, and off-setting the evil caused by cornering the market and hoarding in war-time, were a supplementary measure to price control and should be discontinued.

Regulations prohibiting the establishment of commercial banks and the opening of new branches of existing banks are likewise no longer necessary. In war-time such regulations are useful for preventing banks from abusing their privileges, but in peace-time they are only handicaps to trade. With commodity prices steadily falling hoarding is no longer profitable and is not practised. Furthermore, unscrupulous inspections and searches of goods carried out by national and local organizations impede the circulation of commodities and cause great inconvenience to merchants.

An essential and fundamental step to economic reconstruction is the raising of the value of our national currency. The relationship between currency and commerce is like oil to a machine. A sound currency system is essential for the free flow of commodities; and the problem of the rehabilitation of trade in China cannot be solved unless and until a stable national currency has been established.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN TURKEY

By K. R. AND A. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP

To understand the aim and achievement of modern Turkish education it is essential first to consider the main principles of Ottoman education and to realize how, since the eighteenth century, educational progress in Turkey has been indissolubly linked with the development of the idea of Westernization. The Islamic religion not only regulated the duties of the individual to God and his fellow-men, but provided the

^{*} These Plans were originally written in English and entitled "International Development of China."

basis on which depended the administration of justice and the growth and organization of education and learning. To Muhammad himself are attributed the sayings, "The ink of the learned and the blood of the martyrs are of equal value in the sight of heaven," and "a father can confer upon his child nothing more valuable than a good education"; and therefore Sultan Mahomet "the Conqueror" dutifully followed the tenets of his religion in founding eight "medreses" (theological seminaries) round the mosque which was named after him in Constantinople and in making his new capital a centre of learning and culture. It is, however, the age of Süleyman "the Magnificent" (1520-1566) which can be described as the most enlightened period of Ottoman education. In his brilliant reign the study of medicine, mathematics (considered the basis of the study of law), natural science and Arabic literature, as well as purely theological studies, flourished in the reformed "medreses"; primary schools attached to mosques and preparatory "medreses" ("tetummes") were established; and Süleyman's services to Turkish education are remembered by his reorganization and extension of public instruction and his liberal and far-seeing patronage of learning and the arts. Yet it is not surprising that after Süleyman's reign the "medreses" became centres of narrow scholasticism and sophistry and made no intellectual advance. The spirit of Turkish learning was based both on the Koran and on the survival of Greek philosophy, which had been transmitted to Turkey through Muslim scholars writing in Arabic, and the influence of Aristotle, as interpreted by Muslim philosophers, still lingered on among the "Ulema" or learned men, who were averse from taking advantage of the contacts with Europe opened up by Süleyman's enormous European empire. Confining their intelligence to Oriental modes of thought and expression and to traditional methods of teaching they were opposed to any new ideas and experiments. Thus during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries while in Europe the boundaries of knowledge in science, medicine and the humanities were being swiftly advanced, Turkey was left outside the main stream of Western culture and decay soon set in.

The movement for Westernization may be said to date from the reign of Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730). Under the stimulus of misfortunes and disasters abroad, progressively minded Turks began to realize that European civilization possessed certain valuable qualities from which Turkey might benefit, and a small though insistent demand for reform gradually arose. Under the wise patronage of the Grand Vizier, Damat Ibrahim Pasha, who was anxious to introduce European culture as a stimulus to the sterility of the Turkish learning of his day, literature, art and science began to develop and the process was accelerated by a Hungarian Prince who became a Muslim and imported the first printing press to Turkey. Not unnaturally the progress made in Europe was specially evident to the army, and it was due to the efforts of a French count who had taken service with the Sultan that the first School of Naval Artillery was founded at Scutari in 1732.

A more definite shape was given to the efforts for reform by Sultan Selim III, who was convinced of the necessity of radical reform in all branches of government and education. Beginning his rule in the same year as the outbreak of the French Revolution, he made energetic efforts to raise the level of education among all classes of his subjects and encouraged the translation of many European works of science into Turkish. He was anxious to obtain all the information possible concerning the nations of Europe and to find out the cause of their superiority on the field of battle. In his youth he had even sought political instruction from the French King through a confidential agent. Some of his actions were inspired by a far-sightedness and toleration most remarkable in his day. For example, when the Greek revolutionary movement tried to inflame anti-Turkish feeling in the new schools which had been opened in Greece, Selim, instead of closing them, decided on the novel and wiser course of employing Greek clergy to write treatises in favour of the Turkish Government and established a Greek printing press in Constantinople. Another notable feature of the reign was the sending of Turkish missions to be attached to the permanent embassies which the Sultan endeavoured to establish at the chief European courts, so that by visiting London, Paris, Vienna and Berlin, a certain number of his subjects could be provided with a wider political education than they could ever have acquired at home. Yet so far was he in advance of Turkish thought of his day,

isolated as it was from European civilization, and so great the opposition which his reforms aroused, that they ultimately cost him his life at the hands of the reactionary Janissaries.

Throughout the reign of his successor Mahmud II (1809-1839) "the Reformer," when Turkey was immersed in troubles in many parts of the empire and in financial difficulties at home, both the movement for Westernization, symbolized in the military sphere by the abolition of the Janissaries, and the opposing forces gathered strength; and in 1824, although there were as yet hardly the means to put it into practice, compulsory education for all as part of a general drive for Europeanization was proclaimed by the Sultan, and plans were made to modernize the existing schools. In spite of fanatical opposition the first secondary schools or "Rüştiyes" were established and a medical school opened. Sultan Mahmud's first efforts to send 150 students to study in Europe were defeated, but later some officers of the artillery school and various others, including the chemist Dervish Pasha, succeeded in going to England. Among the many services which Sultan Mahmud rendered his country, the careful education of his successor, Abdul Mecit, must not be forgotten, and his father's instructions that the reforms already initiated must be continued and extended were faithfully observed by the new Sultan.

The historical period commonly known as the "Tanzimat" or "Reform" dates from 1839, when legal sanction was given to the movement by the Sultan's proclamation of the "Hattı Şerif" (Imperial Charter). This resembled the French "Proclamation des Droits de l'Homme," and proclaimed equality of civil rights for all citizens, Muslim and non-Muslim, based on the principles of liberty and justice. It was followed in 1845 by another important edict which decreed that the education in the existing primary schools was to be free and made secondary education, hitherto practically non-existent, compulsory. A new programme of education for the whole empire was announced, reform of the medical and military schools decreed to be necessary, and proposals made for the foundation of more primary and secondary schools and of an Ottoman University. A Council of Public Instruction was set up to supervise the execution of this policy, and, a significant pointer to the future, while the "medreses" remained unchanged, the new primary schools were made independent of the monopoly previously exercised by the "Ulema" and of the control of the highest religious authority of the country, the Sheikh-ul-Islam. Up to this point the move away from the traditional conception of education as the prerogative of the religious organization was only indirect, but in 1860 progressive educationists founded the Ottoman Scientific Society whose avowed aim was the promotion of secular education. A few teachers were therefore sent to Europe to get the necessary training for becoming teachers at the Turkish University; while in 1858 the Normal School for Boys and the School of Political Sciences were founded, the latter in order to provide the country with a competent and trained civil service, capable of administering the new reforms.

It is difficult to estimate the comparative extent of English and French influence during the Sultanate of Abdul Mecit. The English influence, which is of course especially associated with Sir Stratford Canning, was perhaps more direct, but was mainly confined to the political field. French influence, on the other hand, acting less directly, exercised itself first on literature and advanced political theory, though the Young Turks, at the head of the movement for reform, acknowledged their debt to the ideas of Mill and Spencer as well as to those of Rousseau and Voltaire, in continuing their efforts to pave the way for extending European influences in both politics and education. It was, however, by French modes of thought and expression that the pioneers of new ideas, led by Shinasi Effendi and Namik Kemal, were most profoundly influenced. The translation of Rousseau was undertaken by Ziya Pasha and that of modern French poetry by Shinasi himself, who later founded the first Turkish newspaper. In the reign of Abdul Aziz (1860-1876), however, the French began to take an active part in the field of education. Galata Saray Lycée, with its modern curriculum taught in French, was founded in 1868, with the help of the French Ambassador; the following year saw the issue of the General Regulations for Public Instruction, modelled on French educational organization and the opening of Istanbul University, equipment for the libraries and laboratories being brought from Europe.

The regulations imposed a European pattern on the various stages of education; the schools were divided into two types, public and private, and the educational course into three stages: (1) primary schools, (2) secondary schools and Lycées, and (3) University and higher education. Unfortunately, however, the movement for reform, which had advanced so rapidly, at this point suffered certain set-backs, the most serious being the closure of the University in 1871, the lectures being later transferred to the Galata Saray Lycée.

The year 1876, which saw the foundation of the Ministry of Public Instruction, saw also the deposition of Abdul Aziz, the direct result of the activities of the Young Turks; but its immediate effect was not to advance the cause of reform, for the new Sultan, Abdul Hamit, promptly exiled the Liberal leaders, who departed to France. None the less, throughout the period of the Hamidian tyranny the influences of French secularism still persisted, and after the Revolution in 1908 the advance could, though slowly, be resumed; a Normal School for Girls was opened, and a school for Muslim girls, founded by Mehmet Riza Ali, the Masonic President of the National Assembly. Yet throughout the troubled and unsettled conditions of the period from 1908 to the foundation of the Republic in 1923 educational progress was constantly hampered by opposition from the religious leaders, and by the fact that new ideas and methods had to be grafted on to a system which, as long as the "medreses" exercised a predominant influence, was still fundamentally religious in basis. Consequently in all the educational institutions of this period it is possible to discern a lack of policy and a general hesitancy due to the lack of unity among the different schools and to the struggle between the secular and religious ideals and methods of teaching, while the reorganization of the University of Istanbul and the translation of European educational works could only partially improve the situation. Certain institutions, such as the Medical School, adhered to European technique, and among the intellectuals of that time the influence of Ziya Gökalp, Professor of Sociology at Istanbul, and Professor Ismail Hakki, one of the founders of the National Society of Education and Instruction, must be regarded as especially important in preparing the way for the real reforms which were to come.

There is no need here to elaborate the early history of the Kemalist revolution, but only to put into proper perspective the remarkable achievements in the field of education. The situation was briefly that outlined above, when in 1924 the American Professor John Dewey was invited to visit Turkey and report on the state of education to the new Government. The aims and the nature of the organization of education in Turkey today afford proof of the extent to which his recommendations were followed. Among the many enormous tasks which confronted the Republic the importance of the problem, often attempted in the past, but never solved, of providing universal education was this time taken to heart, and in order to make full use of the experience of educationists in other countries the Minister of Education, accompanied by a commission of experts, made a series of visits to inspect the systems of Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Italy and England, while numerous reports were published, notably that of Professor Ismail Hakki on the experimental schools of Europe, and others on the commercial and technical schools in England, the People's high schools in Denmark, and the Sokol organization in Czechoslovakia. The help of Switzerland was also invited, and in 1932 Professor Malche of the University of Geneva was asked to propose measures for the reorganization of Istanbul University. These foreign contacts have continued; a delegation of Turkish educationists visited technical colleges in this country just before the war, and Professor S. J. Davies has lately been studying Turkish technical education under the auspices of the British Council.* In 1939 the State had sent and was maintaining abroad no less than 560 students.

While foreign advice and help was welcomed by the new Republic, the system devised by Atatürk's Government was especially designed to solve the many intricate problems which were peculiar to Turkey, and it reflects in all its aspects the ideals and aspirations of the Republic. The problem of eliminating illiteracy was helped

* The authors are grateful to Professor S. J. Davies for valuable information concerning technical education in Turkey today.

by the adoption of Latin characters and the energy and enthusiasm brought to the task of extending education in primary, secondary and higher grades may be measured by a study of some recently published graphs which illustrate the remarkable achievements of the Turkish Ministry of Education. The figures shown here are, of course, approximations.*

<i>Education (Years).</i>		<i>Primary Schools.</i>		<i>Teachers.</i>	<i>Pupils.</i>
1930-31	6,000	16,000	500,000
1940-41	10,000	19,000	950,000
<i>Secondary Schools (including Lycées).</i>					
1930-31	90	1,500	30,000
1940-41	225	4,800	122,000
<i>Technical Schools.</i>					
1930-31	60	850	11,000
1940-41	18	800	14,000
<i>Universities and Advanced Colleges, etc.</i>					
1930-31	10	500	4,500
1940-41	18	800	14,000

These figures show most clearly the tremendous expansion which has taken place in the past decade and this is still continuing. As might be expected, the expansion has made it impossible to maintain the former pupil-teacher ratio. Too much emphasis, however, should not be laid on this, since in the multiplicity of small villages (there are over 40,000 with a population of less than 400) a special kind of primary school, known as the "Eğitmen" school, has been devised as a necessary practical measure. These schools, of which there are over 5,000† with over 150,000 pupils, are staffed by teachers who themselves belong to the villages and who, after completing their military service, undergo one year's training either at a village institute or at the place where their military service was performed. They then return to their own villages to teach. The arrangements invite an obvious comparison with the recently announced schemes of English post-war emergency training courses for teachers. The parallel cannot be taken too far since, while the fundamental purpose is the same—to supply the largest number of trained teachers in the shortest possible time in order to realize ambitious educational reforms—the details of the project differ, as do the background and age of the system against which they are framed. It is, however, interesting to note that in each case one year is assumed to be the minimum period required for the production of the competent teacher. Only time will show whether this estimate is as true for England as it has proved to be in Turkey.

The bias of the education given in the village schools, which is perhaps typical of the general spirit which informs Turkish education, is practical, with a strong emphasis on agricultural and domestic subjects, as well as on the three R's. This emphasis is carefully fostered by the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, and gives expression to the Government's policy of encouraging better cultivation and so raising the rural standard of living. The village institutes which have been mentioned, and the development of which is being steadily encouraged, are to some degree comparable with the English rural senior or modern school. They take children aged between twelve and seventeen, and, besides giving courses for "Eğitmen" teachers, wherein, of course, they differ entirely from English practice, they have a strong agricultural and domestic bias.

* The figures and following two paragraphs are printed by permission of *The Times Educational Supplement*, see K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop; *The Turkish Educational System*, T.E.S., June 13, 1942.

† In 1941 there were 5,200 "Eğitmen Schools," in 1942 5,301.

Although the development of a universal system of primary education, for a large agricultural population both of children and of adults, in which the theoretical and practical must be blended, has been the greatest task which the educationists of Turkey have had to face, both secondary and technological education are being vigorously developed. In the former, in which opinion is tending towards mixed rather than single sex schools, emphasis is laid upon foreign languages, sport, and physical education, and a general education of three years (twelve to fifteen) at the *Orta Okulu* (or middle school) is followed by three further years (fifteen to eighteen) at a *Lycée*, which is sometimes in the same building as the middle school. In order that Turkey may be able to develop her own industries, the extension of technological education, particularly in the training of engineers, is today regarded as an extremely important part of the educational system, and the Minister is assisted by an Under-Secretary who devotes practically all his time to the general problems of technological education. There are three main groups of technical schools, each consisting of three stages. Boys in the first group can become "Yüksek Mühendis" or first-class engineers, and in the second or middle group, where the education is less academic in character, second-class engineers. From the third group the boys enter the building trade, and at their craft schools specialize in building and carpentry. A certain amount of interchange between the three groups is possible, and industry can be entered from all stages. A particularly interesting and admirable feature is that the boys in the technical schools are taught to make objects which are actually used in teaching or for the equipment of other schools and colleges.

Parallel provision has been made for girls with special attention paid to the domestic arts and child welfare. The Girls' Domestic Science School at Ankara is divided into two sections, and has now 1,000 pupils, of whom 300 are being trained as domestic science teachers. In the first section, girls of twelve to seventeen years, coming from primary schools, receive, as part of their general education, a full training in all branches of domestic science. Others come from the *Lycées* at a later age, and take a concentrated domestic science course. In the second part of the school, girls of seventeen, drawn from all parts of Turkey, are trained as qualified teachers in three years. The departments of the school include cooking, laundry and dressmaking (most of the work being done to outside orders), and a nursery forms part of the child welfare section.

Practically all branches of commercial and technical education are also covered by evening classes, and the remoter country villages are able to take part in a scheme whereby special itinerant teachers give courses of practical instruction in blacksmithery, carpentry and domestic subjects to the adult villagers.

The Universities of Istanbul and Ankara now comprise all the usual faculties of a modern University. There are also at this level of education advanced agricultural and engineering schools, commercial institutes, a State academy of fine art, and a school of music and drama. The Gazi Institute of Education trains prospective teachers for secondary schools and prepares them for a highly specialized diploma in education. Other primary and secondary school teachers take a three-year course of training, which includes a minimum of three months' teaching practice.

This article has attempted nothing beyond a purely historical survey of the development of the Turkish educational system up to the present day. An authoritative definition of its content and purpose is to be found in various speeches of the present Minister, Bay Hasan-Ali Yücel. He has said that "the outstanding feature of the Turkish educational system is its secular character. Personal belief is purely a question of conscience, and the Government has nothing to do with the moulding of an individual's conscience, which should be allowed a free and natural development in the dynamic creativeness of life. . . . Education may be defined as suggestion and influence directed to the purpose of bringing up men and women who will be capable of contributing to the whole community. This principle must be the source of practical ethics and idealism. . . . Education in Turkey is decidedly nationalistic in spirit. To our minds the purpose of nationalism is to revive in our spirits the great feats achieved in the course of the nation's life and our prosperities and calamities of the past, as if all these were things of the present, and to create a passionate love for, and an ardent desire to serve, one's people without feeling hatred

for other nations. . . . The fundamental aim of our social education is to give a feeling of attachment to and sacrifice for one's community, so as to allow one to love others. We have a peculiar view of humanism drawn from an analysis of Turkish society. Our conception of humanism does not stay and limit itself at the gates of ancient Rome and Greece; it goes far beyond; humanism is an attempt to compass all mankind which dedicates its creative energy to good purposes by penetrating deep into the haunts of civilization. This view of humanism has led to the introduction of the ancient Greek and Latin languages into the curriculum of our Lycées, and we have set up in the Universities special courses for such ancient languages as Hittite, Sumerian, Egyptian and Sanskrit. In excavations we search for the remnants of Hittite as well as Greek and Roman civilizations with the same scientific curiosity, and we attribute equal importance to the teaching of these historical subjects."

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the provision and improvement of the State museums is regarded as an integral part of the education services and is thus the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Lately, great efforts have been made to establish and improve more local museums, which can be used both to house the finds from recent excavations and also to explain to both children and adults the significance of the remains of the successive civilizations from the Hittite onwards, whose ancient cities and monuments can be seen in rich profusion in many parts of the country. Many foreign students have had occasion to be grateful to the Ministry of Education for this enlightened policy. The personal interest in this aspect of education shown by Atatürk was responsible for the foundation of the Turkish Historical Society, whose International Congress of Archæology at Istanbul in 1937 will be remembered by all who had the privilege of attending. Today the Institute of Turcology at Istanbul, the Chair of Byzantine Art and Archæology (held by Professor the Hon. Stephen Runciman) and the facilities afforded for the study of archæology at Ankara are welcome signs of the times.

This article may appropriately end with a further quotation from the Minister of Education: "One of the most outstanding issues our Republican régime must face is that the Turkish community must become a member of Western civilization, which has made such great strides, especially in the course of the nineteenth century, in the fields of scientific, economic, industrial and technical achievement. This problem is not new to us, since Western civilization has long been a source of inspiration for our intelligentsia and some of our politicians. Nevertheless, in the course of the long years those who have tried to give impetus to the movement of Westernization have not been as capable as the leading men of Atatürk's Republican régime of grasping the meaning of Western life and of finding out the spiritual potentialities and inner propensities of the Turkish people. . . . The spirit of the Republican régime has given a new direction to the historical process from the point of view of conception and creativeness. . . . We may now clearly say that there remain no obstacles, either social, political or economic, to making the Turkish community an organism of modern civilized life. In this new atmosphere, in which imitation has been replaced by creativeness, our educational system, as is the case with all public services, tends to mirror the Turkish revolutionary spirit."

Whatever opinion the English mind may form of some of the emphasis and conceptions of education revealed in these quotations, there can be no doubt they are the expression of an extremely vigorous national spirit, which should have profound consequences for good far beyond the geographical boundaries of Turkey.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Year Book of Education, 1932: M. Ihsan Bey, Education in Turkey.
 Year Book of Education, 1937: Dr. N. Hans, A Comparative Study of Education in Islamic Countries. .
 Educational Year Book of the International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1927: Ismail Hakki, Turkey. 1937: Kazim Nami Duru, Turkey.
 International Journal of Education Review. Cologne. 1932-3, 1933-4: Ismail Hakki, A History of Public Instruction in Turkey.

- Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarifi, 1940-41, 1941-2. Ministry of Education, Ankara. See K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, The Turkish Educational System. *The Times Educational Supplement*, June 13, 1942.
- Public Instruction in Turkey. Ankara, 1934.
- Güzel Sanatlar. Ministry of Education, Ankara, 1940. See Editorial in the *Manchester Guardian*, April 4, 1942.
- School Life (Washington), March, 1940: Severin K. Turosienski, Education in Turkey.
- School Life (Washington), May, 1935: Education in Turkey (abridged from a Report by the American Embassy, Istanbul).
- Hasan-Ali Yücel, Türkiye'de Orta öğretim. Istanbul, 1938.
- Maarif Vekilligi Dergisi, No. 22. Türkiye'de Teknik öğretim. Istanbul, 1940.
- Refia Ugurel, L'Education de la Femme en Turquie. Paris, 1936.
- Nafî Atuf Kansu, Pedagoji Tarihi. Ankara, 1932. Review in the *Journal of Education*, May, 1944.
- Hifzîrahman Rasit Oymen, Umumi Öğretim Unsulleri. Ankara, 1941.
- İbrahim Alaettin, Çocuk Psikolojisi. Istanbul, 1929.
- İbrahim Alaettin Govsa, Ruhîyat ve Terbiye. Istanbul, 1929.
- Lise Programı. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kultur Bakanlığı, Istanbul, 1938.
- Ortaokul Programı. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kultur Bakanlığı, Istanbul, 1938.
- Tebliğler Kitabı—Beynelmîl Antropoloji ve Prehistorik Arkeoloji Kongresi. French translation of these Proceedings: Livre des Communications—Textes en langues étrangères. Ankara, 1939.

Copies of the more important Turkish laws relating to education are in the library of the Ministry of Education, Belgrave Square, London, S.W. 1.

The authors would like to express their thanks to Miss Shuckburgh, Librarian of the Ministry of Education, and to Bay Adnan Mahir, Secretary of the Londra Türk Halkevi, for their help on many points.

NORTHERN TURKEY AND MEN OF THE WEST

BY I. E. JAGO

(Director of the British Council's work in the Black Sea area of Turkey)

WHEN you see the calm blue summer waters of the Black Sea you find it difficult to imagine that in winter this stretch of water does really deserve its gloomy name. The forerunners of the wild winds of the colder season are the quail which fly south from Russia and fall exhausted in the streets of Turkish towns, where they are often gathered up in cagefuls by the children.

The shores of Anatolia rise up in a steep forbidding wall, but are mantled over with luxuriant green, which fades away as the traveller pursues his journey southwards to the heights of the central plateau.

Famous in the past has been this coastal region. Here Mithridates held sway over his maritime empire. Not very far inland the tombs of long-dead kings perforate the fantastic rocks of the dark mountains hemming in the quaint, minaret-diademed old city of Amasya in its green and pleasant valley. A crumbling wall of ancient Amysos stands out on a hillside above the port of Samsun. Sinop is still inhabited, and covers a queer neck of land connecting a sea-girt mountain promontory to the shore. Further east, Trabzon clusters round its two deep valleys. Poetry has sung of the "Golden gates of Trebizond," and still you may see the crumbling castle of the Comnenus Emperors rising above an awesome cliff, and from its walls you may

see the graceful minarets of the "Hatuniye," a mosque built by the tomb of a sultan's mother.

Do not imagine that this region slumbers amidst antique dreams and things of long ago. It fulfils an energetic rôle in the life of the Turkish Republic of today. Although its towns are none of them very large, it is one of the most densely populated areas of the country.

A few hours' sail from Istanbul is Zonguldak, set in a beautiful site of bush-covered hills. This is the coal-mining centre of Turkey, and coal dust lies thick in its streets. A three hours' railway journey inland are the steelworks of Karabük, lying down in the depths of a valley amidst towering hills. About halfway along the coast is Samsun, the largest Turkish town on the Black Sea. It was here that Kemal Atatürk landed when he came on that historic journey which was to result in the liberation of Turkey and the establishment of the Republic. You may still see the room in which he slept, and in the public library are several books which bear in their margins notes written by his hand. All around are fields full of tobacco leaf, and in the warehouses lies some of the finest cigarette tobacco in the world.

Further east is the town of Ordu stretched along the coast at the base of an enormous hill. Here the hazel-nut country starts. The bright, soft green of the plumelike nut-trees gracefully bedecks the hill slopes which dip down to the sea. The centre of this region is Giresun—"Green Giresun" they call it—and a charming, quaint little spot it is, a meeting-place of hills and sea and verdure. Then comes the historic city of Trabzon rising sharply up on its steep slopes. Grey old houses clamber over hill and valley, the walls of the past loom up near a magnificent secondary school and a fine new hospital, symbols of the present. The mountains stretch away eastwards to Rize, which, for some strange reason, enjoys a semi-tropical climate and produces tea and oranges and rice. From thence the ramparts of the Caucasus slant away to the Russian frontier.

This is a fine piece of coast scenery, but it does not enjoy the world-wide celebrity of the shores of the Bosphorus, nor does it attract the tourist so much as do the baths, mountain slopes and antiquities of Bursa. However, to this northern shore many a Westerner has come to work side by side with the Turkish population. Some years ago there were French and Belgian mining engineers at Zonguldak. At present there is a fair sized community of British engineers and other technicians working at the Sümer Bank Steelworks in Karabük. In Samsun two important American tobacco companies have offices and warehouses. At present an Englishman is in charge of the affairs of one of these companies, which purchases Samsun tobacco to be transported to the States, and there mixed with the Virginia variety. Not long ago there was a British Consulate in this town, and there is still an Italian one there. Trabzon used to be the principal town on the Turkish coast of the Black Sea, and even now it possesses the greatest number of foreign consulates of any town in northern Anatolia. The British Consulate is a very pleasant white building rising above a steep terraced garden which almost seems to be suspended over the sea spreading out far below. Then there are the French, Dutch, Italian and Persian Consulates. Until recently there was a very large German one, but this was closed when Turkey broke off diplomatic relations with the Axis. The staff burnt so much waste paper on this occasion that they set fire to the outhouse. There are some Swiss families in the town, and from time to time British engineers have gone further east to inspect the copper mines near the Russian frontier.

In addition to consuls, technicians and business men belonging to the Western nations there have been representatives of British and American educational organizations in this part of the country.

Once there was an American Mission College at Merzifon, about fifty miles inland from Samsun. A great many Turkish children learnt very good English there. The college was closed down a few years ago. It appears that at the end of the last century American missionaries had made plans to start teaching English in a number of places in northern Anatolia.

In the summer of 1941 the British Council decided to encourage a desire to take English lessons which had been manifested by some of the inhabitants of Samsun. A member of the British Council staff arrived there in July, and early next month an

English course was started in the local Halkevi. This word means "house of the people." The Halk Party founded by Kemal Atatürk instituted these in order to create, all over the country, centres for popular education, social welfare and general culture. In many a Halkevi evening classes are given in modern languages. In the case of the English classes given in Samsun, a Turkish teacher, who has since become head of the Halkevi, rendered extremely useful help and advice. His grandfather had been a military doctor at the time of the Crimean War, and had been awarded a number of British medals. An assiduous student is the sixty-year-old librarian of the principal town library, who keeps his English books on his desk so that he can profit by quiet intervals in the course of his work to learn some more of our language.

The next summer two lectures were delivered in English, and each subsequent summer members of the British Council staff have gone there in ever increasing numbers to give public lectures. Samsun has been visited by British agricultural, athletic, and medical experts who have lectured and gone on tours of the farms, sports grounds or hospitals of the locality. Exhibitions of British scientific achievements and educational institutions have drawn large numbers of people.

All through the summer of 1942 the German hordes were pouring across southern Russia. The wind wafted the sound of pounding guns over the sea to the Turkish port of Sinop peacefully girt by the sunlit sea. While on the northern shores the swastika was carrying its message of hate and cruelty, the friendship and desire for mutual understanding implied by Anglo-Turkish relations were being quietly but steadily developed on the southern shores. Every Sunday the Union Jack floated out over our Consulates in Samsun and Trabzon, and on week-days Turkish teachers and officials went to their English lessons in the Samsun Halkevi in the calm light of the evening.

From Samsun the work of the Council spread to Trabzon. A keen and capable teacher of English in the secondary school there started to correspond regularly with the British Council and organized an English course in the local Halkevi. He received enthusiastic support from a very progressive and energetic headmaster and from his fellow-teachers, one of whom was accused of pushing his desire for knowledge to the point of learning English in his bath. Last summer some members of the Council staff lectured to large audiences in Trabzon Halkevi. A well-known Scottish footballer refereed a match between two of the leading sports clubs of this historic town. The staff of the very up-to-date secondary school has accorded such a warm welcome to British culture that it will not be out of place to describe this splendid building here.

It is situated on the edge of the town between green hills and the sea. It is spacious and so constructed that it admits the maximum amount of light and air. From the windows of its long corridors you look out across the waves. It possesses an excellent gymnasium and well-equipped classrooms devoted to the study of scientific subjects and the fine arts as well as general subjects. A large number of boarders from all over north-eastern Turkey come here. This school, which stands high in sports achievements, is indeed ideally situated and constructed.

Let us now take a glance at the western section of the Black Sea coast. Several miles inland from the port of Zonguldak lie the steelworks of Karabük. A few years back there was a British school there, which was attended by the children of English technicians. Two British teachers worked there in spite of the difficulty of obtaining suitable accommodation. The works have not been there very long; even now, although very comfortable houses and a good hotel have been built, the town is not really large. As the months went by a number of technical books and periodicals were sent by the British Council to the engineers in Karabük and the neighbouring mining centre by Zonguldak. An English girl has just started giving lessons in Karabük Halkevi, which is the third in northern Anatolia to organize instruction in English on a large scale.

It is to be hoped that the interest shown by the people of this delightful district in our language and country will encourage English people to visit this relatively little frequented part of the world.

THE CHINACLAY INDUSTRY IN MALNAD

BY A CORRESPONDENT

REFINED kaolin, commercially known as chinaclay, has an important place in the list of mineral products which contribute to human comforts as it provides numerous articles needed for our day-to-day life. That chinaclay is used in the porcelain and pottery industry is well known. But the quantity used in that industry forms only a very small percentage of the total quantity consumed in other industries. By far the largest quantity finds its use in the manufacture of various classes of paper, where the high-grade chinaclay acts as a filler. As a sizing material it is largely used in the textile industry. Slightly inferior varieties are used as stiffeners in the manufacture of linoleum, artificial leather, oilcloth, rubber goods, celluloid goods, etc. Lightly tinged varieties are used in the manufacture of ceiling whites, distempers and other pigments. Superior quality chinaclay is also used in small quantities for medicinal purposes. Thus, it is clear that chinaclay has many uses, and there is no need to exaggerate or unduly emphasize its importance in several of our industries.

High-quality chinaclay used to be imported till recently from foreign countries. But the general fall in its import ever since the beginning of the war has created a need for the product in many of our indigenous industries. During the past few years several of the reported occurrences of high-class chinaclay deposits in India have been re-examined, opened out, and their qualities tested. Washing and refining plants have also been created at several places and the finished clays obtained from these refineries are being sold in the market.

In Mysore, workable deposits of high-grade kaolin are distributed in many parts, both in the maidan as well as in the malnad districts. At present only two or three deposits, situated in the Bangalore and the Kolar districts, are being worked on a commercial scale. Recently, those near Bageshpur in the Hassan district have been taken up for mining and refining. All the deposits in the malnad parts have been left practically untouched. After the setting up of the Mysore Paper Mills at Bhadravati, which consumes a large quantity of chinaclay, the kaolin deposits of the malnad were taken up by this department for intensive investigation in 1938, to ascertain if any of them could serve the purpose of the factory. The results of the prospecting, mining and levigation experiments which were thus conducted, near Thirthahalli and Narasimharajapura, indicate that there is a bright future for the development of the kaolin industry in the malnad, as will be described in this note.

Kaolin deposits occur in malnad in the Thirthahalli, Sagar, Koppa, Sringeri and Narasimharajapura taluks. These form parts of the Shimoga and Kadur districts and consist mostly of dense forest-clad hills interspersed with small paddy flats and areca gardens—characteristic features of the malnad. Deposits of kaolin, where found, are usually seen at the bottom of cliffs abutting such fields or gardens or on the banks of small watercourses.

In searching for kaolin we may say the occurrence of laterite or lateritoid soil, capping the softer reddish yellow and grey kaolinized rock, indicates its existence not far below. The presence of small nodular lumps of soft white clay at the margins of paddy fields or along the narrow ledges bordering areca gardens, brought up by burrowing insects, is another sign of the occurrence of kaolin in the area. The local people use small quantities of kaolin for whitewashing their houses, and they would be often helpful in locating good deposits of chinaclay.

Kaolin deposits occurring in the malnad parts may be grouped into two broad categories—namely, those derived from the alteration of the complex of granites, pegmatite and aplite veins; and those formed from the alteration of the pegmatites.

(i) Kaolin resulting from the granitic complex is usually found at depths from

12-30 feet from the surface. Such a deposit is usually covered by a hard lateritic capping underlain by a zone of impure coloured gritty and micaceous kaolin. Locally this is known as "murbu." The zone of murbu grades downward into the yellowish cream or dull white kaolin and also to bluish or greenish tinged varieties which, however, lose their colour, getting bleached on exposure to bright sunlight. In these deposits, here and there, stringers and pockets of remarkably pure white kaolin are also found. On washing, the bulk of the kaolin of this type has a light yellowish white colour and is highly plastic and tenacious.

(ii) Kaolin obtained from the decomposition of the large reefs or runs of pegmatite has a milky white appearance. The deposits of this type are irregular and show a tendency to swell and pinch from place to place. They are usually associated with books of mica, vein quartz and tourmaline—a hard jet black mineral. One of the outstanding peculiarities of this type is the occurrence of pockets of snow white, semi-decomposed felspathic material almost free from mica. This material is comparable to the "Cornish stone" of the kaolin mines of Cornwall, in England. Adjoining the pockets of Cornish stones, large lenses of high-grade, butter-like white kaolin are found to occur. The utility of Cornish stones in the porcelain and pottery industry is well known.

DISTRIBUTION

The estimated reserves of kaolin in the prominent deposits of the malnad, distributed in the taluks already mentioned, would come up to about half a million tons, of which those in the neighbourhood of Thirthahalli may yield in the aggregate about 250,000 tons.

To ascertain how far the kaolin deposits of the malnad satisfy the commercial demands both in quality and quantity, large-scale prospecting, mining, and levigation experiments were conducted by the Mysore Geological Department on the deposits, round about Thirthahalli in the Shimoga district and Narasimharajapura in the Kadur district.

With a view to obtaining some 300-400 tons of levigated chinaclay to supply the Mysore Paper Mills for the purpose of their trial, large-scale mining operations were conducted on the Taleve and Guddekoppa deposits near Thirthahalli and on the Garebyle deposit near Narasimharajapura. After removing the overburden, the exposed band of kaolin was divided horizontally into a number of blocks for mining and the deposit was worked in a series of benches. Altogether a quantity of about 3,000 tons of raw kaolin was mined in the area during the two years 1940 and 1941. The cost of mining, including jungle clearance, earthwork, sorting and transportation of the mined material from the pit to the stacking yard at the mine head, varied between Rs. 4 and 5 per ton of the raw kaolin.

Chinaclay at the bottom of the settling tanks is usually slurry-like and contains 60-70 per cent. moisture. This must be completely removed, and the clay completely dried before it is put on the market. There are two alternative methods of drying.

1. It is the practice in the various kaolin refining plants to subject the slurry-like chinaclay to pressure in suitably constructed filter presses of 12-30 chambers, which reduce the moisture to about 15 per cent. Cakes of chinaclay released from the filter press will be stiff enough to be freely handled. Usually the slurry is pumped on to the filter press by centrifugal pumps specially fitted for the purpose. The moisture content of the cakes is further reduced to 6-7 per cent. by heating them over steam ovens or in special kilns built for the purpose. The whole process is said to take 6-8 hours. The clay leaving the dry chambers will be fit for both storage and despatch.

2. The other alternative method is the ordinary sun drying. This is also conducted in two stages usually. The slurry-like chinaclay is spread over thin beds of dry river sand covered by jute fabric so as to allow a good proportion of the water contained in the slurry to soak down through the jute fabric into the sand bed below. After the chinaclay becomes sufficiently dry it is spread over cement platforms in thin layers and exposed to bright sun for drying. The whole process of sun drying takes 4-6 days sometimes.

As compared with the time taken in the other process—drying with the aid of mechanical devices—ordinary sun drying is a slow process and is entirely dependent on the vagaries of weather. During the long hours of exposure to sun the refined clay is liable to contamination by dust or even destruction by sudden and unexpected showers of rain. This process demands also several handlings, and thereby increases the cost of production, and the output per day will also be limited. Therefore the method of sun drying has nothing in its favour except the low initial capital outlay.

The initial cost for setting up the filter press and steam oven for drying will, no doubt, be high, but the working cost will be comparatively cheaper in view of the fact that in malnad areas fuel is abundant and can be had for a nominal price. Whichever process of drying is adopted, it should be done under cover so as to keep the refined material free from dust at the final stages of drying. In the mechanical process of drying, contamination from outside sources can be effectively controlled, the operations can be conducted under cover, and the output may be increased to any desired quantity. This method is very suitable to be adopted in the malnad or in regions of similar climatic conditions.

Chinaclay at present commands a high price in the Bombay market. There is a growing demand for the high-grade chinaclay in the paper and textile industries and for the production of porcelain and pottery ware. The demand for hygienic white-ware, glazed and ornamental tiles and for the high-class refractory ware, fireclay bricks, crucibles and glass melting pots, etc., has also increased considerably.

The demand for high-grade chinaclay in Mysore alone exceeds at present 2,000 tons per year—the principal consumers being the Mysore Paper Mills, several textile mills and the Government Porcelain Factory. Much of this is being imported into Mysore now. It should be possible to meet this demand for chinaclay at least to some extent.

These deposits being somewhat in the interior of the malnad, they had, so far, not attracted any attention. The construction of a bridge across the Tunga River, near Thirthahalli, the extension of the railway and electrical lines up to Talaguppa with Honnavar as the nearest port on the west coast, and the completion of the ghat road near Hulikal to Cundapoor port from Thirthahalli have considerably altered the situation. The estimated reserves of raw kaolin in the Thirthahalli area are sufficient to meet the requirements of a large-scale washing and refining plant. The market conditions, transport and other facilities are also favourable for starting the chinaclay industry on the banks of the Tunga River near Thirthahalli and at Agasanahadlu on the banks of the Bhadra River near Narasimharajapura.

As an adjunct to the kaolin washing and refining industry in the malnad, a porcelain factory may be started on a small scale at some suitable place where large quantities of fresh water and electric power are available, for making in the first instance cups, saucers and cheap varieties of pottery. This may be developed later, if conditions permit, into a first-class factory for the manufacture of hygienic and sanitary ware, glazed tiles and the porcelain used in the textile mills for which there is a ready and growing market in and outside Mysore. As these articles are not being manufactured at present by any of the existing concerns dealing in porcelain and pottery, the factory, when started, will be the first of its kind.

A separate section for the manufacture of refractories, furnace facings and linings, cupolas, glass melting pots, crucibles, etc., may also be developed from the available raw materials.

WHAT IS GOPHER WOOD?

.BY C. C. R. MURPHY

THE legend of the Deluge, one of the oldest in the world, was no doubt founded on the actual story of some local flood of an exceptionally serious character. A favourite theme amongst the writers of ancient days, it is embedded in the mythologies of all the Bible lands, as well as those of China, India, and other countries. In varying forms it has found its way into the folk-lore of many nations, each of which has embroidered it after its own pattern. The Flood story, however, is now generally recognized as having originated in Babylonia. That famous land, lying about the confluence of the Tigris (Hiddekel) and the Euphrates, has always been particularly liable to floods. Every year during the months of March and April it is more or less inundated; and when the rivers rise abnormally from the melted snows and the rain the whole countryside for miles around is practically one vast expanse of water. The inhabitants of this region today are as woefully familiar with great floods as their remote ancestors were. Thus, "the waters of Babylon" meant not only those of the sturdy Tigris and the limpid Euphrates, but something much more besides.

According to the Biblical version of the Flood story, Noah, when the destruction of the earth was threatened, was commanded to build an ark of gopher wood. But what is gopher wood? Is it the name of a particular kind of timber, or simply that of a material? What does the word mean, and where does it come from? The consideration of these matters forms a very interesting study.

The two principal forms of the language spoken in Babylonia were Akkadian and Sumerian. The first derives its name from the city of Akkad, or Accad, as it is spelt in the only place in the Bible in which it is mentioned; and the second, from Sumer, or Shumer, which is the land of Shinar, referred to in the same verse. Shinar was Babylonia. The Flood story, as told in the Old Testament, is essentially Babylonian. It is, of course, a legend, and we are running no risk of giving offence if we say that the Ark was a fabulous vessel, built by supernatural agency. The licence of legend allowed that famous houseboat to be a dwelling-place almost as wonderful as Jack's magic beanstalk of our nursery days.

The Akkadian word used to denote the material from which the Ark was made is *gipar*, the primary meaning of which is not a kind of wood but a reed, withy, or osier. The coracles that plied on the waters of Babylon were also described by the ancients as having been built of *gipar*.

Until a few years ago most of the ferry and transport work on the Tigris was done by means of these coracles, and by rafts of inflated skins, known as keleks. The Arabic name for the former is *quffah*, pronounced guffah by the local Arabs, and in the mouths of Englishmen goofah. The resemblance between goofah, gopher, and kopher (Hebrew, pitch), is certainly tempting; but is the resemblance due to a common element, or merely accidental?

This coracle, of probably the most ancient type in the world, is a large round basket covered with pitch. The ribs of the basketwork are made from palm branches or twigs of willow; also from those of the pomegranate and mulberry in localities where they grow. The outer basket covering consists of the fronds of the palm, the whole being sewn together with cords made from coconut husk fibre imported from India. Originally these cords were made from date palm fibre. The whole coracle is then "pitched within and without with pitch," in which—incidentally—blue beads are often embedded to ward off the evil eye. All the materials necessary for the construction of a guffah are therefore to be found on the spot.

As regards picturesqueness, the guffah is to Baghdad what the gondola is to Venice. In plan, it is circular with an incurving lip, and varies in size from that used by fishermen to the leviathan of twenty feet or more, capable of carrying sixty passengers or ten tons of merchandise. Therefore to people living in Babylonia the

idea of a vessel of the size of the Ark of Noah and built of osiers would not have seemed so fantastic as it might to us. The guffah is still characteristic of the upper reaches of the Tigris, but is seldom seen above Samarra or below Kut; they are also being used on the Euphrates. Many a time have I sat on the banks of the Tigris and watched these ancient coracles drifting by in the trance of antiquity.

The outstanding feature of interest of these quaint basket-boats is their immense age. The guffah of to-day is made to the same pattern and of the same materials as it was thousands of years ago. Perhaps the earliest known reference to it is contained in the legend of Sargon of Akkad, whose mother put him when a baby into a basket of reeds and cast it adrift on the waters of the Euphrates, which bore him towards Akki. Sargon, who apparently survived this ordeal, was the first king of the Akkadian dynasty, and the capital city of Akkad is believed to have been situated about twenty miles south-west of Baghdad, and not far from the Yusufiyah canal. Hereabouts, the Euphrates in those far-off days flowed a little to the east of its present course.

The writings of Herodotus contain a description of the guffahs on the Euphrates, but unfortunately that famous chronicler has confused the guffah, or basket-boat, with the kelek, or skin raft. The two words are almost histories in themselves. Both of these types of rivercraft, that were in daily use when Akkad was one of the greatest cities of the world, were still to be seen when I was last in Mesopotamia. On the Tigris keleks were being used for down-river transport below Diarbeker, bringing great quantities of brushwood and other goods for sale in Baghdad. On arrival, the owners let the air out of the skins and take them back for the next trip. Very light of draught and easy to make, the kelek can ply on waters that are too shallow for even the smallest steamer. In Persia, some of the ferry work is done by means of the kelek, and I have often availed myself of this agreeable if leisurely method of conveyance.

The legend of Sargon takes us back to 2600 B.C. How long before that period the guffah had been in use is quite impossible to say. An illustration of one is to be found on a slab, now in the British Museum, from the palace of Sennacherib in Nineveh.

A great authority* states that the word used for the Ark in the Flood story also means a box, and at first we might be disposed to infer that the houseboat in which the narrator committed Noah and his noisy company to the flood was merely a large *shakhtur*, the flat-bottomed barge like a packing-case often to be seen drifting down the Euphrates with its passengers and cargo. But the *shakhtur* is built of wooden planks, whereas the Ark was made of *gipar*, which in so large a vessel would take the form of stout hurdlework. On the principle of wattle and daub, but using bitumen instead of clay, the whole structure would then be thickly coated with that substance to make it watertight. No doubt this was the reason why Noah was specifically commanded to "pitch it within and without with pitch."

The face of lower Mesopotamia has not changed materially since the days of Nimrod. It has always been a land of reeds, not forests. It produces no timber suitable for ship-building, nor is there any evidence to show that it has ever done so. When the Jews sat down by the waters of Babylon, weeping over their captivity, we are told that they hung up their harps on the trees there. Those trees were probably willows. There were also no doubt some small poplars (*gharab*), low tamarisks (*tarfah*), and planes, with a few sumach bushes; but as for the cypress, the pine and the cedar, with which by conjecture alone the "gopher tree" has been severally associated, there was probably not a single specimen in all the land. It may therefore have been that Noah was commanded to build an Ark, not of gopher wood, but simply of gopher, the materials for which were indigenous to the country and ready at hand. That would have been a perfectly legitimate and probably closer translation.

The early decipherers of the Babylonian cuneiform of course knew full well the primary meaning of the word *gipar*, but naturally they could not conceive a vessel of the size of Noah's three-decker being built of such material. They got over the difficulty by using the Hebrew form of the word *gipar*—namely, gopher—to denote

* Yahuda, in *The Language of the Pentateuch*.

a particular kind of wood. The compilers of the Vulgate, stepping out boldly into the unknown, gave the rendering: *Fac tibi arcam de lignis lævigatis*, "Make thee an Ark of smooth wood." The translators of the English Bible, in their literary masterpiece, followed the Hebrew text. They called this mysterious product "gopher wood," and the phrase thus coined will stand for all time.

HINDU NUMERALS

A REPLY

MR. KINCAID'S note on this subject at p. 95 of the *Review** does not tell the story quite completely or quite accurately. On the authority of a French dictionary or encyclopedia, of which he gives neither the date nor the authorship, he states that the prototypes of our modern numerals, coming from India, were known to the Romans early in the Christian era. There are very strong reasons to doubt the latter part of this statement. It is beyond question that, although, as he says, we speak of them as Arabic numerals, they really were invented by the Hindus, and the early Arab authorities themselves assert this. Mr. Kincaid, however, maintains that the prototypes of our forms and those of the modern Hindus were known to the Romans by the third century A.D. The authority quoted by him has apparently relied on MSS. of a work by Boëthius (who was killed in 525 A.D.), which give the forms of the numerals reproduced at p. 96 of Mr. Kincaid's article. Since the discovery of those MSS. in the seventeenth century they have been much discussed, and the various views held about them are well summarized by Sir E. C. Bayley in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1882-3, with copious extracts and references. As the earliest manuscripts of Boëthius date from the eleventh century A.D., or 500 years after his death, any forms given in them are doubtful evidence as to what he actually wrote, and a comparison of those forms with the shapes used in India from the beginning of the Christian era, given in Table IX of Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, show at once that they correspond with Indian forms of the ninth century A.D., or even later, and are markedly different from those used in the sixth century though derived from them. Moreover, as Bayley and other writers have shown, the subject matter of the portion of the MSS. which contain these figures is probably not the work of Boëthius, but is a much later interpolation.

If the Romans really knew the Indian forms of the numerals 1 to 9 it seems strange that the knowledge died out and that their own more clumsy method persisted alone. About two centuries after the death of Boëthius the Caliph Walid (705-715 A.D.), while he forbade the use of the Greek language in the conquered western countries, maintained the use of Greek letters as numerals in the public accounts because the Arabs at that date had no numerals of their own. But sixty years later, in 773 A.D., a book was presented by a Hindu king to the Caliph Mansur, from which the Arabs learnt the Indian forms of numerals and adopted them with modifications. This led to the use of them in Europe generally. The change was stimulated by the fact that the system also included the use of the zero, and the notation of place value; neither of which in the eighth century was in use in Europe. Bayley thinks that possibly the Greeks, whose method of using letters to denote numbers was less cumbrous than that of the Romans, had stumbled on the notion of a zero in representing high numbers, but if they did they made no use of it to work out a system of place notation. In the ancient Hindu system as in others, 10, 20, 30, etc., were represented by separate symbols or letters, so that the number 3333, for example, would be represented by the four different symbols for 3,000, 300, 30 and 3. It was probably about the sixth century that the Hindus, adopting the sign of a dot or small circle for zero, began to work out the idea of place value. To this symbol they gave

* January, 1945.

the name *sunya*, or "void," which the Arabs translated by *sifr* with the same meaning. That word, by corruption through different methods of transliteration, has given us both "cipher" and "zero." About 820 A.D. the Indian book referred to was abridged by Al-Khwarazmi. The latest writer on the question, Dr. W. F. Clark, in the *Legacy of India* (1937), p. 359 *sq.*, supports the view that Indian numerals came to the west through the Arabs, but he quotes a Syrian writer as making the earliest (662 A.D.) known mention of Hindu numerals outside India.

Mr. Kincaid quotes the names applied by the Romans (*sic*) to the nine numerals. But Bayley points out that they are due to the Neo-Pythagoreans, and are borrowed for the most part from a Semitic source. This is obviously correct in the case of several of them, as appears from a table in Bayley's paper, which gives the names in Assyrian, Hebrew and Arabic. Thus Arbas (4) is the Arabic *Arba'*, Quimas (5) is *khamis*, and Temenia (8) is *thaman*. The Indians retained their primitive forms of = for 2 and = for 3 till about 700 A.D., so far as we can judge from inscriptions and coins, and this throws further doubt on the antiquity of the Boëthius MSS. Bayley, indeed, suggests that the Neo-Pythagorean words Andra (2) and Ormis (3) came from Tamil words.

It might be inferred from Mr. Kincaid's brief reference to the Abacus that this instrument for aiding computation was used only by the ancients. It was, in fact, commonly used in Europe and elsewhere for addition, multiplication and division till comparatively recently. Bayley conjectures that the use of the zero, and eventually the system of place value, came from its use, and that the Indians saw that in a case like that illustrated by Mr. Kincaid it was simpler to write the unit figure 6 followed by two dots instead of using a more complicated symbol standing for 600, as had been the old practice; just as the Romans wrote DC. for that figure. In England the Abacus was called the "counting board," and metal discs called "casting counters" took the place of balls on string or wires. Thus Shakespeare in *The Winter's Tale*, Act IV, Scene II, makes his clown say: "Let me see: every 'leven wethers—tods; every tod yields—pounds and odd shilling; fifteen hundred shorn; what comes the wool to? I cannot do't without counters." In French at that period *calculer* meant to work out a sum in this manner (from the Latin *calculus*, a pebble, used for the counting) while *chiffrer* (from Arabic *sifr*) was used for working in our modern method. A full description is given in F. P. Barnard's *The Casting Counter and the Counting Board* (1916). He quotes from a large number of books on arithmetic and shows that as late as 1658 an English author wrote: "The feat with the counters would not only serve for them that cannot write and read, but also for them that can do both, but have not at one time their pen or tables ready with them." In France the counters (*jettons*) were used in the public departments up to the eighteenth century. I have never seen the abacus used in India except in schools, but in China it is called the swan-pan and has survived. Tylor in *Anthropology* (1892) writes of "the swan-pan with balls strung on wires on which the native calculators in the merchants' counting-houses reckon with a speed and exactness that fairly beat the European with his pencil and paper."

Mr. Kincaid says that in the Deccan boys learn the multiplication table up to 24×24 . In Northern India the Banias, as a rule, learn the table to 16×16 not only by whole numbers, but also by quarters, so that if a customer wants $5\frac{3}{4}$ *chittacks* of a commodity at $3\frac{1}{4}$ annas a *chittack* the Bania can give the cost without having to calculate it. Such problems arise from the fact that the *seer* is divided into 16 *chittacks* and the rupee into 16 annas. A quaternary scale came naturally from the custom of reckoning with the thumb on the four joints of each of the four fingers, and in several Indian languages the word *ganda* means a set of four. There are also words in Hindi for "a quarter less than" (= *paune*) or "more than" (= *sawa*) and for "a half more than" (= *sarhe*). Fifty years ago in the Gorakhpur district rude lumps of copper were more popular for small change than the Government pice, and had a smaller value, roughly 112 going to the rupee. Their value varied with the price of copper, and the bazaar quotation was always in *gandas*—e.g., 28 at par, *paune* 28 for 111, *sawa* 28 for 113 and *sarhe* 28 for 114.

R. BURN.

WATER PROJECTS AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT: TUNGABHADRA AND GODAVARY

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Government of H.E.H. the Nizam has launched a big agricultural and industrial development plan for the post-war era. There are two projects, the Tungabhadra and the Godavary, on which work has already been started.

The Tungabhadra scheme when completed will rank as one of the world's largest irrigation projects, besides supplying more than 100,000 kw. of hydro-electric power. It is proposed to harness the River Tungabhadra at a point where it drains an area of 10,880 square miles. The river receives ample supplies of water from the Western Ghats, where in many places the annual rainfall is over 200 inches. As the major part of the river supplies are only received in the four months of the year extending from June to September, a large storage reservoir is being constructed to regulate the supplies. The capacity of this reservoir will be 800,000 million gallons. The water will be diverted for irrigation in one of the most arid tracts of the Deccan, where the average rainfall is not more than 18 inches. The canal system covers an area of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, and it will be possible to bring under irrigation nearly 750,000 acres annually. The people in this area, who have suffered from scarcity or famine almost every alternate year, can look forward in future to a happy, contented life, without the lurking fear of starvation.

The contributions of this project towards the industrial development are by no means small—over 500 million kilowatt hours of energy can be developed from the falls in the canal. Industries to be served by power are gold mines, sugar, oil mills, etc.; the main programme, however, is to extend the benefits of power to as large a number of small habitations as possible, in order to encourage rural development and cottage industries. The total cost of this project will be nearly 15 million pounds sterling.

The Godavary industrial and agricultural development is more ambitious than the Tungabhadra. It envisages hydro-electric and irrigation development, a new industrial town, a balancing thermal power station and developing an area for industrial undertakings, utilizing the mineral resources which include coal, iron ore, mica, graphite, and limestone, etc. The first 20 million pounds sterling has been set aside for this project. A survey for the purposes of inland navigation of the upper reaches of the Godavary River has also been approved. His Exalted Highness's Government have approved of the scheme, and an organization on lines similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority is being set up.

It is proposed to dam the River Godavary where it drains a catchment area of 35,740 sq. miles. Its canal system will be the largest in the world; the main canal will have a carrying capacity of 30,000 cubic feet per second. The canals cover an area of $3\frac{3}{4}$ million acres, and it will be possible to bring nearly half of this area under irrigation annually. There are drops in the canal which will be utilized for the generation of hydro-power, and from which 750 million kw. hours can be obtained.

Steps are being taken to start immediately a large thermal station at the pit head of coal mines, in order to advance with the industrial development. An order for nearly 50,000 h.p. of thermal plant is being placed in the United Kingdom. This plant will serve as a balancing plant when the hydro-electric power comes under operation, but in the meantime will be used to provide the power for the industries which are to be immediately set up. Some of the main basic industries that are being contemplated are iron and steel works, paper mills, cement factories, fertilizer plant, rayon, plastics, textile and oil mills and the manufacture of consumer goods.

The industrial town which is to be laid out on the banks of the Godavary River has been designed on model lines. The first work to be undertaken will be a housing scheme for ex-Service men, who are expected to take an important part in the work

of development. The township will centralize the smaller industries arising out of the development of the basic industries, which will be located in the areas where the mineral wealth is available.

A Conference with the Madras and Bombay Governments for the settlement of the water rights has been rendered necessary. In view of the fact that the Godavary River runs completely through the heart of Hyderabad State for some 600 miles, there should be no difficulty with sympathetic co-operation in settling this question. It is hoped to complete the major part of the ambitious programme within the next decade. It will be as revolutionary in improving the prosperity of the people as any scheme at present put forward in India.

THE ABORIGINAL IN THE FUTURE INDIA

By W. V. GRIGSON

I WILL deal here primarily with the aboriginals of the centre and south of India, not with the Assam hill tribes. For their protection the 1935 Constitution provided three safeguards: the partial exclusion from the full operation of Provincial autonomy of certain areas principally inhabited by primitive tribes; the placing on Governors of two special responsibilities for the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of minorities; and for the peace and good government of the partially excluded areas.

A back-bench revolt in the House of Commons led to a hurried revision of the small list of areas scheduled for partial exclusion in the original Government of India Bill. This revision was based on reports obtained from districts and Provinces by the Central Government and sent so quickly to Parliament that there was no time to obtain ethnological opinion or to check district recommendations by local enquiry. The new schedule which became law therefore was not complete: in the Central Provinces and Berar, for example, the partially excluded areas contain only 833,000 out of nearly three million aboriginals, and those who are outside these areas are often the worst exploited and most in need of protection.

These special provisions did not deprive Provincial Ministers of executive authority over the partially excluded areas. Under his Instrument of Instruction a Governor was, in exercising his individual judgment as to these special responsibilities, to be guided by his Ministers' advice, unless he was convinced that to accept that advice would be inconsistent with fulfilment of those responsibilities; he was also directed so to use his powers as not to enable his Ministers to use his responsibilities as an excuse for shirking their own. The initiative in the administration of the partially excluded areas rested with the Ministers.

The Constitution empowered Governors to make regulations for these areas, and provided that no law of Central or Provincial Legislatures should apply to them unless the Governor applied it by a special notification, with such exceptions and modifications as he thought fit. These powers, of course, could not help the aboriginals outside the partially excluded areas, whose only tangible Constitutional safeguard was the special responsibility for minorities, and who otherwise had to depend on the paternalism of officials and their own realization of the power of the vote.

Political tempers in India were short when the Bill became law, and Congress and other critics without pausing to reflect on the real purpose and legal consequences of these provisions fiercely attacked the anthropologists accused of having inspired them, and the provisions themselves as intended to remove from ministerial control the rich natural resources of the areas partially excluded, as protecting peoples who needed no protection, and as based on distrust of Indian fairplay towards backward Indians. More moderate critics rightly pointed out that even

before the new Constitution British administrators had had no positive policy for aboriginal betterment. The lively controversy that followed stimulated Indian public opinion for the first time to a realization of the existence of the aboriginal problem.

Governors and their Ministers, too, realizing their responsibilities to the tribes and their ignorance about their conditions, for the first time caused systematic enquiries to be made in almost all Provinces into those conditions, and in several Provinces Advisory Boards and special officers or departments for tribal welfare were recommended or appointed. Unfortunately the war and ministerial resignations have prevented very active implementation of the recommendations of committees and special officers. These results of partial exclusion have, however, had possibly quicker and greater effect in several Indian States.

Anthropology has hardly yet begun to be applied to the solution of Indian problems. But as a result of increased attention to its teaching in Indian universities, more research by Indian anthropologists and more interest in anthropology by Indian scientific societies, the political prejudice against anthropologists is lessening, and also there is a growing mass of anthropological data about the tribes to be added to the administrative data as bases for formulating a positive policy.

There is now a danger of Constitution-makers dropping the present Constitutional safeguards, forgetting the aboriginals and leaving them again to *laissez faire*. The time therefore has come to appoint an Indian Royal Commission to synthesize existing data, take stock of tribal conditions and formulate an active betterment policy for the future. Such a Commission must naturally take into account Russian measures in Central Asia and Siberia, and their results.

The new policy must aim at building up the beginnings of economic as well as political democracy among the primitive tribes, the former by elimination of middlemen through forest co-operatives, co-operative farms and consumers' co-operatives linked with them. These measures, if they are to remedy the growing pressure on tribal land caused by alienation to non-aboriginals, increase of population, and consequent reduction in the size of holdings and loss of fertility, must increase the transfer of tribal labour to mines and factories, where special attention must be paid to their welfare and training. For training in political democracy the formation of group *panchayats* is advocated, only the members of which should exercise the franchise for higher local bodies and Provincial and Central Legislatures.

PYRETHRUM CULTIVATION IN KASHMIR

BY THAKUR HARNAM SINGH PATHANIA
(Chief Conservator of Forests)

FROM a few seeds imported from Vilinorin in 1936 the Forest Department of Kashmir has been able to extend the cultivation of pyrethrum to over 2,000 acres of land in the year 1945.

Pyrethrum plant has been known since many decades as an important source of vegetable insecticide, but it is only during the last twenty years or so that it has attracted special attention, particularly because pyrethrum insecticides are quite harmless to human beings and domestic animals.

There are a number of species of pyrethrum, but only a few contain active insecticidal properties, the most important one being pyrethrum *cinerariæ folium* (syn. : *Chrysanthemum cinerariæfolium*). In actual appearance it resembles very much the wild daisy.

In 1934 Dr. S. V. Pantambekare, Assistant Bio-Chemist, Dehra Dun, con-

tributed a very informative article to the *Indian Forester* on the basis of his experiments at the Forest Research Institute. Referring to pyrethrum, the author expressed himself hopeful about the possibility of its cultivation in parts of Northern India. Following this the then Chief Conservator of Forests of the Kashmir Government, Sir Peter Clutterbuck, decided to start a plantation on an experimental basis. During 1934-35 small quantities of seed were tried at Baramulla, but the experiment was a failure. These seeds were possibly of Japanese origin. Later, a small quantity of seeds was imported from Vilinorin, Paris. Mr. Prem Nath Kohli, in whom the Department has a practical botanist, tried this seed under different conditions of soil moisture and shade, both in nursery beds and small pots with different media of soil constituents, etc. Though, as later experiments proved, the seed was not of good quality, Mr. Kohli succeeded during 1936 in obtaining a few plants which thrived well at Baramulla. During the following years these plants gave some flowers and seeds. Efforts were then concentrated on acclimatizing the plant and obtaining sufficient seed locally. Thus the Forest Department had independently taken up experiment on pyrethrum, even before the Council of Agricultural Research in India decided in 1937 to experiment on its cultivation seriously.

In 1938 the Forest Department took steps to grow the plant on a commercial scale. The Kashmir Government provided adequate protection of the plant against smuggling by making the provisions of the Kuth Act applicable to pyrethrum as well.

The active principles in the flowers produced in the State compare favourably with those of foreign countries. The products find a ready market. With a view to establishing this industry on a sound footing, various details are under further investigation in order to obtain the maximum out-turn of flowers per unit area and to standardize the process of flower collection so as to ensure the maximum percentage of pyrethrine (the active principle of flowers) compatible with a given weight of flowers. The area under pyrethrum has during the five years increased from 322 acres to 2,100 acres; the sale proceeds have gone up from Rs. 3,600 to nearly Rs. 200,000.

The Forest Department has an ambitious scheme in view for extending the cultivation of pyrethrum. It is intended to bring bare uncultivable slopes under pyrethrum cultivation. It will also be possible to induce the cultivators to plant pyrethrum on second and third grade agricultural lands as it will bring them higher returns than the cereal crops. The Department had to abandon its original plan of encouraging pyrethrum cultivation on agricultural lands owing to the outbreak of the war and the consequent pressure on land for the production of more food grains.

The expansion of pyrethrum cultivation in Kashmir during the war has been very helpful in a number of ways. Kashmir was the principal supplier of pyrethrum to the Government of India for medicinal and other purposes during the last few years when supplies from foreign countries were cut off. All the out-turn was and is being supplied to the Government of India at concession rates, to meet the requirements of the Army. It is a matter of genuine pride for the Forest Department of the State that it was able to help the Government of India tide over the acute shortage of pyrethrum insecticides for war and civilian purposes.

The Forest Department has been confronted with a number of new problems with the introduction of this very useful exotic plant. Rat damage, for instance, is a serious menace on the high-level plantations, while certain insects attack it in various places. With further experiments it is hoped that this problem will be solved and the industry established on a firm basis.

SILHOUETTES OF INDO-CHINA

I. FISHERMEN ON THE ANNAMESE COAST

By E. W. HUTCHINSON

MR. GUSTAVE LANGRAND, formerly of L'Institut de la Providence at Hué, the Emperor's capital, carried out during the pre-war period a study of the Annamese fishing community. The data for this study were collected by him while staying with a friend at the Oceanographic Institute of Nha-Trang, a resort on the coast midway between Hué and Saigon. The fruit of this research, compiled in 1937, gained him honourable mention in 1941 from the Literary Faculty at Lille, together with a prize from the French Maritime and Colonial League. This year it has been published by *Editions Univers* in brochure form (110 pages, in small type), accompanied by thirteen illustrations and two sketch-maps, the majority of the photos having been supplied by the courtesy of the Oceanographic Institute.* The contents, both text and pictures, is of more than ephemeral interest for ethnographers and students of social economy. A wider public would also subscribe if, as we hope, it may be possible to reproduce the subject more fully in book form later on with the inclusion of an index and a complete bibliography. By that time perhaps the study can be brought up to date in order to incorporate information (at present unavailable) concerning the effect produced by events of the past six years upon an essentially patriarchal and unpolitically minded community. We recognize in Langrand's fishermen, as in Gourou's farmers† the Annamese we knew before the war, but shall we find them unchanged when we meet them again next year?

A general impression is now prevalent that the pre-war colonial Empires will have to be brought into line with the new world-situation, and *L'Univers* has devoted the whole of its October number‡ to the future of the British and French overseas Empires, giving much attention to the "Trustee System" advocated by Sumner Welles and to de Gaulle's *L'Union française* as steps in the direction of Dominion Status. France promises to eliminate any subordination of the colonies to the status of mere producers of raw materials, or of manufacturers and selling agents of their produce. Instead, the colonies are to be guided to develop their own riches for the common good. Under this scheme the main duty of the Protecting Power is to afford guidance and to watch over the foreign interests of its dependencies. The French Union is to consist:

- (a) Of France in Europe.
- (b) Of French settlements overseas—i.e., Algeria, the Antillies, Guyana, St. Pierre-Miquelon in the Atlantic—New Caledonia, Tahiti, etc., in the Pacific.
- (c) Of protectorates—Morocco, Tunis, Indo-China.
- (d) Of colonies in West Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, Somali, Enclaves in British India.

In Indo-China, the two provinces of Cochin-China and Tonkin (formerly administered directly by France) are now presumably to be merged into the sub-protectorate of Annam, or Viet-nam, as the inhabitants prefer to call it§. Annam, Cambodia, Laos (the three components of the Indo-Chinese protectorate), each possesses its own

* *Vie sociale et religieuse en Annam*. G. Langrand. Editions Univers. 1945.

† *Les payans du delta Tonkinois*. Pierre Gourou. Edition L'art et Histoire. Paris. 1936.

‡ The October issue of *L'Univers* is entitled: "L'avenir de la colonisation." It is published at 11, Rue des Frères Vaillant, Lille.

§ "Viet-nam" means the Southern Viet, Viet being their ancient name for themselves. The name "Annam" was imposed on them by the Chinese to commemorate the first Chinese conquest of Tonkin two thousand years ago, and means "The South at peace."

national ruler already. Under the new dispensation the higher administrative posts, formerly reserved for French officials, are to be thrown open to the people of the country, who will thus have effective control of their own administration.

The declaration of this new policy was announced on February 15 last—the Annamese “Têt” (New Year)—at a time when Japanese Forces were still in control. Shortly afterwards Japan deposed the French, substituting her own and Annamese Administrators as the result of a suspicion that the French were preparing to stab them in the back the moment they should withdraw their defeated army out of Burma into Indo-China. In this way the Japanese completely undermined the position of the French *vis-à-vis* the Annamese and themselves took on the rôle of protector and adviser which France proposed to adopt in place of her former status of *de facto* ruler. Six months later Japan capitulated; but the allies were unavoidably delayed for some weeks while they changed their troop dispositions before accepting the surrender of the Japanese, whom they had expected to have to fight in Siam and Malaya. This respite enabled the Japanese to hand over equipment to the Annamese and to instruct them in its use against the French in the country, also against landing-parties of the first Allied contingent at Saigon. This explains why the Annamese have so far refused to accept the new French Charter. Nor are they likely to accept it until the Japanese troops are under complete control and French Forces arrive in sufficient numbers to convince them that France has the power as well as the will to set up the new régime. By the end of the year it is expected that the situation will be favourable again for the French. Meanwhile, this explains the disproportionately small space devoted to Indo-China in the October number of *L'Univers*. Were it not for divisions among the Annamese themselves it is probable that those of their leaders now in negotiation with the French would have secured the support of all the dissident groups, thereby hastening the establishment of Allied control throughout Southern Annam: the lack of unity among themselves has been a national defect with Viêt, characterizing their struggle against both China and the Châm in by-gone centuries. Northern Annam, from Hué to the China frontier, at the time of writing, is in temporary occupation by Chinese troops entrusted with the disarmament of the Japanese. So far the Chinese have avoided trouble with the Annamese by refusing to accept reinforcements from the French outside, depriving the local French of their arms, pending disarmament of the enemy. By the time that operation is complete and the Chinese are ready to withdraw, the French ought to be in effective control of the south with sufficient strength to proceed to occupy the north.

Apart from the Highlanders, whom the Annamese call *Moi* savages, it is safe to affirm that the fishing community is the section of the population least likely to have been involved in the recent tragic events or in any political unrest—if only because of the small part which outside politics occupy in their communal life. The section described by Langrand had but little close contact with the French in 1937. Unlike the urban population, these fishermen carried the responsibility themselves for maintaining order, collecting taxes, etc. The main function of the French in relation to them was to approve the candidates for public service whose names were put forward by the Headman and village elders. In 1937, 1,500-2,000 heads represented the population of the district under review, of whom only 350 were taxpayers. Those exempt from taxation included the elders responsible for submitting the list of proposed public servants. Public service comprised the duties of headman, keeper of the ancestral rolls, policeman, postman, messengers. Remuneration consisted in certain priorities in fishing rights and perquisites, but included no salary. Those exempt from taxation amounted to 75 per cent. of the population, known as the privileged classes. They included the following:

(a) All holders of the Mandarin diploma and of two lower grades carrying certain privileges for the holder.

(b) All people over sixty years of age, among them the doyen or patriarch of the village.

(c) All paupers and infirm persons.

The *Tu-chi* or patriarch—doyen of the community—formerly enjoyed the status and performed the duties now incumbent upon the Headman (elected by the older

and important members of the privileged classes with the tacit consent of the whole population); he also officiates at all religious functions. As late as 1937 his prestige remained considerable.

Every taxpayer is subject as well to the *corvée* of forced labour for five days annually (it can be compounded at the cost of 20 cents per diem)—a survival from mediæval times, when it was held to be an acknowledgment for the benefits of law and order conferred upon the community by the privileged classes. Thus, for official purposes, the community is composed of horizontal social layers which overlap. A vertical division into classes nevertheless exists unofficially, and will become apparent as soon as we examine the homes and occupations of the villagers.

The village contains some 420 dwelling-houses. Fifteen to twenty are of solid materials—brick and tiles, often with a cemented floor. These are the homes of the village nobility—boat-owners, boat-builders and traders, known as *Thó* (bosses). A boss pays the tax exacted by Government for permission to fish; he engages the master and crew of the boat he equips; pays them advances in cash; sells the surplus after the community has received its quota of the catch, dividing the proceeds on a fixed scale.

Next come a certain number of less imposing dwellings—floors of earth beaten flat surrounding the rough house-posts embedded in the soil; thatch roof overhanging plaited bamboo walls; only occasionally with separate kitchen outside. Here live the *Thó-phu*, hired skippers and steersmen, to whom the *Thó* entrust their fishing-boats and tackle.

Lastly come the huts of the crews—for the most part bamboo shanties on the sea-shore; roof-frame of spliced bamboo, held together and to the house-posts by strips of rattan. The crews constitute the major portion of the population; and their homes, of course, outnumber those of the masters and bosses. Langrand's fishermen appear to tolerate the uneven distribution of wealth with equanimity and without a trace of Marxian rancour. Two hundred tons of fish was the year's catch in 1937, and represented a cash value of Ps. 35,000,* including 12,000 gallons of pickled fish-sauce as well as the fish consumed by the crews. The proceeds are divided as follows by the bosses:

The boss takes 15 per cent., representing interest on his invested capital.

He takes another 37 per cent. as owner and organizer of the fishery, paying Government licence, etc.

The staff: 6 per cent. is divided among master and seller, 4 per cent. is divided among helmsman and clerk, 38 per cent. is distributed as wages among the crew.

There is no criticism of the French dispensation which legalises the system. In fact, a parallel is shown to exist between conditions in Annam and South Brittany.

At Nha-trang fish is so abundant that no one need starve. Proletarians, having enough to eat, can take a delight in the warm sunlight, the mild weather and the state of nudity which the climate permits. Langrand gives the following sketch of them:

"Take a boat one Sunday morning across the bay to where the fisher crews are busy with their nets and admire six or seven bronzed athletes as they land their catch. Two men are tugging on the ridge-rope; the rest have hooked their fingers into the mesh of the net as they pull it in towards them. Their boat rocks in accord with the beat and rhythm of their movement; each lurch seems to bring the gunwale down nearer to the water's edge.

The toilers' heaving chests betray a spontaneous zest for life: every vowel of the *Ho-o-o Ru-it* they intone expresses it through the whole gamut of young, mature and old men's voices. This harmony is in tune with the broad expanse of blue sea—fitting background for the superb play of their muscles in the blinding sun."

In his concluding summary Langrand draws a contrast between the character of

About £2,000.

the Annamese and western races. He finds an explanation of the contrast in the fact that while the West sails the seas with the object of getting somewhere, the Annamese merely does so as part of his natural existence. Like the Chinese, he lives very near to the soil—"The Good Earth"—which gives him rice, mud for pisé-walls, for bricks, for tiles; the water of sea and canals which gives him fish, carrying his barges, houseboats and sampans, as well as his fisher-craft; the trees, which give the material for fashioning all his implements.

These five elements of earth, water and timber (with the addition of such fire and metal as he needs) give man his mastery over the beasts. In Annam, the elements have even taken on an aspect of the divine. Lest there should be any doubt about this statement, let us pay a visit to the *Dinh* and take a brief survey of the various altars with their offerings of rice and chicken, burning joss-sticks, clouds of incense. The *Dinh* comprises within its precincts a Hall of Assembly for the village elders; temples dedicated to the bygone founders of the village and to its guardian angel; monuments also in honour of Spirits of the Five Elements. They are worshipped severally under the names of—

Our Lady of Metal
Our Lady of Wood
Our Lady of Fire

Our Lady of Earth
Our Lady of Water

Observe that the last named enjoys pride of place along with the spirit of the latest stranded whale.* If our visit is on a feast day we shall see paper boats launched upon the sea, perhaps to accommodate the spirits of the shipwrecked. In Annam, no Buddha, no Prophet, no Messiah has ever revealed to the peasant the nature of his relationship with the forces of the universe of whose imminence he is conscious. He finds his escape from them rather in the national theatre than in the mumbo-jumbo of spirit-worship to which his unsatisfactory religion reduces him. Langrand admits that Confucian influence is still to be found at the altar behind the door-screen in every house: here the elder son of the family sacrifices to their ancestors. He was unable, however, to discover any tradition of practical generosity; beneath the superficial varnish of face-saving politeness he could trace no core of human kindness. His criticism of the Annamese in 1937 was that they lack a sense of obligation to their fellow-men. Only during the last three years, however, has their capacity in this respect been tested to the full. The history of Annam under the Japanese incubus has still to be written. Meanwhile, some British internees of 1942 can testify to an unexpected gesture of kindness towards them on the part of humbly situated Annamese lately in their service. These men, when we were interned, came openly to bid us farewell. The marks of appreciative regard which they then showed to us are not likely to be forgotten.

THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ART IN THE U.S.S.R.

BY PROFESSOR V. PAVLOV

(Curator of the Ancient East Sector, Pushkin Fine Arts Museum.)

THE splendid collections of Egyptian antiquities in the Leningrad Hermitage Museum and the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow are evidence of the interest which Soviet scholars display in Egyptian art. Academician V. A. Turayev and Professor V. S. Golenishchev were among the better known Russian Egyptologists before the revolution. Turayev trained a notable school of Egyptologists,

*The earliest recorded visitor from Europe commented upon the importance attached to great fishes by the inhabitants even before the Annamese overran Central and Southern Annam—then Champa. *Vide* Henri Cordier, *Les voyages en Asie au xiv^e siècle du Bienheureux Frère Odorico di Pordenone*, Paris, 1912.

amongst them the leading Soviet savants, Professors Flitner and Borozdina. Perhaps the most talented was Academician V. V. Struve, whose name is well known to Orientalists today. Struve, in turn, has his own school of Egyptologists in the U.S.S.R. whom he has trained in the traditions of the old Russian scholars: this school is known to the world of Orientalism through the works of Professors M. E. Mathier and I. M. Lurye.

In addition to these Leningrad workers there is also a Moscow group headed by Professor V. I. Avdiyev and the writer. Incidentally those Egyptologists mentioned above are only those whose work is in some way or another connected with art problems. The list of historians and philologists is considerably longer. In the early part of the twentieth century, especially in the early twenties, there was a sharp turn in the matter of Egyptian art studies both in Western Europe and in Russia. Classical Egyptology, during the second half of the nineteenth century, accumulated a tremendous amount of material and made some important discoveries, but still did not recognize Egyptian art as a separate branch of study. This only became possible with the rapid development of art criticism and the application of its methods to the study of the history of Egyptian art. This could be seen at the sessions of Egyptologists organized in 1922 in connection with the centenary of J. F. Champollion's first interpretation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions. The special meeting of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Egyptologists' Congress in Moscow that year showed the U.S.S.R.'s lively interest. In the years that followed the study of Egyptian art divided into two main lines—the study of individual or connected monuments and their publication, and works of a correlative nature, which establish the main stylistic features of Egyptian art and its path of development.

The first of these two problems is solved mostly by the museums. The Moscow Fine Arts Museum, for example, resumed the publication of papers (the bulletin "Museum Life," from 1925-1930 and "Museum Transactions," No. 6, 1926, and No. 7, 1939). This publication contained some general characteristics of groups of works of art in the museum galleries such as the articles by Borozdina on "The Monuments of Hellenic Egypt" and "The Monuments of Coptic Egypt," as well as research papers covering a narrow field such as the same author's "Clay Vessels of the Ancient Period," Professor Avdiyev's "The Paintings on the Papyri," the writer's "A Relief Depicting a Group of Mourners," etc. The Department of the Ancient East in the Leningrad Hermitage Museum also published its "Transactions" (Vol. 1, 1939, Vol. 3, 1940), in which appeared two outstanding articles on Egyptian art: Professor Mathier on "Coptic and Ancient Egyptian Magic Female Statuettes" and Professor Lurye's treatise, "Certain Figures on the Papyri Believed to be Caricatures." Many of the works mentioned here raise problems that have not yet been settled either by Soviet or Western European Egyptologists. There is, for example, the interesting theory put forward by Professor Lurye concerning the disputed subjects of the Egyptian "caricatures." Contrary to the more widespread opinion, Lurye regards them as mystery scenes connected with religion. Professor Mathier's treatise of female-burial statuettes and his approach to the subject is also of interest. Lastly, my own articles on the exquisite carving representing mourners in relief tried to establish the main features of the Memphis school of the nineteenth Dynasty and to prove that this fragment is part of a huge relief ensemble, other fragments of which are to be found in various museums all over the world. If we probe into the general direction taken by these researches we have to admit that this interpretation, new in principle, has rendered a service to scholarship. Throughout the 'thirties there was a heated and theoretically important discussion concerning the social-historical character of ancient Oriental society.

On the basis of a careful study of the sources, Academician V. V. Struve proved the existence in the ancient East, and particularly in Egypt, of a slave-owning society at its earliest stages. This viewpoint excluded all possible modernizations and enabled us to interpret objectively the whole process of development of one of the oldest cultures. This new view of history was naturally followed by a re-examination of the history of art, which is one of the most important factors in the development of culture. This fact made itself felt in the Egyptian art research of the following decade. A number of problems were raised sharply and objectively in the

journal *Egyptian Circle of Leningrad University*, which was founded in 1928. Later the functions of this journal were to a considerable extent taken over by the *Journal of Ancient History* (*Vestnik Drevney Istorii*), which is contributed to by all leading scholars working in this field. The new journal covers a much larger period (ancient culture in general) and handles theoretical historical problems of great interest. It has also published a number of interesting papers on ancient Egyptian art.

The study of the material that has been collected has produced a number of important summarizing papers. Amongst them is Professor Mathier's "History of Egyptian Art in the Period of the Middle Kingdom" (1941). This book is Volume II of the comprehensive treatise on the art of the whole ancient East, on which art scholars of the Hermitage Museum are working. Mathier has now finished work on a volume dealing with the art of the New Kingdom. The author makes a profound analysis of the Egyptian *objets d'art* in the Soviet museums and has many interesting things to say about the provincial art schools in Central Egypt at the time of the Middle Kingdom. In my two books *Sketches on Ancient Egyptian Art* (1936) and *The Sculptured Portrait in Ancient Egypt* (1938) I attempted to acquaint the reader with the Egyptian art treasures in the Moscow Fine Arts Museum. None of the works on Egyptian art that have been published in the West European countries during the past twenty-five years mention, as far as I know, the Egyptian exhibits in the Soviet museums, although by comparing them with the chefs d'œuvre in the Cairo, Louvre and British Museums much of interest could be added to the history of Egyptian art. This is a gap I wanted my books to fill. The plans for museum publications in the post-war period are sufficiently extensive to acquaint Western European Egyptologists with the examples of Egyptian art that we have in the Soviet museums.

SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE

IV.—SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

BY RANJEE G. SHAHANI

THE sun was going down in a blaze of colours. The rash of red bungalows—why are English streets like regiments of soldiers?—was washed over by a gleaming tide of golden air, in which they and their redness were drowned. The lamps were not yet lit; and the stars were asleep. The hour was witching; yet, somehow, I felt irritated. Why? Why must beauty always have a sting? There were gorgeous pink clouds over the harbour; the fields were silent, meditative; and the breeze was like a precious liquor.

It is best to sit and soak; to be passive; to accept. Vain—worse than vain—to try to land Leviathan with a bent pin.

I noticed everything: a child crying; a dog barking; a young man saying the usual things to a young girl; and the waves laughing in glee. I was sad, very sad. All things pass, I said to myself; change is the only unchanging element in the universe. What does the word *is* mean?

Even now, thirteen years later, I don't know. Everything *seems* or *appears* to be. Are we perpetually fog-bound? Surely the sun of truth shines somewhere.

Maya, all is Maya, say the Hindus; and they are no fools. We always mistake the shadows for the substance. We are entrapped in the self like flies in amber.

Is this a peculiarly Indian view? Not altogether. W. H. Hudson, who possessed something of Merlin's fabled power of entering into the life of the not-self, says: "Man, in fact, can never adequately stretch and sharpen his faculties so as to become purely absorbed, as a spectator, in the vast drama of nature's myriad activities, and enjoy it as the one entrancing supreme spectacle, inasmuch as nature has

cunningly given to man's vision the illusive perspective of self, and his outlook must always be blurred by this partial lens with its finitely human focus."

Surprising? No. But how can we ever understand anything? Only in one way: we must be emotionally affected by it. In fact, our comprehension *is* largely the emotion that anything excites in us. Feeling and knowledge are inseparable.

All this is not by the way. It has to do with the life and work of Sir Francis Younghusband. He was not an impassive observer of life and the cosmos. No, he had established a relation with them. Of what kind? We shall see as we proceed.

* * * * *

Sir Francis was not one of those men who, in Shakespeare's words, "smile and smile. . . ." Indeed, charm, in the conventional sense of the word, he had not. He was apt to be gruff and somewhat aloof. Also, when in the company of old familiar fakes, he spoke in grunts. He was at his best—so at least I felt—during a quiet chat by the fireside. Then he seemed to throw away his armour and relax. One realized at once that he was a transparently sincere man: he said what he felt and he did exactly what he thought. On the very first occasion I met him—that was in 1932—he spoke of stainless and boundless peace; of space unlimited; of untrodden snow; of wild flowers that blushed unseen; of the virgin hills whose tips kissed the distant stars.

Slowly, gradually, as he talked of his beloved Himalaya, one understood that he was somehow different from other Englishmen. The plain fact is that he was an adept who, having achieved mastery over his own psychic content, could change a life by a touch of the hand or by a muted whisper. Few were aware of this aspect of his personality excepting those who had received the regenerating shock from him. Here we enter the sacred domain of saintliness—existence illumined by and dedicated to active goodness. Such a triumph—triumph because goodness, unlike genius, is not a gift from the gods—goes beyond greatness and the noise of temporal fame. It is, in essence, the relating of the broken rhythm of life to the Perfect Rhythm that runs through all things. This is where man touches the height of his experiment upon this tormented planet of ours. It is foolish to dogmatize in these matters, but it seems to me that Sir Francis made his way up God's holy hill by a path all his own.

There are, roughly speaking, two kinds of thinkers: the creative and the constructive. To the first group belong, among others, Shakespeare, Goethe, Ibsen and Turgenyev, who think through the act of creating. We do not ask these writers for true ideas, but above all for suggestions as to how thought works with various people at various crises. We expect them to make us feel how human beings reason not only when they are at leisure, but when the vicissitudes of life shake them to their foundations. More than that, we look to these great spirits to unite us to our fellow-men in sympathy and a kind of indulgent comprehension. The authors who preach, exhort, or wish to nail us down to narrow conclusions appear less divine than these masters. In brief, creative thinkers are those who do not believe in partial truths, are not dominated by theories, and do not let single, isolated ideas weigh out of proportion to the various strains in their theme. They contemplate life with a serene smile. Constructive thinkers, on the other hand, are mainly preoccupied with their own speculations and build out of these, with the aid of the cement of logic, rounded systems of thought. Plato, Shankara, Descartes, Hegel, Bergson, Whitehead—to mention but a few names at random—belong to this group. The value of the work of these men depends on the beauty of their intellectual edifices and on the truth and coherence of their respective visions of reality.

Frankly, Sir Francis cannot be placed in any of these two classes of thinkers. He did not try to see life through the eyes of various characters, nor did he elaborate a new theory of the universe. His importance lies elsewhere.

He was an instinctive lover of beauty of thought and action, or, rather, a born connoisseur of ideas and character.

Spiritual arrogance would seem to be the bane of most theologians and thinkers. Many cultivated spirits in the West believe that their wisdom is the highest attainable by man. Most Easterns hold the same lofty opinion about the illumination of

their race. Sir Francis was refreshingly free from this myopia of the spirit. Indeed, his was a stereoscopic vision, which embraced the best of the Orient and the Occident. Although a good Christian, he fully appreciated, nay revered, the inwardness of Asia. He held that the soul of Hinduism and Buddhism was at one with Christism. He was thus a real reconciler. He believed that the more intensely spiritual we became, the more quickly we would meet and mingle and broaden out into a happy brotherhood of man. This conviction led to the founding of the World Congress of Faiths, which owes practically everything to him. Sir Francis was sure—and he had a faith that dispels all clouds of doubt—that a new Renaissance, more glorious than any that went before it, was upon us. This is the marriage of East and West.

What inspired this great belief? I remember a long talk with him in 1936. Perhaps because I had accepted to speak at the Congress at very short notice, or perhaps because he was in a communicative mood, he spoke very freely and even eloquently. I cannot reproduce his exact words, but he held some such views as these.

The more a social group is evolved, he thought, the weaker it becomes. It is founded, it appears, more on faith than on fear, and a state which relies, for the safety of its institutions, on its armed forces is eventually lost. If a member of a primitive tribe—there are, really speaking, no savages to be found anywhere—submits to the dictates of its witch-doctor; if he indulges in dutiful cannibalism; if he has recourse to the practice of *couvade*, it is because he sees, behind his acts, a force which he cannot but obey. He does not even dream of fighting it. How dare he?

Reason makes and unmakes our laws; religion alone perpetuates them. As soon as the spirit, seduced by self-interest, approaches anything, it tends to destroy it. We must push it far, very far, before it stops and looks. The point is to conduct it to the level where it recognizes its impotence.

Spiritual law is much stronger than the secular. It bases itself on religion, which finds its support in God. If I examine religion and God I am tempted to see in them but human creations, though I recognize that they are powerful and subtle conceptions. But if I continue my search I come to the conclusion that I cannot create the order in which appearances manifest themselves; that I cannot really explain anything; that I cannot exhaust life; that I can neither define nor understand myself satisfactorily. There is a wall. The spirit stands dazed before it. I am compelled to retrace my footsteps, and ask myself if this difficulty cannot be overcome, if what my reason denies me cannot be given by something else. Will not revelation drag me out of the gulf where I find myself? I call to mind the words: "Faith is the substance of things unseen."

Desire is the great mystery, perhaps the only mystery. It is idle to look for its origin. Nature has invented it to perpetuate the species. We have gone beyond instinct, which always leads us, but whose power we feel but dimly. The demands of love are the most violent because they are the most concrete, because they interest our bodies here and now: they go further than the spasm which quietsens them. They represent one of the aspects of the insatiable appetite which makes us go beyond our destiny and throws us, perhaps, into non-being. Our incomplete spirit searches the complete spirit. It avidly flings itself, weak and wild, on all that it thinks will round it off, and it would swallow up planets—nay, even the whole universe—without satisfying itself. It is the thirst for divinity that directs all our passions and thoughts to God.

Thus all makes us go to Him, the Impossible, the Absolute. He is the beginning and end of idealism. And He is, first, foremost and above all, a well of mystery. The roads that lead to Him are many; and all are divine. Here, on earth, moth and rot corrupt everything; only good deeds remain.

I hope I have succeeded in suggesting that Sir Francis was not only something of a saint and mystic, but also a true poet of action. Whether we approve of his adventure or not, we have to admit that he was a flaw in the glass through which the future showed itself in rosy tints.

WAR OF IDEAS IN IRAN

By F. J. GOULDING

ALL those who have lived in Iran and learned to love the country and her people may feel for her deeply today. She is falling a victim to that all-pervasive war of ideas which is sweeping every country of the world. Iran's plight is the more tragic because she is caught up in a world tide of conflict at a time when she was struggling highly successfully for progress within herself.

As is only natural in advance of every kind, not everything is perfect, and faults and defects can be found. But it is always easier to point a critical finger than it is to give constructive aid, and this is a moment when in Iran, as in every other country, the forces that are fighting for the intellectual, moral and spiritual advance of the whole country and all its 13,000,000 citizens, need every supporting hand.

The recent visit of distinguished Iranian professors to the World Education Conference has drawn attention to the great strides which the country has been making. They were a charming and gifted group. A standard of great distinction is set by men like Dr. Ali Asghar Hikmat, who has served as Minister of Education, and at various times held three other Ministries, Dr. Ghulam Ali Ra'adi, Director-General of the Ministry of Education, Dr. Ghulam Hussein Sadighi, Director-General of the Secretariat (Dabirkhaneh) of Tehran University, and Dr. Isa Sepahbudi, all professors at the University and all members of the National Commission for Scientific and Intellectual Co-operation.

Dr. Ra'adi is a poet of very high rank in present-day Persia, and follows in the true tradition of the country's historic culture.

These men are among the leaders of the new education and cultural movement in Iran which has arisen since the last war. The revolutionary Government of Reza Shah were quick to realize that education was a tool with enormous possibilities for good or ill. For it is ideas and not material force that finally have the greatest creative or corrosive influences in the life of men and of nations. In Iran education has been a great instrument of change. A new educational system sprang up sporadically all over Iran after 1921. People were dissatisfied with the old Islamic instruction by rote. In 1928 a general order for the unification of the syllabus of all schools was issued. Schools were divided into primary, middle and senior, mostly on a French model. A few mission schools were encouraged to maintain American and English methods. In 1931 the primary schools were all nationalized and all foreign influences excluded from them. This was the price paid to prevent what were, to the Shah's mind, more sinister influences getting any hold on the people.

Still, there has been a great and rapid increase in education in the country during the twenty years 1920 to 1940. It is perhaps the greatest single influence on the life of the people. In 1920 expenditure was less than £100,000. In 1940 it was between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000. In 1922 there were only 612 schools. In 1940 there were 8,237, with a total enrolment of practically half a million students (496,960) and 13,646 teachers. In the same period the University in Tehran grew from practically nothing to the graduation of over 400 students annually. Adult education also in 1940 showed a total of 157,197 students in over 2,000 classes.

In 1945 a law was passed urging universal primary education. This will, of course, take years for completion. But it means that the country is rapidly becoming literate, while only a few years back it was 95 per cent. illiterate.

What influences are going to supply the reading matter for all these new readers? This growing educational advance must succeed in building the moral character which is the only basis of mutual confidence and of sound democratic institutions. Questions like the fixing of the Exchange, the combating of venereal disease, and the emergence of a sound Party system run in the interests of the country rather than in the manifold interests of large numbers of conflicting ambitions, all depend on the winning of the battle for character.

Here again Iran is at the centre of the fight going on through every country in the world between the advocates of a power-seeking, anti-moral materialism, and the advocates of a world of sound morals in which teamwork and service are the dominating ideas. The need was expressed clearly in 1935 by one of Iran's greatest modern writers, Djamalzadeh, author of "Yeki bud o. Yek na-bud," the first novel written in the colloquial spoken language rather than the old classical literary language. "A wave of honesty," he said, "would settle our internal financial problems. An increase of sound home life would greatly lower the incidence of venereal disease. A new unselfishness would show us how to raise our standard of living, and bridge the enormous gap between the rich and the extremely poor peasantry; and with such a national character we could create a foreign policy that would win the respect and gratitude of our neighbours."

During their tour in England last month the education delegates were taken to see a football match in a large city. The crowds took them for the *Dynamos* and yelled for a speech. The Iranian delegates were led to the microphone. They expressed their gratitude for the acclamations and explained that they could not actually appropriate them to themselves in full, as they came from Persia, not from Russia, and that while Russia had great footballers, Iran had great poets. This is typical. The sensitive, friendly and appreciative spirit of Iran has much to give the world, and it is greatly to be hoped that she will come safely through her present troubles with the power to make her greatest contribution.

It has to be remembered that until twenty years ago more than 50 per cent. of Iran's 13,000,000 inhabitants were still nomads. A lot of these have now begun to take up a settled livelihood. The progress made in half a generation is great. The rest of the world will do its greatest service by strengthening the elements making for the best in Iran, and will find that in the end such a policy has served their own interests best.

For it is the distinctive mark of the twentieth century that materialism has swept forward aggressively on a world battle front which has crossed every national frontier and already caused two world wars. It would be tragic if now Iran is to be turned by sectional interests into another battleground for competing ideas. For, given proper assistance, Iran has a great part to play in a family of nations fighting side by side to build a sound world.

WELL-BALANCED PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Hyderabad Budget for 1945-46, prepared for H.E.H. the Nizam's Government by Mr. Liakat Jung, Finance Member, maintains, and indeed enhances, the high reputation of the premier State for sound finance and many-sided social and economic advancement. If, as has been said, freedom is the soul of progress, sound finance is unquestionably its backbone, and inasmuch as in Hyderabad all the seven war-time Budgets have proved surplus Budgets (in spite of the fact that the only new taxes levied were the Excess Profits Tax and Excise Duty on tobacco), the State's unvarying adherence to this precept will be generally accepted as beyond challenge. On the other hand, while war-time taxation was light and the entire proceeds of the E.P.T. were earmarked for relief to the poor, a clear warning is given that before the very comprehensive "programmes of economic development and capital investment materialize, steps will have to be taken in the near future to augment the resources of the State by fresh taxation."

Agriculture, it is recognized, as in other parts of India, forms the basic industry, and appropriate measures are already going into operation to increase the quantity and quality of agricultural produce, with a high priority for foodstuffs. Concurrently

Government are expanding the sphere of activities of the other nation-building departments, headed by education, in which field provision is being made for a country-wide literacy drive, including the opening of literacy classes in all the offices of Government and in mosques, temples and churches, such classes to be run outside the office hours and the hours of worship. Over 100 students are to be sent to the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. for higher studies, and it has also been decided to depute a large number of officials, serving in various departments and in the university, for refresher courses and to benefit by British and American experience in the various branches of their work. A large number of scholarships are also to be given to students for training in British India. All these measures are designed to fill the gap which has occurred in the recruitment of officials with European qualifications, on account of the stoppage of foreign scholarships during the war.

Among irrigation projects sanctioned are the Tungadhadra, Manair and Chandrasagar projects. As a result of the agreement reached between the Governments of Madras and Hyderabad regarding the partial distribution of Tungadhadra waters, a gigantic scheme of irrigation, with power possibilities, has reached its final stage, the cost to Hyderabad exceeding 12 crores. The Mahair project is a hydro-electric scheme, while the Chandrasagar project ranks as a famine protective work. Towards the All-India project for 400,000 miles of new roads Hyderabad will contribute 7,740 miles of highways and major roads coming under the Public Works Department, and 12,127 miles under local authorities at a total cost of 28 crores.

In the field of industrial development much has already been achieved and post-war projects will ensure considerable further advances. As a result of pre-war programmes, the Hyderabad Allwyn Metal Works, Ltd., the Hyderabad Starch Products, Ltd., and the Hyderabad Chemicals and Fertilizers, Ltd., came into existence immediately after the outbreak of the war, with Government assistance and 50 per cent. participation in capital. The Nizam Sugar Factory, Ltd., Sirpur Paper Mills, Ltd., Hyderabad Vegetable Products, Ltd., Hyderabad Flour Mills, Ltd., and Taj Glass Works, Ltd., either existed just before the war was declared or were set up during the war by private enterprise. Government also participated in the share capital of the sugar factory and paper mills. After the establishment of Government control over capital issues more than thirty new industrial and commercial concerns were formed with a total issued capital of over 2½ crores.

In Hyderabad, as in other parts of India, one of the major impedimenta to rapid industrial expansion is the paucity of trained personnel, especially at the higher technical levels. On this important aspect the Finance Member reports that: "As a corollary to the industrial development the necessity of dovetailing such plans with schemes for research and technical training has not been overlooked. . . . The types of industries for which development is planned cannot expand, unless personnel qualified in those particular lines is available. Conversely, there will be considerable waste if qualified men have to take unsuitable jobs because they have been trained in types of production for which there is little or no demand—at any rate, in the early stages. It is also apparent that, whether the Indian industrialists get all the foreign exchange they want or not, the flow of machinery into this country will be comparatively small for some years. Finally, there is the question of resettling the technicians who have been trained in the Forces. All the same, every effort is being made to harness the great natural and potential resources of the country so that in future Hyderabad may not occupy a less important position in industrial India." In the financial sphere it is notified that the opening of branches of the State Bank, both within and outside the Dominions, particularly at industrial centres, is under active consideration.

Post-war schemes in Hyderabad are estimated to cost about 250 crores in the next ten years. The directions in which further expansion of industries is possible have been examined by the Post-war Planning Committee and approved in principle by the Government, the declared objective being "to utilize natural resources of the country to their fullest extent and establish a large number of industries in the State at the earliest possible opportunity." In pursuance of this determination, in the case of some industries application for import of machinery has been made to the Government of India, and Mr. Laik Alli, a member of the industrial delegation visiting the

U.K. and U.S.A., has been authorized to contact manufacturers in the United Kingdom and obtain quotations for the machinery required.

As examples of specific projects the Government have decided to launch big industrial projects in the Godavary area where there are possibilities of generating hydro-electric power on a large scale, and coal, iron ore and limestone are also available. The aim is to create an industrial town by setting up a number of mills and factories, and a Chief Commissioner has been appointed who will prepare detailed schemes with the help of technical experts. The proposed industries include iron and steel, coal carbonization and its by-products, cement and textile mills, vegetable oil industry, rayon, etc. Referring to the completion of the purchase of Singareni Colliery shares, of which Government now hold 88 per cent., the Finance Member remarks: "The entire credit for effecting this arrangement goes to Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, ex-Finance Member." Finally, it is intimated that another measure of far-reaching importance to the State is the proposed establishment by Government of a company to be called "The Deccan Airways, Ltd.," in active collaboration with Tata Sons, Ltd., with an authorized capital of one crore. The details of the scheme have been worked out, after safeguarding the interests of Hyderabad.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that British manufacturers have displayed the closest interest in the views and proposals put forward by the Indian States Delegation, with special reference to the States' requirements in terms mainly of capital goods, and Mr. H. S. Malik, Prime Minister of Patiala and head of the Delegation, has testified to the keen anxiety of all our leading industries to co-operate and help in every way possible. All the important States are now vying with British India in promoting full exploitation of their very varied and considerable industrial resources, and in some instances arrangements have already been completed for the establishment of branch factories on terms mutually advantageous to the British producers concerned and to the States. Other projects are under consideration and may be expected to mature in due course.

Happily, while increasingly anxious to foster modern processes of manufacture, the States are not allowing this form of development to diminish their constructive aid either to the great agricultural industry or to the cottage industries which, for as far ahead as can be seen, will remain an indispensable element in India's well-being. As we are reminded in memoranda circulated by the Chamber of Princes, the larger States have well-organized Departments of Industries, one of whose primary aims is the popularization of improved appliances in place of antiquated and wasteful ones. Handloom weaving remains one of the most flourishing industries in the States, largely owing to Government aid. In Hyderabad this takes the form of a Central Technical Institute which gives instruction to weavers, dyers, etc., in improved processes. In Mysore, it is estimated that 30,000 fly-shuttle looms are operating with an annual output of woven goods valued at a crore of rupees. New designs are furnished to weavers, supplemented when necessary by loans to purchase improved looms. The main cottage industries in Baroda are lacquer work and gold and silver thread making. The carpet industry in Kashmir, which dates back to 1423, is making marked progress in technical processes, without prejudice to traditional designs and quality. In Mysore the most important cottage industry is sericulture, which is practised in 2,500 out of 17,000 villages and engages roughly a sixth of the total population of the State. Experimental and demonstration silk farms have been established, which give practical training to all who are ready to take advantage of it. In Kashmir, Government have sanctioned the extension of mulberry plantations as well as the construction of a new hibernation house for the proper conservation of foreign as well as local seed. Baroda has established silk demonstration classes, and in 1943-4 seventy-five persons were trained in sericulture.

In a recent speech Lord Wavell expressed the hope that India's industrial revolution will avoid the grave error of an underpaid, badly housed and unhealthy working population from which Britain has taken more than a century to recover. It would be idle to deny that in most Indian industrial centres labour conditions still leave immense scope for improvement, as the Whitley Commission showed in detail, and it is sometimes suggested that in many Indian States labour conditions are less congenial than in British India. On the other hand, it is pointed out, many Indian

States have adopted effective measures to protect the rights and interests of labourers. Labour laws touching almost every phase of industrial life have been passed and the requisite administrative machinery has been set up to enforce these laws. Almost all the labour welfare legislation passed in British India has been adopted in the States, being most active in the industrial field. This fact is particularly worth emphasizing in order to refute the suggestion that the States are a haven for capitalists seeking excessive profits by recourse to abnormally cheap and unprotected labour.

REVOLUTION OF THE ROSE

BY PROFESSOR A. J. ARBERRY

A CYNIC once said that if there were ever a revolution in Britain the whole affair would be conducted in the most sporting spirit, in strictest accord with the rules of cricket. It might have equally well been forecast, more in humour than irony, that the songs of an insurgent Persian proletariat would be unlikely to omit some reference to the immortal Nightingale and the Rose.

Revolution has not yet come to Persia, and it is no part of our present purpose to speculate whether it ever will. But some indication is now available as to how the descendants of Firdausi, Omar and Hafiz would express themselves in the event of violent insurrection. Recently a leftish party, calling itself the Tudeh ("Masses"), has emerged and taken its place upon the political scene. Its spiritual ancestry is not difficult to trace. Persia has echoed with the catchwords of communism, the slogans of social revolution, at various times over the past fifteen centuries. There are texts in Firdausi and Sa'di fit to adorn and give point to any syndicalist's harangues. In recent times, before the rise of Riza Shah, the ill-starred poet 'Ishqi even went so far as to propose a five-days "festival of blood" every year to purge the body politic of parasites.

"The tongue of 'Ishqi is the pupil of revolution :
This tongue is not a red tongue, it is a banner of blood."

It is not, however, with the political programme or the problematic future of the Tudeh Party that this article intends to deal. Our interest is purely literary, our theme the poetry of proletarian Persia.

For material for this study we have a little volume newly arrived from Persia, *Adabiyat-i Tudeh (The Literature of the Masses)*, forty-seven pages of Persian political verse. Much of it is fairly poor stuff, judged as literature, though not worse than the jingles British political propagandists invent. With a few exceptions, all of it seems to have been written during the past two years. Among the authors are lawyers, deputies, students, schoolmasters and workmen. The verse is almost entirely in the traditional style.

The rose is not forgotten. One of the better poems in the collection, by Ali Fattah-Pur, has the title "Others have culled the rose of this garden"; it is an almost perfect example of the Revolution of the Rose.

"In order to combat the mischief of a certain cat
A number of mice banded themselves together.
To begin solving this problem
They trimmed enough the carpet of deliberation;
That they might find salvation for their souls
They stamped their feet in self-defence.

Revolution of the Rose

Each one in that connection said something
 According to the capacity of his intelligence.
 Many were the plans that were drawn up,
 In every way new and virgin designs,
 But all the time some fresh problem
 They saw standing in their way.

At last a certain mouse spoke up :
 ' It is necessary to fetch a bell,
 So that when he comes we may be warned—
 To bring it and then put it on his neck.'
 All, when they heard this speech,
 Entirely approved of his words.

To match speech with action
 All leaped from their places;
 They searched to procure the bell
 Until finally they found what they desired;
 They became altogether delighted and happy
 And rubbed their hands for joy.

Now when it came to actually doing the job,
 Not one out of that crowd volunteered
 To tie on the cat's neck
 The bell; and that was the upshot of the matter.
 When the mice saw their incapacity
 They all laughed at their idea.

My ideas and yours too, my friend,
 Are entirely like the idea of the mouse.
 When it comes to solving problems enough
 Friends have the most perfect understanding,
 But in action they are like the mice—
 They are ever afraid of the adversary.

The sickness of the Persians is incurable
 So long as the masses make no move
 And toward the advancement of their purpose
 For the sake of peace make no effort.
 So long as there is division among the masses
 They are like wool the food of moths.

Would that of the ancestral blood
 There were one drop in the veins of the masses,
 So that like their forebears among the nations
 They might become famous in all matters.
 But the living are worse than the dead
 Because like the dead they do not stir.

The produce of thy toil, O masses,
 Has become the revenue of a few worthless men.
 My house and thine is ruined
 For the sake of the mansion of a few men of wealth.
 The thorn has entered into our foot :
 Others have culled the rose of this garden."

The student of classical Persian poetry will not be surprised by the technique of these rhymes. The belling of the cat is as appropriate to this context as any fable of Æsop or Bidpai, as any true or fictitious tale quoted by Sa'di or Nizami or Rumi to illustrate a high moral or spiritual point.

The peasant addressing his son with good advice is a familiar theme in Persian poetry. The proletarian rhymesters have not failed to exploit its possibilities; but Parvin Gunabadi introduces a clever variant.

“ To his father with a hundred wailings and laments there ran
On a festival day the dejected child of a workman.
‘ Father,’ he said, ‘ I do not want any festive robe;
I am impotent with hunger : buy a barley loaf.
The severe cold last night drove sleep from my head;
The master’s slap has made me very deaf.
Many a pretty carpet I have woven with a hundred pains;
Why have I no glittering coin but wet tears? *
Why is my annual hire a hundred rials?
Do not hire me out cheap again, father.’
The father said, ‘ There is no result of our labour;
This custom has for years made me a vagabond.
Out of my seventy years’ hard toil and labour
What have I now, my son, except blood of the heart? †
A neighbouring labourer gave ear, and said,
‘ Do not grieve, for the age of the tyrant has ended.
Do you know that the sun of truth has risen?
Have you not heard of the Union of Workers?
Rise up, and press the hand of our unity;
Rend asunder the chains of oppression and captivity.’ ”

It is not, however, the classical forms alone that are pressed into service by the poets of Persia’s labour movement. There is a style of folk poetry, the lullaby, simple and tender and of great charm. The lullaby is parodied with bitter satire in a poem entitled “ The Capitalists’ Internationale.”

“ Workers, labourers, toilers, peasant masses !
(Lalala lala, lalala lala.)
Work for us, that we may reap the fruits of your toil;
Gather for us, and we will eat for you.
We are your guardians, we are your shepherds
(Lalala lala, lalala lala.)
Spin for us, and we will cut off your heads with your cotton.
We are your guards; we will kill you with your own bullets.
We are your wise men : do you carp at us?
(Lalala lala, lalala lala.)
Make for us, that we may profit of what you make;
Fight for us, that we may live in your country;
Beget for us, that we may enjoy your daughters
(Lalala lala, lalala lala.)
Be drudges unto death, murmur not, and we will carry you decently and in order
to your graves.”

The same writer has a rhapsody, “ Torrent,” in the modern style.

I
“ We are drops of water
Atom by atom
little by little
bit by bit
we flow into each other
we mingle together
we make rivers

* A common conceit, the comparison of shining tears with glittering dinars.

† Sc. grief.

We are rivers
 Gently, gently
 subtly, subtly
 softly, softly
 we flow into each other
 ourselves together
 we make to run
 till suddenly
 we have fashioned a torrent

2

We surge we roar we thunder
 we sweep away : all that hinders us
 we overthrow : all that molests us
 we make to tremble : every rock, every mountain, every mansion, every
 palace
 heads in us are as a plaything
 silvery bodies are as a child
 cradle heavy, golden, or insignificant straw
 in our waves are of one worth and value

3

We are flowing, roaring and boiling
 in mountain and valley and in plain and hill
 we make the plain level, wherever a rising is
 with the hollows, wherever pride is with the arrogant
 we are flowing, roaring and boiling."

This is a comparatively new thing in Persian literature. More familiar are the following images :

"The day will come when men will beat the drum of 'I am the Truth';*
 That day will be the day of settling accounts and of gibbets erected."
 (Minuchihr Paravi.)

"The world's ease is bound up with thy existence;
 Through labour's alchemy the base copper turns to gold." (Parvin Gunabadi.)

"Feasting not the censor and the watchman speak the facts—
 The masses at thy back will be like Alexander's rampart." (Minuchihr Paravi.)

"Always thou hast the sobbing of child and wife, but
 He has nothing but a silvery-cheeked mistress.
 That moment when blood is flowing from thine eye because of thy situation
 He is only thinking of wine and feast and gambling." (M. Abbasi.)

"For the salvation of the worker lives are sacrificed.
 May my life be the ransom of him who sacrifices his life for the worker . . .
 Alas, that through the limitless oppression of the capitalist
 The warp and woof of the worker in Iran has been torn to pieces . . .
 We must be united behind this brazen wall
 That the worker's evening may become like bright dawn."
 (Ali Asghar Muiniyan.)

"Those who are members of the puissant party of the Masses
 Have polished the rust of discord from the mirror of the heart."
 (Ali Fattah-Pur.)

* The old saying of Mansur-i-Hallaj, the martyr-mystic.

From two elegies for Sulaiman Muhsin Iskandari, a "martyr in the cause of freedom":

"Thou wast that Solomon by the seal of whose ring
The spirit of the demon of tyranny is condemned to destruction."
(Khusrau Darai.)

"Where is Solomon, that he may weep for our country's Solomon?
Where is Iskandar [Alexander], that he may lament for the grief of Iskandari?
If a rose from the rose-garden of the Party of the Masses has withered,
A hundred like it, narcissi and fresh tulips, have burst into flower."
(Ali Asghar Muiniyan.)

So the age-old genius of Persian song springs anew, in such an unlikely soil as proletarian politics. It is not for us to argue the rights or wrongs of the cause which has inspired this varied band of singers to burst into spontaneous song, but rather to observe and call attention to the curious rare felicity that graces much of this music. By our standards it may sound thin at times, artificial enough, even incongruous; judged by the unattainable standards of Firdausi and Hafiz it is for the most part fugitive and ephemeral; but it marks a stage in the close relationship between Persian politics and literature; and is thus worth studying on both accounts. We leave this little book of verses with the lines of Sayyid Muhammad Dawudi ringing in our ears:

"Parliament has become a home for evildoers,
And so decency and honour have become a storied legend.
The nation of Iran is ashamed in the presence of every foreigner—
Alas for us, our country has been wholly ruined.
Worker, how long wilt thou endure this pain and misery?
Cut off the hand of these domestic thieves that they may not do this mischief.

How long must the burden of the rich men's tyranny be borne?
They drink, O labourer, our blood in place of wine.
Arise! The music of nature plays this melody:
Worker, annihilate the impudent, shameless aristocrats.
How long must poverty, pain, affliction be tolerated?
How long must we clutch at the skirts of every dishonoured scoundrel?

Now, Party of the Masses, awaken the masses:
The time is critical—prepare for the battle.
O toiling multitude, manfully make ready for action,
Exalt the stature of those worthless ones—upon the gallows.
Make yourselves a people that have found release from the fetters of the worthless:
For your freedom's sake, betake yourselves to the Party of the Masses."

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

BROADCAST FROM RADIO ANKARA

By J. BELL

(Member of the British Council staff in Ankara)

TO-NIGHT in this talk I want to give you an outline of local government administration as it is carried out within the Turkish Republic. I need hardly remind you that local government of one kind or another has been in existence in the British Isles since the earliest times. Before county councils were created in 1888 much of the adminis-

tration of the county was in the hands of the Justices of the Peace, while the affairs of the parish rested in the hands of the church vestry. At the present day, however, the administration of matters relating to police, licensing, reformatories, asylums, industrial schools, education, highways, etc., public health and poor law, etc., has been handed over to the county councils and various other bodies under the supervision of the Ministry of Health. This scheme of local government was perfected by the Local Government Act of 1894, which now applies largely to rural and urban areas alike, except of course the London area, which is still administered under its old charters and usages.

Similarly in Turkey from the dawn of history there has been some form of local government, in many ways similar to that which has been in existence in the British Isles, but since the creation of the Turkish Republic local government has been greatly developed and highly centralized. The Minister of the Interior is responsible for the administration of local government of the whole country, including cities, towns, and villages. He prepares the budget for both urban and rural areas, and is in charge of the general security and peace of the Republic.

According to the Turkish Constitution the country is divided into Vilayetler, Kazalar and Nahiyeler. Each vilayet is governed by an official called the Vali. In a city, in addition to the Vali, there is an official called the Belediye Reisi. He may even be the same person as the Vali. His duties are to supervise the administration of the poor law of the city, to be responsible for the cleansing regulations, and inspection of all food, water, restaurants, hotels, etc. In addition to his many other duties he controls the transport and upkeep of the streets, etc., and reports on all outbreaks of infectious diseases. Next to the vilayet is the kaza, which is governed by a Kaymakam. This official is responsible for his area or district within the vilayet, and is under the jurisdiction of the Vali.

A third official is the Nahiye Müdürü, who in turn governs his area and carries out his functions under the Kaymakam. In villages whose populations are under 2,000 inhabitants there is an official known as the Muhtar. This officer is elected by the local people, and his work is unpaid, somewhat like an English J.P. With the exception of the Muhtar the officials above mentioned are appointed by the Minister of the Interior, after recommendation by the proper authorities. They are all paid Government servants and are specially trained for their work.

It will be seen therefore from the foregoing that there is no division or detail of local government which is not administered by a highly qualified staff of officials. An outstanding example of this fact is seen by anyone who has lived in Ankara. Such a resident is ever ready to pay tribute to the really excellent administration of the Vali and his department. One can state without fear of contradiction therefore that as far as the machinery of local government is concerned the Turkish Republic compares favourably with any other modern State.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1946

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CAMPAIGN IN BURMA, 1944-1945

BY GENERAL SIR WILLIAM SLIM

At a joint meeting of the Association and the Royal Empire Society on Wednesday, February 6, 1946, in the Assembly Hall of the Society, an address was given by General Sir William Slim, head of the Imperial Defence College, on "Some Aspects of the Campaign in Burma, 1944-1945."

The CHAIRMAN (General Sir Mosley Mayne), in introducing General Slim, said that in the very early days of the war, when Italy ranged herself against us, Brigadier Slim, as he then was, went out as a Brigade Commander with the 5th Indian Division to the Soudan. It fell to him to fight the first offensive battle in the Soudan—in fact, the first offensive battle in the whole of the Middle East. But General Slim was not destined to take part for very long in the East African campaign. He was injured seriously, though, happily, not dangerously, by an enemy airman, and this necessitated his evacuation from that theatre. He was on his feet again very soon, however, and presently succeeded to the command of the 10th Indian Division, which took part first in the suppression of the revolution in Iraq, and immediately afterwards engaged in the rather complicated campaign against the Vichy French in Syria and later in the little-known war against the Persians. That carried him through the summer and autumn of 1941. In the spring of 1942 he was promoted to the command of a corps in Burma, and got out to Burma in time to take command of the British troops that were then retiring from Rangoon to the borders of India. He succeeded to the command of the 14th Army in the autumn of 1943. That was the background of General Slim's earlier career in the war. The rest of it was well known to the audience, and General Slim would now give some more details about the achievements of that famous 14th Army.

General Sir WILLIAM SLIM said : In the time at my disposal I am quite incapable of giving you a complete or even very coherent account of the campaign for the recapture of Burma. I will confine myself, therefore, to a brief outline of the main features of the campaign and will talk a little of certain of its aspects which seem to me of particular military or human interest.

With an audience of this type I need not go into much detail concerning the country we operated in. It is enough to say that the wide belt of jungle-covered mountains, 150 to 300 miles deep, along the whole Burma-India border, from China to the Indian Ocean, can claim, with some justice, to be the world's worst country, to have the world's worst climate, and to produce some of the world's worst diseases. There were no roads or railways through this belt, and the few tracks were impossible even for pack animals during the five months of the monsoon. It was in, through, and over this country that we had to supply, manœuvre, and fight large

formations. What that meant in hardships to the troops and headaches to the commanders and staffs I need not emphasize.

In addition to the hostility of nature we had to overcome a most stubborn and formidable human enemy. A great deal of nonsense has been talked and written about the Japanese Army. The Japanese Army was in many ways a second-class army. It was second-class in the mental capacity of its leaders and in its staff work, fifth-class in its administration, and second-class again in a great deal of its equipment. In fact, but for one thing, the Japanese Army would have been a completely second-class army, somewhere below that of the Italians. But that one thing made all the difference—it was the individual Japanese soldier.

All armies *talk* about fighting to the last round and the last man—the Japanese *do* it. And they are the only army I have ever met that does. The Japanese soldier, whatever his arm or his rank, marches and fights until he dies. Now, if you meet an army of several hundreds of thousands of men of that type, armed with modern weapons, you are up against a most formidable adversary. And we were in Burma.

In numbers, between the actual fighting forces, there was no great discrepancy. ~~The~~ Japanese in Burma had ten and two-thirds divisions, with, in addition, something like a hundred thousand troops on their lines of communication. Of the divisions, two and a portion of another were usually occupied by the Yunnan Chinese of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's forces in the north-east and by General Stilwell's American-trained Chinese divisions in the north. Another two divisions were, to begin with, in the Arakan and on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. The remaining six were on or available for the main front—the Imphal-Chindwin area. On this, the vital front, we never managed to produce more than seven divisions—and this only for a very short time. Maintenance was too difficult. In fact, when we advanced on Rangoon we did so with only four Indian divisions against ten Japanese, but I must admit we had badly knocked about most of those divisions before we started. Still, discrepancy in numbers was by no means always in our favour.

AIR SUPERIORITY

I am not belittling the part played by other arms when I say that, from start to finish, as far as ground fighting was concerned, this was an infantryman's war. Both the type of country and the type of enemy ensured this. And we won because our infantry—British, Indian, Gurkha, and African—proved themselves to be better than the Japanese. Proved themselves, indeed, to be the finest infantry in the world. They would go anywhere, do anything, and do it on next to nothing.

While we had no vast superiority either in numbers or equipment, there was one respect in which we had an immense superiority—in the air. In 1942 we had been thoroughly beaten both on the ground and in the air. In 1943 we got a hiding on the ground in the Arakan, but in the air the Royal Air Force and the American Army Air Force were rapidly growing in strength. By sheer skill, courage, and determination they drove the then formidable Japanese Air Force out of the sky over North Burma and pushed its hases right back. By October, 1943, when the 14th Army was formed, they had achieved a very large measure of command of the air. That was as it should be, because, no matter what the theatre of war, you have got to win the battle in the air before you can win the battle on the ground. It was up to us to make use of this, our one great advantage over the Jap. I think we did.

First, we used it to give our infantry tactical support in the actual battle. Compared with other fronts, we were very short of supporting weapons—artillery, rockets, tanks, flame-throwers, and the rest. We therefore gradually built up with the Air Forces a technique which interwove air support into the land fighting more intimately than I think was achieved elsewhere. We thought nothing of our fighters firing their cannon a hundred yards ahead of our troops or of our fighter-bombers bombing at two hundred and fifty. Such was the confidence of our soldiers in the Air Forces that they constantly called for and got support at ranges that a short time previously would have been considered madly dangerous. This close tactical air support was a normal integral part of every fire plan down to even platoon level, supplementing or replacing artillery and machine-gun fire.

In addition, of course, air superiority gave us the power to attack the enemy lines

of communication and rear installations. We had neither the weight of air attack nor the immense targets presented in Europe, but the Air Forces continuously and increasingly hampered Japanese movement in and into Burma.

AIR TRANSPORT

But the outstanding advantage that air superiority gave us was neither tactical air support nor strategic bombing, but the fact that it furnished, in air transport, the answer to our two great problems. First, how to deal with the standard Japanese tactic of infiltrating large forces through the jungle, cutting off our forward formations and then waiting for them either to starve or to have to cut their way out. Second, how to move rapidly and maintain large forces in and through country devoid of communications and resources. For the first we could either drop or land from the air supplies, and for the second we could move troops, supplies, equipment by air and evacuate casualties.

All this was not, of course, a completely new idea; air supply and air transportation had been carried out on several occasions before, but we can, I think, claim that we set to work consciously to plan and organize it on a larger and more far-reaching strategic scale than it had ever been employed before. We developed the organization, largely by trial and error, until it achieved really astonishing results. At the decisive battle of Imphal, among the forces under operational control of 14th Army, six complete divisions were moved by air for distances of several hundred miles; 30,000 men and 6,000 animals were landed in the heart of enemy territory; eight full divisions, fighting hard the whole time, were maintained for several months fully and completely by air. During our advance to Rangoon we received by air on a regular schedule over 2,000 tons a day of supplies, ammunition, petrol, and the rest, over distances of 250 to 300 miles. Those figures represent a marvellous achievement.

An organization that can do such things is, of necessity, vast and complex. It can be built up only by the hardest and most skilful staff work by the Air Forces and the Army over a period of months. That was why we sometimes got a little impatient when the experts, writing in the home papers, referred to it as "a feat of brilliant improvisation"!

The difference between this campaign and others has been that with us the transportation of large formations and their supply by air has been a normal method, not a thing used only on occasions. With us it has gone on, day by day, for months like a railway system. The really marvellous thing is not that it was done, although that was wonderful enough, but that it continued to be done so steadily, so un-failingly.

None of us who fought in Burma fails to appreciate this effort of the Air Forces, but it is hard for anyone who has not flown there in the monsoon to understand what it really meant for the air crews. Distances were great, airfields just patches cleared in the jungle, navigation difficult, and at times the weather appalling. Disturbances occurred in the monsoon clouds that literally tore the wings off aircraft. If anything happened to cause a forced landing there was nothing in the sea of forest to come down on with a hope of safety. Even a safe parachute drop probably only put you in the middle of the jungle hundreds of miles from help.

Yet our air forces, British and American, never failed us. We had absolute confidence in them. I remember when the 7th Division was cut off we got news of a battery of medium artillery firing at a range of 500 yards—rather short for medium artillery—and we were a little anxious. We sent a signal to them asking how they were getting on. Their reply was, "Fine, but please drop us 120 bayonets!" Such confidence was the result of the airmen never failing to come over with the goods every day. Air Vice-Marshal Vincent's 221st Group, Royal Air Force, was the formation responsible for the co-ordination of all air effort and for maintaining our air superiority all over the 14th Army area. Fighters of that group flew on every one of the 365 days of the year—an absolutely unique achievement. There was not a single day we had not got them over us, looking after us:

Every plan that was made by the Army was based on this factor of air transportation. The war in Burma was a war—and a victory—just as much of the Air Forces as of the Army.

STRATEGY OF THE CAMPAIGN

For a few minutes I would like now to sketch for you the broad outlines of this campaign. Most that has so far been written or said about it would lead one to believe that it consisted of a series of isolated, unco-ordinated scraps all over the jungle, which, in some mysterious way, suddenly led to the collapse of the Japanese Army. It was very far from a planless campaign. All our operations were part of an overall plan laid down in advance which was followed through to the end.

In October, 1943, General Giffard, Commander-in-Chief of the 11th Army Group, acting on the directives issued to him by the Supreme Commander, Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, gave 14th Army its orders. At that time the Chinese-American Force, under General Stilwell, operating from Ledo in the north, were under my operational control. The tasks given me were: (i) To open the road to China; (ii) to defend India against invasion; and (iii) to effect a limited advance in the Arakan up to Maungdaw-Buthidaung.

We began with the advance in the Arakan and took Maungdaw. We had been expecting a Japanese counter-offensive here, and it came, much as we expected it, although locally it rather caught us by surprise. It followed the standard Japanese model of a large force infiltrating through the jungle to appear behind our forward divisions and to cut their communications (see diagram 1). But now we had the answer and our plans already laid to meet the danger. The troops cut off stood firm, were supplied by air, and in due course counter-attacked. The Army reserves, placed for the purpose, moved down to take the Japanese in turn in *their* rear.

So little was this improvisation, that all I had to do was to order the reserves to move, and to say to my Principal Administrative Officer, "From tomorrow 7th Division goes on air supply." Thanks to the work he and his staff with the Air Staff had done in the previous weeks, when the time came my part in it was as simple as that. I only made one attempt to interfere with these experts. I suggested very diffidently to my Principal Administrative Officer that it might be a good idea to put a case of rum in each aeroplane so that the troops would undoubtedly search hard for what was dropped. I received the reply, given with a slightly injured air, "Sir, I have *already* given orders that *two* cases of rum should be put in each aircraft!"

The Japanese infiltrating force caught between the anvil of our forward divisions and the hammer of those coming down from the north was completely crushed. Our 15th Corps resumed its advance in the Arakan and took Buthidaung—thus completing our task in that sector. This battle is notable as the first time any British force had inflicted a real defeat on the Japanese Army.

THE MAIN JAPANESE OFFENSIVE

We had now to meet the main Japanese offensive against India. Their Arakan attack had been intended not only to break into Eastern Bengal, but to draw our only available reserves far from the main front, which they had decided was to be in Assam around Imphal. Their object was to capture Imphal and Kohima, break into the great Brahmaputra Valley, and occupy the railway and airfields which were the only supply line to Stilwell's forces and to China itself.

We had good intelligence of the impending offensive, its date, and general form. There were three ways in which we could meet it. We could (i) advance across the Chindwin and attack the Japanese assembling for the offensive; (ii) meet it along the Chindwin west bank on the forward edge of the mountain belt; or (iii) pull right back on Imphal itself and let the Japanese come forward across the river and through the mountains to attack us.

A number of enthusiasts pressed me hard to "fling" a couple of divisions across the Chindwin. If you hear people talking of "flinging" divisions about, be careful; they are not very experienced commanders. Anyway, we decided instead to pull right back to Imphal, and, for the first time, let the Japanese fight with the bad lines of communication behind them and not behind us.

THE IMPHAL FIGHTING

Things went according to plan except that I made two mistakes. First, I delayed a couple of days too long in ordering back the most southerly of our divisions; and, second, I calculated that the Japanese could bring only one brigade against Kohima, whereas in fact they brought a full division. However, our division from the south fought its way out magnificently, hammering the Japs handsomely in the process. At Kohima I was saved from the consequences of my mistake, first by the heroic tenacity and valour of my troops, and then by my Commander-in-Chief, General Giffard, who rapidly brought by rail and air into the Kohima area 33rd Corps headquarters and one division from India. The three divisions of 4th Corps in the Imphal area went on to air supply. We reinforced them with another division flown from the Army reserve, and yet another, both from the Arakan, went to join 33rd Corps at Kohima. In the most stubborn and bloody fighting we then repeated on a much larger scale what we had done in the Arakan. Our divisions, attacking south from Kohima and north from Imphal, caught two Japanese divisions like a nut between the arms of a nut-cracker. They were crushed, and we turned against the remainder south of Imphal. These Japanese troops made one last desperate attempt to take Imphal. The commander of the 33rd Japanese Division, in his last order before their fanatical attack, said, "The division will take Imphal; it will be annihilated, but we shall win the victory!" He was right about the division being annihilated but wrong about winning the victory (see diagram 4).

The battle of Imphal-Kohima was the really decisive battle of the campaign. It smashed the flower of the Japanese Army in Burma. As we had hoped, they had gone on attacking long after it was hopeless, and then they were compelled to begin their appalling retreat through the hills at the height of the monsoon.

In the meantime, while the main Japanese forces were battling at Imphal, General Stilwell had continued to push on with his Chinese towards Myitkyina. We had flown in some 20,000 men of General Wingate's force into the heart of Japanese territory. Here the Chindits cut the main Japanese communications to the forces opposing the Chinese and fulfilled their task of helping General Stilwell to capture Myitkyina and open the road to China.

It had always been thought, both by the Japanese and ourselves, that the move of large formations in the monsoon was impossible, but we decided to pursue the broken Japanese divisions from Imphal to the Chindwin. Two divisions went forward—one African, one Indian—and clung to the heels of the exhausted but still fighting army. Behind our men the roads crumbled away, but through the monsoon clouds came the Air Force, day after day, and dropped their requirements. At the end of the monsoon we were in a very favourable position. We had smashed up a considerable portion of the Japanese Army, we held bridgeheads across the Chindwin, and we were all set to carry out the next part of our plan.

THE PUSH SOUTHWARDS

The object we set ourselves was to fight a decisive army battle in the area about Mandalay which would so destroy the main Japanese forces that Burma would be open to us. The Mandalay area was chosen because it is the open, dry belt of Burma in which our superiority in air, armour, and mobility could be exploited to the full.

Our plan was to bring 33rd Corps (three divisions) across the Chindwin straight on to Mandalay from the west and north. Then to force the crossings of the Irrawaddy, both north and west of Mandalay, so as to draw the bulk of the Japanese Army into this area. While this was going on it was intended to move 4th Corps (three divisions) secretly 320 miles over tracks through the hills to seize a crossing on the Irrawaddy about Pagan. From this bridgehead a mechanized and airborne force would strike at Meiktila, some 80 miles south of Mandalay. All the main Japanese communications leading north-west, north, north-east, and east passed through or near Meiktila. It was, in addition, the centre of their administrative base area for all North and Central Burma. Its seizure would be like grasping a wrist, when the Japanese were fighting at the finger-tips. It should paralyze them.

The struggle in the 33rd Corps bridgeheads about Mandalay was fierce and pro-

longed. The Japanese at last realized that they would have to put in all they had got to push us back into the river and save Mandalay. They reacted as we had hoped. They pulled in their troops opposing the Chinese and began a hurried withdrawal of the two divisions in the Arakan. Soon practically all the Japanese forces in Burma were in or converging on the Mandalay area. It was then that 4th Corps seized the Pagan crossing and launched the blow at Meiktila. We took it, with great slaughter, in a most thrilling hand-to-hand fight. We kept it against desperate counter-attacks by all available Japanese reserves, and that was the end of any Japanese hope of holding Central Burma. They pulled out after suffering tremendous losses in men, guns, and equipment.

A RACE FOR TIME

We then had a really good chance of taking Rangoon and driving the Japs completely out of the main part of Burma. Our plan, made some months before, was for a dash south by 4th Corps (two mechanized and airborne divisions) down the Mandalay-Rangoon railway route (see diagram 6). It would, of course, have to be maintained by air. With this in view, General Leese, who had succeeded General Giffard as Commander-in-Chief, had with 15th Corps in the Arakan occupied Akyab and Ramnee Islands, which gave us airfields much nearer to the line of advance and thus made air supply possible. Nevertheless, it was administratively a pretty risky business. In addition, the monsoon was due in five or six weeks. If we were to avoid it, it meant an average advance of twelve miles or so a day, which, with the opposition and demolition expected, was, many thought, optimistic. Then, too, the Japanese greatly outnumbered any force we could move south, and, as we could not delay to attack strong positions, we should have to leave behind us large bodies of the enemy. However, great and obvious as the risks were, no one who saw the troops could doubt their ability to pull it off. So we started.

Our two divisions pelted down the road as hard as they could. Wherever they met the Japs they broke through them and pushed them into the hills. At one stage we had our own fellows going hard in the centre with big enemy detachments marching hard level with them on both flanks. If at this time the Tokyo radio had said, "Our forces are pursuing the enemy rapidly in the direction of Rangoon," they would have been nearer the truth than usual.

Our leading division had reached Pegu, just about 50 miles from Rangoon, when the first heavy rain fell—much before its normal time. In spite of this Pegu was captured, and with it the last organized Japanese resistance to our advance ceased. They had already withdrawn the whole of the Rangoon garrison to fight at Pegu, but the weather slowed up our advance until only infantry without vehicles could struggle on to within about 30 miles of the city.

On May 3 an Indian Division of 15th Corps landed by sea south of Rangoon, steamed up-river and occupied the city without opposition. A few days later the 14th Army joined up with them.

SUPPLY DIFFICULTIES

We in the 14th Army were by the hard necessities of a global war the Cinderella of all the Armies of the Empire. We got only what our richer sisters in Africa and Europe could spare. Indeed, I often thought that the only equipment my Staffs and Services had in sufficient quantity and in up-to-date form was brains. And they used them to no mean purpose to overcome every kind of apparently insurmountable difficulty. To mention only a few of the problems they faced.

If we were to advance south of Meiktila it was essential to deliver 500 tons of supplies a day by the River Chindwin. We had the river and we had the trees, but no boats. Nothing daunted, my Engineers dragged the logs with elephants, set up a mass-production shipbuilding yard, and turned out hundreds of boats at an astonishing rate. These boats looked like Noah's Arks, without the house, but they floated—and the right way up—and carried 10 tons each. Engines for the launches to tow them we flew in.

On another occasion, when considerable parts of our forward formations were entirely dependent on air-dropping, we were suddenly told India could not keep up

the supply of parachutes. This was a bit of a facer, as we had no hope of any from home in time. However, we did not despair. We tried first to make parachutes out of paper; we failed, but I still think it possible. Then we tried making them from jute cloth—much the same as used for sandbags. Our “parajutes” were successful—and cheap—and tided us over a crucial period.

Then we had to make hundreds of miles of roads—and roads that would stand up during the downpour of the monsoon. There was no road metal, nor had we the transport to bring it in. In the Arakan we solved the problem by building brick-kilns every twenty or so miles and paving the roads with millions of locally made bricks. On the main front this was impossible, as we could not import the coal required for brick-kilns. Here my Chief Engineer pinned his faith—when nobody else would—on “Bit-hess,” long strips of jute cloth dipped in bitumen. These, used as a waterproof cover for compacted, dry earth, did the trick.

A terrible problem, that was always with us, was the provision of any kind of fresh meat or vegetables for the forward troops. So we went in for farming, and the 14th Army became farmers in rather a big way. We had 13,000 acres under cultivation—mainly vegetables. At one stage of the Imphal battle we lost a million and a half cabbage plants to the Japs, but recaptured them, still growing. We had, as good farmers, many sidelines. We tried chicken farms, but the local breed was not a success. We then turned to ducks, for which large parts of the country were eminently suitable. Unfortunately the local ducks were not good mothers and would not hatch out their eggs, at any rate in the quantity we needed. Incubators would have been the answer, but poor Cinderella had no hope of getting these. Trying every expedient and refusing to be beaten, we heard that there were some strange people in China who could hatch ducks’ eggs in rice husks. Within a matter of days my agricultural department had flown in a party of Chinamen from the middle of China who had this strange art. Sure enough, they made their rice-husk incubators and hatched out thousands and thousands of ducklings. Never enough for everybody, but a supply for hospitals and for Christmas dinners.

MEDICAL SERVICE

I cannot leave this aspect of the campaign without a word about our medical services. In 1943 the sick rate among the forward troops was about 12 per 1,000 per day, which meant that the whole army disappeared in about three months; but in 1945, at the height of our campaign, the sick rate, exclusive of battle casualties, was under 1 per 1,000. And that in a country with no amenities, a foul climate, and subject to most known tropical diseases. We were always lamentably short of our admittedly meagre establishment of doctors and nurses, too. This almost miraculous improvement in health was achieved by two things—the devotion of our Medical Services and the discipline of our troops. Neither could have effected it without the other. It’s no use having good doctors if you haven’t got good discipline. We rather prided ourselves in the 14th Army on both.

Something I must say, too, of the part India played in this campaign. India was our base and three-quarters of everything we got came from there. The best thing of all we got from India was the Indian Army. Indeed, the campaign in Burma was largely an Indian Army campaign. The bulk of the fighting troops and almost the whole of those on the lines of communication were soldiers of the Indian Army—and magnificent they were. India, too, trained and sent us our reinforcements. Remember, you can start off with an army composed of men you have trained yourself, but as the casualties occur and the months pass your army is no longer those men. It is an army of the reinforcements that have come to you. In that we owed an immense debt to India, especially to General Auchinleck, for the way our reinforcements were trained and brought forward. Anything that India had to give was given to us. I think if people at home had been as generous to us as India was we should not have been as hard up for many things as we were.

A SOLDIERS’ WAR

Now, I have talked too long on the difficulties and expedients of commanders and staffs, but I should like you to take away one final and overall impression of this

Burma campaign—that it was a soldiers' war. The victory in Burma was won by the fighting men—the men in the ranks : British, Indian, American, Gurkha, Chinese, African. In every battle against a stubborn enemy there comes the time when the result hangs in the balance; when the General, however clever, or, what is perhaps more important, however lucky he's been, must hand over to his soldiers. Then the issue rests with them and can only be decided by sheer fighting. Time and again in Burma that moment came, and always I handed over with confidence. Never was my confidence misplaced.

The true glory of the Burma campaign is that of the soldier who fought on the ground and of the airman who flew over him. It is to their courage, their endurance, and their refusal to be overcome by any difficulty of man or nature that all achievement is due. With them rests the honour of a great task well done.

Air Vice-Marshal S. F. VINCENT said that he was happy to thank General Slim for the appreciation he had so eloquently voiced of the men who had worked with them in Burma. He desired to tell the audience a little bit of the story of what it meant in respect of air effort. The General had spoken of the work the pilots had done, but he wanted rather to speak about the men who were responsible for getting the aircraft where the aircraft went. Some years ago the Air Ministry published a book to assist staffs in preparing for battle, and figures were given as to what to expect and what to order in petrol, oil, ammunition, and so on for varying operations. The efforts of the aircraft were divided up into economical rates, sustained rates, maximum rates, and so on, and against the various maximum rates was the comment, "These rates can be expected to last for two or three days at the most in succession."

But in Burma it was known by the General to the yard—to the inch, it might be said—exactly where the main battle would take place a long time ahead, and he told him in confidence that that was to be the place, to which he replied : "Right. I will give you all I have got up to then, and after that we can settle down a bit." That was the arrangement during the campaign. His squadrons kept up the maximum rate, not for two or three days as stated in the book, but day after day for six consecutive months. It was to be remembered also that this was not done by working on a nice aerodrome with concrete-tarmac runways and large hangars, comfortable billets and canteens, but the work was done on a series of strips made in the most marvellous manner by the engineer on the spot, not one of which took as long as a week to prepare and many of them less than forty-eight hours. They were just there, a bit of nothing, and the service ability rate averaged something like 90 per cent. of the aircraft available.

He was quite sure that only a very small percentage of those present had heard the mystic numbers "221" in relation to a group of aircraft before that day, but he wanted to publish those figures for the benefit of others, and it gave him great pleasure to give them out in public and to thank the General for what he had said about the Air Force.

General Sir GEORGE GIFFARD (formerly Commander-in-Chief in this theatre) said that the date was a most suitable one to have been chosen for this address, because February 6 was the day on which the Arakan battle began in 1944. He desired to back up what General Slim had said about the doctors and the medical services generally. What they did was most devoted and admirable, and, as he had already said, they were well backed up by the discipline of the troops.

He fully endorsed General Slim's emphasis on the excellent qualities of the Indian soldier, for whom he had the warmest admiration. The Indian soldiers had been the backbone of this campaign, and it gave him the greatest pleasure to bear testimony to that fact.

General Slim had not said much about the part he himself had played, but it was his inspiration, his imperturbability under all circumstances which won the battle and reconquered Burma.

Sir SAMUEL RUNGANADHAN (High Commissioner for India), in proposing a vote of thanks for what he described as a very vivid and arresting account of the Burma cam-

paign, said that General Slim must have convinced them that there was very little improvisation about it. It had all been planned ahead and conducted with conspicuous success. General Slim's name would live in history as the Commander of the 14th Army, which broke the military power of Japan in South-East Asia and saved India from the Far Eastern enemy. It was probably the first time in India's record that an attempt at invasion had been made through the north-east frontiers, and they might hope and believe that it would be the last.

He thought it must have been the commander of a similar army in the past who had said that the difficult was something which must be done at once, and the impossible would take a little time. Certainly the 14th Army achieved the seemingly impossible task of clearing the enemy across the Indian frontier and reconquering Burma in the space of two years or less. This was thanks to the great leadership of her commanders like General Slim, the magnificent fighting spirit of the men, and the co-operation between the land and air forces.

As an Indian he was proud of the fact that three-fourths of the 14th Army was composed of men of the Indian Army. These men were drawn from every community and every part of India, north and south, east and west, and they all gave a good account of themselves. General Slim himself had borne testimony to the wonderful comradeship that existed amongst them. He did not forget the fact that there were others besides Indians who were concerned in this great enterprise. The lecturer himself had mentioned the Americans, the Chinese, the Burmese, and the Africans. It was said that only the Quartermaster of the 14th Army knew the number of different religions which the men professed, because of their effect on food taboos. But the great thing was that they all fought as a team and worked together as comrades-in-arms.

As a previous speaker had just reminded them, there was one thing to which General Slim made no reference in his address, and that was the extent to which his own character and spirit and example communicated itself to the entire body of troops which he led and which contributed greatly to the victory achieved. He had set before his men in his own person the highest standards of discipline, courage, and devotion to duty. He had won the admiration and affection of them all. The story was told that a sergeant on the banks of the Irrawaddy said enthusiastically of the coming offensive, "We will all be behind you on the day, sir," to which General Slim was reported to have replied rather dryly, "Don't make any mistake, sergeant. On the day you will be a long way in front of me."

They saluted General Slim and all the other great war commanders of the United Nations for the great things accomplished with the men under them, and it was now for the governments and peoples of the world to see that the fruits of the victories which had been won were not dissipated or lost, and to lay the foundations of a stable peace so that all men everywhere might live in freedom and accord.

CURRENT AFFAIRS IN BURMA

BY SIR HAROLD ROPER, C.B.E., M.C.

BURMA has been so much in the news during the last few years that no elaboration is called for in introducing my subject. His Excellency Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith addressed you at some length in 1943. A year or so later there emerged *The Blue Print for Burma*, a pamphlet containing the conclusions reached by a group of Conservative Members of Parliament. The Blue Print was a valuable contribution to current thought, but interest in it was superseded when in May, 1945, the Government White Paper appeared. As a preliminary to the statement of policy an admirable descriptive and historical note on Burma was given. My endeavour will be to bring this information up to date, and to make observations on certain aspects on which I

feel qualified to speak by reason of my particular experience. I speak as a retired non-official, who has spent many years in industry in Burma, and who has served in the Legislature. I finally left Burma by the overland route through Tamu, and I have therefore the atmosphere of those last days in Burma.

That the Burmese have suffered much during the Japanese occupation is perhaps shown by the warmth of their welcome on our return. Officials and non-officials returning to their old stations have been welcomed as old friends, and no doubt as deliverers. For, above all, the country wants to be quit of strife. In particular the Karens are said to have been pathetically glad to see us back.

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION

The treatment by the Japanese of the populace as a whole varied from time to time and from place to place. At all times any sign, real or imaginary, of pro-allied activity met with the most ruthless handling, and during the first few months of occupation, whether the suspicion was justified or not, they were taking no chances. But once their domination was established, and provided they obtained all they wanted in supplies and man-power, the Japanese seem to have interfered little with the inhabitants in their daily lives. Whether or not in compliance with official policy, the Japanese behind the line appear to have appreciated the value of a quiet life, and instances have been recorded of definite endeavour to cultivate the goodwill of the people. But a fear persisted, and there is increasing evidence that the Japanese have left behind them a legacy of wholesome dislike. Where labour was required (and it was a provision of Dr. Ba Maw's secret military pact with the Japanese that their need for labour should be provided) the Japanese stood no nonsense. The men had to work, and sometimes they had to trudge many weary miles to their place of work. But apart from a rigid discipline they were treated not too badly and were adequately fed.

Being an agricultural country the people generally have not gone hungry, but in degrees varying in different districts all have gone short in one way or another of those things to which they have been accustomed. Clothing became desperately short. Burma has her hand-weaving industry, but it is normally dependent on imported yarn, and in any case it is insufficient to meet the full needs of the country. To relieve the immediate shortage energetic steps are being taken to revive the handloom industry using imported yarn, and also using yarn spun locally from substantial stocks of cotton found to be held in cotton-growing areas. To this end hand-spinning is to be encouraged, and spinning mills are being established. For manufactured goods generally Burma is dependent on imports, and these were completely cut off.

Transport was a fundamental difficulty. Railway transport, except to a limited extent for purposes of the war, was at a standstill. The river steamers had all been sunk as a measure of denial before we left. Rinderpest and the requisitioning of cattle, both for slaughter and for transport purposes, restricted transport by bullock cart. Carriage by country-boat is at the best of times a slow method, and it was impeded by persistent air attack. The internal distribution of supplies was totally disorganized, and areas became much dependent on what they could produce locally. In this way some change of habit was forced upon the people. For instance, in millet-growing areas the people turned from rice to millet for their staple diet; the manufacture of salt was started up in coastal areas where it had not been undertaken before.

The lack of transport and the shocking state of the roads still rank high among the many difficulties which are being encountered. On the river, by nature Burma's main channel of communication, country-boats are plentiful—more plentiful than they have ever been before. But for long distance traffic they do not compensate for the lack of power craft. The railway is now working as far as Mandalay, and in the meantime, for the large and remote area further north, use is being made of air transport for the carriage of urgent supplies.

THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE

The war has had a serious effect in the important sphere of agriculture. For the 1945 season the acreage under cultivation was much below normal, and the rice

export will be only a hundred thousand tons or so instead of a normal pre-war export of three million tons. The main reason for the shortage is undoubtedly the unsettled state of the country. The police are doing splendid work, and the collection of arms, until recently so widely held by ex-members of the Burma National Army—or Patriot Burmese Force, as they have more lately been called—is understood to be progressing favourably. But the effect of this unsettlement has been to restrict cultivation to areas adjacent to centres of habitation. The outlying areas have simply not been cultivated. There has been a heavy diminution in the number of plough cattle available. In the large rice-growing areas of the Delta the supply has been short even for the reduced areas under cultivation. Northern Burma, on the other hand, is a breeding ground for the whole of Burma; but transport difficulties have prevented their export to the south, and, in spite of its closer proximity to the battle front, the overall shortage has been less severely felt in Upper Burma. In the supply of plough cattle an important problem faces those who are planning the restoration of Burma's agriculture.

There is also a great shortage of agricultural implements of all kinds. Then again the complete cessation of exports and in large measure of internal distribution removed all incentive to produce in excess of immediate local needs. Another curious explanation of the under-planting has been the acute shortage of clothing. Paddy is planted only in flooded fields and often in pelting monsoon rain, and it is a fact that since the cultivator has found himself reduced to a single longyi, without a dry change when he returns in the evening, he has tended to stay at home. Another restricting factor has been the lack of agricultural finance. The old pre-war mechanism for supplying it has completely broken down, but, with Government assistance, this will no doubt be remedied in future years. In short, agriculture has received a severe set-back. The recovery may take time. The cultivator has left the land; he has turned his hand to other activities, and from them, at times, he has found that he gets a quicker return than ever he did from his agriculture. He may be in no hurry to revert.

The country is said to be bitterly disappointed at the slow arrival of consumer goods. World supply is short; shipping is short; a demand from other liberated territories has unexpectedly arisen; in Burma itself communications are woefully deficient. The genuine joy and relief which were first encountered on our return have given place to disillusionment at the continued shortage. After four years of relative privation this perhaps is not surprising; for the real difficulties of supply are not appreciated by the mass of the people. Repercussions were inevitable, and there is much dacoity in sections of the country. The country cries out for a resumption of trade; the wheels of industry must be set in motion, both to enable men to resume their normal avocations and to restore as soon as possible the economy of the country.

GOVERNMENT'S INTERIM PLANS

All this has been foreseen by the firms concerned, and plans are well advanced for meeting the need. But they await translation into action. Government's own interim supply scheme is in operation through an organization embracing the personnel of the commercial firms. Projects have also been approved in principle for the resumption of the working of teak and hard woods and for agricultural produce. The basis of each of these projects is a consortium of the old-established firms operating as agents for Government, and the organization is so designed that in due course it can be readily changed over to full commercial operation.

These Government projects are a valuable step towards the rehabilitation of the industries to which they relate. But they are only a beginning. For the restoration of private enterprise as such in all its aspects, in present world conditions, Government will have to help in the procurement of the goods and in their transport, and, above all, Government will have to find the finance. All firms in Burma have suffered severe losses; some have lost their all. Even those who are in a position to provide new capital must think twice before staking it at a time when the cost of restoration must be so inordinately high. Of less importance perhaps to commerce is the prospect of early self-government. For what matters is goodwill. If goodwill is

present the form of government is of lesser concern. The attitude of the politicians in the past has not been such as to encourage British capital. Far from it. But thinking Burmans realize that outside capital is needed, and when once the constitutional issue has been resolved by the grant of self-government, at least one obstacle to goodwill will have been removed.

It is not only the firms that stand to gain by the restoration of the country's industries. The Government also has a real interest, not only for its bearing on the welfare of the country, but also for the share of profits accruing through income-tax and for the direct benefits Government alone enjoys from royalties, customs duties and other revenues. Moreover, the commercial firms have specialized knowledge and experience which is not possessed by Government.

COMPENSATION FOR WAR LOSSES

Clearly the Government of Burma is in no position, from its own resources, to provide the finance, and all appreciate the immensity of the financial burden of His Majesty's Government. But there are reasons why His Majesty's Government should come to the rescue on grounds both of obligation and of expediency.

In the first place the firms claim the right to compensation as such. Some of the losses were sustained through bomb damage, some through loot and the various ravages of war. Of others it can merely be claimed that they were the result of Government's failure to protect the country, and that Government should accept the responsibility for that failure. Or to put it in another way: The peril through which we have passed was a general one affecting the whole Empire, including those units of it for the defence of which His Majesty's Government was responsible, and it is claimed that losses happening to fall in any one of those units should be treated as the concern of His Majesty's Government, just as losses sustained in this country are accepted as the concern of His Majesty's Government.

Losses again were incurred through deliberate destruction in order to deny possession to the enemy. It has been said that the delaying action of the fighting retreat from Burma served a vital purpose in giving India a breathing space in which to organize her defence. It was two years later, when the enemy so nearly succeeded in breaking through into India, that we experienced to the full their capacity to penetrate those Assam jungles, and many of us will then have pondered what touch and go it must have been in 1942, when India was short of supplies, when such aircraft as could be spared for the East had most of it gone to Singapore, leaving no Air Force in India worthy of the name, and when the only land forces left in India were incompletely organized and incompletely trained. One shudders to think what might have happened to India if the oil industry of Burma and the large fleet of Irrawaddy and Chindwin river steamers had been left intact. Their destruction undoubtedly served a valuable military purpose. It was ordered by Government, and the Companies rightly claim, legally as well as morally, that it should be paid for by Government, just as munitions and other war supplies have been paid for by Government.

It may be suggested that if the companies had not destroyed their properties the enemy would assuredly have done so before their final retreat. I doubt it. And here, with particular regard to the properties of the oil companies, I speak with first-hand knowledge. The denial of the oil wells, refineries and oil installations took the oil companies weeks, if not months, of intensive planning to prepare; an expert in demolition was sent out by H.M. Government to guide us—and with what devilish thoroughness he did his work! The final act of destruction was carried out by teams—Commandos we called them—comprising nearly 400 Europeans and Anglo-Burmans, specially trained and rehearsed in their work. As with us, so with the Japanese, there would have been good reason to delay destruction up to the very last moment when defeat was certain, and it is unlikely that at that time, if ever, the Japanese would have had staff available with the requisite training and experience to carry out an effective demolition. It is a fair assumption therefore that but for the military necessity of denial the Companies would find themselves far better off on their return than can now be possible.

Apart from the moral and legal argument for compensation there is also a strong case on the ground of expediency. H.M. Government are clearly interested in the

exchange value of increasing production within the Empire. They are also interested in Burma as a potentially important market for British exports. Moreover, there is a political aspect—the effect of trade and commerce on that further progress in the political field to which Burma so impatiently aspires, and in respect of which she has so much the sympathy and goodwill of us all. Until the trade and industry of the country are restored, the conditions requisite for further political progress cannot be expected. Such restoration is essential to the restoration of law and order, and the restoration of law and order is no less essential to sound political advance.

BURMESE PARTICIPATION IN COMMERCE

Concern has been frequently expressed in Burma at the smallness of the part played by Burmese nationals in the commerce and industry of the country. Its overseas trade is almost entirely in the hands of British and Indians, and there is a feeling of resentment that it should be so. The Burmese feel out of it, and in their own country they feel it is unfair that they should be out of it. Ear has been given to this alleged grievance in this country also, and, as I myself have been closely concerned to find a solution for one aspect of the problem for the greater part of my career in the East, perhaps I may be allowed a word of explanation.

The fact is that in past years the Burmese have shown no inclination to participate in commerce in the wider sense. It is only since the advent of the British that any substantial overseas trade has been developed. Rice is the main export, and until the second Burmese War in 1853 the export of rice was actually prohibited. Overseas trade has grown up in Indian and British hands, and the Burmese have been content to leave it there, just as the retail trade has been allowed, through lack of interest, to fall largely into the hands of Indian and Chinese traders. Now that is a condition of affairs which satisfies the foreign investor no more than it does the Burmese people; for it is not in the best interest of the foreign investor. What we should all have preferred, and what we should still like to see happening, is that the Burmese should play their part in the development of their own country, sharing both in the risks and in the profits, whether from the beginning or later by the purchase in the open market of the shares of already established undertakings. The disappointment that they have not done so is felt by none more than by the firms themselves. But the Burman has simply not been interested in this class of investment. The Buddhist laws of inheritance are an obstacle to the accumulation of private capital, and such as they have had, they have preferred to invest in other ways.

In recent years the urge has rather been that greater opportunity should be given to Burmese nationals to participate in the control and management of commercial and industrial undertakings in Burma. I am confident that those greater opportunities will develop. But we must learn to walk before we can run. It is only in comparatively recent years that Burmese of culture have displayed any interest at all in a commercial career. Whether through lack of enterprise or from ideas of prestige, Government service has been universally preferred, even sometimes at a lower rate of pay. I can say with knowledge and with some authority that there is no question, with British business in Burma, of discrimination on racial grounds. The only discrimination is the same discrimination between the suitable and the unsuitable, based on character and education, which determines the selection of one Britisher rather than another Britisher. If Burmans of the right calibre present themselves for employment, the British firms will be only too pleased to have them, even in the highest grades. For why should it be otherwise? To take no higher motive than that of profit, in the long run it must pay to employ Burmans; for by so doing the higher cost of attracting personnel from home must ultimately be saved. At the same time, however, standards cannot be lowered. Survival in the struggle against world competition demands the maintenance of a certain standard, and, with the best will in the world, the acceptance of anything less can ultimately do no good either to Burma or to its people. If our Burmese friends, who would see more of their young nationals making their careers in the higher grades of industry, will assist, by education, to ensure a supply of the right material, and will encourage the best of their young men to seek commercial careers, I am sure they will find a willing response from the other side.

THE 1935 CONSTITUTION

Now let us turn to the political scene. At the time of the evacuation the Government of Burma Act, 1935, had been in force for five years. It had been a time of testing whether parliamentary government is suitable for Burma. It had so far survived the test, and up to the time of the invasion, in addition to maintaining the finances of the country in sound condition, it had passed some valuable and important pieces of legislation. But weaknesses have been apparent, and it would be a mistake to assume that the system cannot be improved upon. Ultimately the pattern of the Legislature and of the electoral machine will be a matter for the Burmese themselves to decide. I do not presume to suggest what form revision should take. Some good Buddhists with experience of affairs are discouraged by their religious beliefs from taking an active part in politics, and the country has thus been denied the service in the Legislature of some of the steadier elements in the community. Then, again, the multiplicity of political parties compares unfavourably with the strong party system as we know it in this country. The parties consist mainly of small groups, all nationalist in character and with little difference in their policies, but each relying on a particular leader for the political advancement of its members. In such a setting I venture to claim that the steadying influence of the small body of European members—only nine members out of a total of 132 in the House of Representatives—has been a potent force in the deliberations of the Legislature.

During the occupation came the announcement by the Japanese of the grant of full independence with effect from August 1, 1943. Dr. Ba Maw became the puppet leader. Under the new constitution the machinery of Government under district officers remained much as it had been in pre-war days and with much of the old personnel (for in 1940 out of forty-one Deputy Commissioners only sixteen were European, and in general the Burman officials had remained behind), but with the difference that in each district Dr. Ba Maw had his own personal representative to observe and report. In the higher ranges the Ministers and Privy Councillors alike were nominated by Dr. Ba Maw, as also were the Judges of the High Court. Democratic methods were swept away. It later became apparent to the Burmese people that the Japanese remained the real masters. But having swallowed the pill the taste of the sugar was still in their mouths, and it was not likely that we should have been allowed to forget for long, even if there had been any question of our doing so, the promised sweets of real self-government.

CONSTITUTIONAL PLANS

The White Paper lays down a definite programme for the attainment of self-government within the British Commonwealth. There is to be direct rule under the Governor for a maximum period of three years. This will be followed by a reversion to the constitution of the 1935 Act, until the Burmese themselves have decided on the form of Government they would like. Their decision will then be laid before Parliament along with the draft agreements to be entered into between the two countries.

During the period of direct rule under the Governor, which from January 1, has been in force throughout Burma, the Governor will be assisted by an Executive Council, and by a small Legislative Council. To the latter thirty-four members, all non-officials, have already been nominated, including three Europeans. Seats offered to four members of Aung San's Anti-Fascist People's League have been declined, but four Thakins have accepted seats.

To the new Executive Council eleven members have so far been nominated. They include one European, eight Burmese and one Karen. Of the Burmese members six have previously held ministerial rank, two being ex-premiers of Burma. Several party groups are represented, and the Executive Council therefore covers a wide range of viewpoint and experience. Absentees of note include the two ex-premiers, Dr. Ba Maw and U Saw. Dr. Ba Maw recently gave himself up in Tokio, and U Saw is reported to have surrendered to the Allied authorities in Tokio. Notable is the omission of a representative of the Anti-Fascist People's League. They demanded as the price of their co-operation a number of seats and conditions which

would have given them virtual control of the administration. Their demand was very rightly rejected, but three ex-members of the League on resigning from it were given seats on the Council.

There is no clear evidence that the Anti-Fascist League commands a majority in the country, and, until a general election has been held, their claim to majority representation in the Executive Council must be in question. It is understood that their representatives are shortly to come home in order to make their views known unofficially on this side, but what good that can do at this stage it is difficult to see. If they have faith in their claim the soundest course for them to pursue would seem to be to co-operate wholeheartedly with the present régime, with a view to making good their case at the earliest possible moment at an election.

PREREQUISITES FOR AN ELECTION

For the rate of advance along the road to self-government depends, at this stage, on the speed with which conditions can be established in which a general election can be held. First of all a new electoral roll will have to be compiled. This in itself is no light task in a country so disrupted. Indeed, legislation by Parliament may first be necessary. For the *shathameda* and capitation taxes, payment of which was a main qualification for the vote in Burma, were themselves abolished during the life of the last legislature. Concurrently the restoration of buildings, of communications and of public utilities must proceed. The whole country must be re-established as a running concern. The work will devolve on a staff depleted by retirement and by normal wastage. New staff is being recruited, but it will be untrained, and the former Secretary of State has told us that, with an eye to what a self-governing Burma will be able to afford, a rigid austerity is being applied to the administration.

Another essential prerequisite to a general election is the restoration of law and order. The anti-Indian riots of 1930 and of 1938, if not the rebellion of 1931, show how violent the Burman can become when his political passions are aroused. At present there is widespread dacoity in the country. The ranks of the robbers have been swollen by members of the Anti-Fascist League who have not obeyed the summons to hand in their arms. Though its members are drawn from a much wider field, the Anti-Fascist League had its origin in the Dobama Asiayone, the revolutionary Thakin party, who stirred up so much unrest just before the war. They include a large element of the ex-student class. One phase of their handiwork was described by the Riot Inquiry Committee in 1939 as "a deliberate and determined attempt to create social disorder" for the furtherance of political ends. The leaders of the League seem to be genuinely anxious to bring their unruly followers under control. But until law and order have been restored and the weapons collected, it is inconceivable that a fair election could be held. In the meantime a constitutional Fact Finding Committee is to be set up at once.

MINORITY INTEREST

The form which the future Government is to take is to be worked out, for the consideration of Parliament, by the Burmese themselves. In Burma there is no major communal issue, such as exists in India, but there are minorities for whose welfare, perhaps, a special responsibility rests on us. The Scheduled Areas are expressly excluded by the White Paper from consideration for immediate constitutional advance. Their inhabitants differ from the Burmese of the plains in language and in their social habits, and relations with them have not always been too friendly. On the other hand, there is much scope for their development, and the splendid contribution they have made to the allied war effort demands a generous regard for their future advancement. As the White Paper puts it, their administration "will for the time being be subject to a special régime under the Governor until such time as their inhabitants signify their desire for some suitable form of amalgamation of their territories with Burma proper."

Within the plains area itself there are minority groups whose claims are deserving of our sympathetic consideration. There is the important Karen group. They number about a million in Burma proper, most of them Buddhists, but with a good sprinkling of Christians amongst them. Firm friends of Britain, their lot has been

none too easy during the Japanese occupation, and there have been serious communal clashes with the Burmese. They have in the past identified themselves with these Burmese in their demand for self-government, but always on the basis of self-government within the British Commonwealth.

Another minority, who by reason of their European parentage are especially of our consideration, are the Anglo-Burmans. They have received universal praise for their steadfastness and courage displayed during the war. But they number less than 30,000, and electorally therefore they carry no weight. Hitherto they have enjoyed special privileges, such as for education, and in special representation in the Legislature. At a conference of Anglo-Burmans held in Simla a pronouncement was made that for the future they had agreed unanimously that their welfare would best be served by abandoning entirely their claim to special privileges and by associating themselves in all respects with the Burmese people. Our hearts will go out to them in the making of this wise decision.

Though I have exceeded my allotted time, I have left much of the ground uncovered. I can only trust that my paper will help towards our understanding of a country which, while a member of the Empire, has suffered much.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W. 1, on Thursday, January 24, 1946, Sir DRUMMOND SHIELS, M.C., presiding, Sir HAROLD ROPER, C.B.E., M.C., gave the foregoing address.

The CHAIRMAN, opening the meeting, said that the audience, representative of a much larger body, was very much concerned with the future of the great country of Burma about which much had been said and written recently. It was important, when one had to make up one's mind about policy in these matters, to have a background of factual knowledge, and that was one of the reasons why the Association regarded itself as fortunate in having been able to secure the services of Sir Harold Roper. He had been for thirty-two years in business in India and Burma, he had been a member of both Houses of the Legislature in Burma, and he had an intimate knowledge of its people and of recent events.

Sir HAROLD ROPER then read his paper.

Sir CHARLES INNES did not think Sir Harold Roper would be surprised if he said that he found the lecture a little depressing, because it confirmed his own impression that progress in reconstruction had not been rapid. There was first the physical reconstruction of the country, and secondly there was the task of restoring trade, industry, and economic and cultural life. A good deal had been done in physical reconstruction; the sappers had done good work in restoring the railway to Mandalay from Rangoon, but there was still an enormous amount to be done when one realized that Mandalay and other towns were in ruins and that Rangoon itself was badly damaged.

Then there was the reconstruction of the life of the country. Here there was the primary difficulty that the Japanese had been careful to leave behind them large quantities of arms and ammunition which had got into the wrong hands. His information, however, was that where the administration had been restored and the police were in evidence disorder had been eliminated with speed and success. It was hoped that the Civil Government would be able to extend its influence and restore law and order throughout the country as soon as possible.

Probably the chief difficulty now was the need for consumer goods. The British had been welcomed back into Burma with open arms; the people remembered the good times of pre-war years and hoped they would return, but they were not getting the imports needed, and there was here disillusionment and a sense of frustra-

tion. One could not help thinking that a golden opportunity of binding the Burmans to us was being missed. It was not anybody's fault. The same kind of reports were being received from Malaya, where they were one step ahead in that the banks had been reopened, and it was the same in every country which had been occupied by the enemy. There were difficulties of supply, of transportation and shipping, and H.M. Government was doing what it could. Sir Reginald Dorman Smith said in 1943 that when he returned he would much rather go with consumer goods than with platoons of infantry. The boards which had been set up were doing most useful work, but he did not believe that boards working from the top could fully take the place of the ordinary mechanism of trade, and the proper course was, as soon as possible, to restore private enterprise and let the firms get to work.

There were difficulties; there was the difficulty of accommodation. Many buildings in Rangoon were either destroyed or in a deplorable condition. There was also the question of compensation. The lecturer said that H.M. Government had to pay; for that might be substituted the British taxpayer, who already had enough on his plate. It was his own hope and belief, however, that H.M. Government would give firms in Burma a fair deal, and facilitate their return in every way. All that could be done was to hold meetings such as the present and push home the points to the Government.

Another difficulty was the question of political advance and the uncertainty facing all British firms. He agreed almost entirely with what the lecturer had said. Everybody who had worked with the Burmans liked them. They had had promises of political advance, and those promises would be kept. But policy should be kept in the background during the next few years, and British and Burman should work together on the urgent question of the physical reconstruction of the country and of the restoration of its economic life. There must be a period of strong government, and lawlessness must be put down and peace and contentment established before any political advance could be made. There must be goodwill on both sides, both working together for the good of the country, for which everyone who had worked there had the very greatest affection.

MAUNG OHN thanked the lecturer for talking on his ravaged country and the goodwill shown by him and the previous speaker. He agreed that this was the time when friendship and understanding should be built up between the two peoples, but time was flying past very quickly indeed. Perhaps there was a need for a "revolutionary" approach to this problem. Many Britishers wished to see a free Burma in the Commonwealth, but this would not happen merely by so telling the Burmese people or the leaders who had been thrown up during the subjection of the Japanese. There was a psychological problem involved, and although the relationship between the Burmese and the British was very good, nevertheless the British rule had been a foreign rule. The Burman was a very proud nationalist, and an attitude of patronage and the desire for an economic control would injure the friendship between the two countries.

This aspect was interesting to him as a young Burmese, not only as between Burma and Great Britain in particular, but as between East and West. This relationship might explode one day and play havoc, but this could be prevented if the nations met together as equals.

He was sorry that the lecturer did not think much of the proposed deputation to this country. He thought it would do good because the people coming here would know by personal contacts what the British people had in mind for them and how sincere and honest they had been towards Burmese aspirations. He wished British people could go to his country and see it for themselves. Such an interchange would do more than anything else to retain Burma within the Commonwealth if that was what Britain desired. If Burma and India joined the Commonwealth by their own free will it would have stability and become a world unit in which the non-European countries were on an equal status; and this would help to bring forth one world and one humanity.

He believed the trouble on the Prome-Rangoon road was due to the West African soldiery, and not so much to the Anti-Fascist Freedom League. With regard to the

Burman not being interested in commerce, as far as his own information went, Burmese people did a great deal of commercial work under the Japanese, and he believed that now many of the younger people would not seek to join the Government service, but felt they would be able to serve their country in the business world.

It was interesting to observe how the full cycle had come back. In 1852 and 1885 most of the trouble was due to the *laissez-faire* attitude against the Burmese monopoly of trade, now the Government had to take up monopoly trading in Burma. Such guidance and control would be required in a country like Burma, which had a backward economy—this was also true of many south-eastern European countries—if the Burman, who was lacking in business ability through no fault of his own, might not be outmatched by more able and experienced foreign business men in the economic enterprise of his own country. Of course, experts from outside would be needed to help. The lack of commercial enterprise was not wholly due to the Buddhist belief in not accumulating capital. In rebuilding the country it was very important that they should feel, especially the younger people, that they were lending a hand in this rebuilding in the commercial world as well as in the Government service. They must feel that the Government was theirs, and be asked to join hands to rebuild new Burma in the same spirit as the British showed in the dark days of 1940.

Professor E. G. BEASLEY said that it was particularly important in relation to Burma affairs that as many opportunities as possible should be taken to keep the country in the public eye. The majority of people in this country only heard of Burma when it was being captured. Sir Harold Roper had alluded to the White Paper on Burma, in which he said that the introduction was very good. One of the difficulties and one of the factors which made one a little concerned about the progress of reconstruction had been the lack of definition of a concrete policy in regard to reconstruction in the next few years. No doubt political advance was important, but the set-up of the administration in Burma was not competent, was not fashioned to carry out any real measure of economic control, and, although there was valuable co-operation given by the firms, there was a general and widespread feeling that progress was exceedingly slow, and that until some definite declaration was made as to the part which the firms might expect to play in the future, it was unlikely that a reasonable rate of progress would be made.

On the political issue he would suggest that, although he thought the arguments from either side concurred, no student of economic affairs really believed that there was any necessary relation between the welfare of the people and political status. But political developments had a tendency to thrust themselves forward even though they might be to the disadvantage of the people at that particular stage. That was where so many arguments tended to be utterly at cross purposes.

In Burma the political problem was a psychological one. The young Burman felt, whether or not the country went bankrupt, political advance was a major need. The real duty and the only profitable line at this stage was to realize that this was the time to make a real economic contribution in Burma. Whether political matters could be postponed was doubtful, but the solution did seem to be along the lines of affording Burma some help in economic reconstruction. They were not getting adequate aid at present; one could not blame any particular agency, but the major firms should be encouraged a great deal more, and if such a policy were declared it would make it possible for them to make their own contribution. Until that was done he could only share Sir Charles Innes's pessimism. The urgent problem was to do something to put the country on its feet.

MAUNG HLA MYINT said that some of the previous speakers had forestalled many of the points he would have raised, but he thought two different criteria with regard to reconstruction should be borne in mind: first, how quickly it could be done, and, second (much more important), how to build a more stable and balanced economy in the future. It would be useless to create an economy in a hurry which would not be able to withstand social and economic changes at a later date. What struck him as unbalanced in the past economic system was the entire reliance on rice; if rice broke down, the country broke down. Secondly, and this would explain why the Burmese

were not able to participate in the economic life of the country, although the British contact had considerably raised the standard of the people it was fair to say that the Burmese as producers were only able to get a very small proportion of the economic wealth of the country.

With regard to the speed with which the country was to be reconstructed, Sir Harold suggested that the quickest method would be to rehabilitate private enterprise. He had no quarrel with this, but it brought him to the very knotty question of compensation. The Burmese would not quarrel with compensation if it were paid by H.M. Government, but there was no declared policy on the subject, and he was bound to say that he thought his fellow-countrymen would strongly oppose any measure to put either the whole or part of the payment of compensation on to the shoulders of the Burmese Government. It was not that they were unfriendly to British business, but they would say that the scorched earth policy was for the defence of India and the British Empire, and Burma should not be penalized simply because of the geographical accident which made the first line of the defence of the Empire the banks of the Irrawaddy River. There was another aspect of compensation, that of the thousands of small hill-property owners who had been dispossessed by the way, to say nothing of the miseries caused by the change over from British to Japanese currency, and *vice versa*. Why should not these people be compensated? If there was to be any policy of compensation the position of the most miserable section of the community should be alleviated.

With regard to the subject of the non-participation of the Burmese in commerce and trade, it was regrettable that in the past the best young men went into the Civil Service, but the young men of the present generation had changed their attitude. Nowadays they would be willing to work for business firms; they felt they should become apprentices, and translate their general trend of thought into economic life. There should, however, be more publicity attached to recruitment into business firms. If the firms created the demand the supply would follow; a university appointments board for commerce and industry would be a most fruitful channel.

Turning to the fact that the Burmese capitalists had been unwilling to invest in business firms, he thought that should be attributed to the unhealthy state of Burmese agricultural credit. If a small capitalist could lend money to cultivators at high interest rates he had no incentive to invest in industrial concerns. Industry should be reconstructed side by side with agriculture.

With regard to the relation between the Burmese and the peoples of the scheduled areas there had been a tendency in certain quarters to exaggerate the unfriendly attitude. While that must be admitted, a more balanced view must be taken when considering the relations between the hill men and the plain men. There were in this country, for instance, the relations between the British and Welsh and the British and Scottish nationalists. He had learnt not to take them seriously; but if such a minority feeling could exist in the United Kingdom one had to take into account the enormous difficulties of contact between the Burmese and the Chins. The Burmese did feel the great responsibility of administering these areas, but did not wish to detribalize them and disorganize their social structure too quickly. There had been an influx of British currency into the Chin Hills owing to the campaign. What was to be done with it? Should an endeavour be made to raise their standard of living temporarily or a more permanent effect sought, say, by increasing the terracing for rice planting? That might have the effect of detribalizing them more quickly. There should be more co-operation between the Burmese and British Governments in the solving of these problems. Burma could not be separated from the Chin Hills.

In the political sphere there was in Burma a great awakening which was capable of great evil or great good, depending on the way in which it was managed. If it were thwarted disorders would break out, and there would be tragedy for all, but if it were controlled and directed, instead of being repressed, he would not share the pessimism of the previous speakers.

Sir ALEXANDER CAMPBELL hoped he would be forgiven for bringing the debate to earth without in any way making it appear that he wished to alter its level. It happened that his service in the Civil Affairs Service (Burma) and in the British Military

Administration of Burma had perhaps imbued him with a livelier sense of what was going on and of what was required in Burma than was possible in those who had been away from the country for some considerable time.

He said that throughout operations and the reoccupation of Burma, Civil Affairs Officers were fervently welcomed by the Burmese and other races and communities. He was not exaggerating when he said that the universal prayer was for peace, law and order, and an opportunity to re-establish homes, and as far as possible pre-war modes of life. Speaking for himself, hundreds of Burmans and others, officials and non-officials, expressed to him, emphatically, the same desire. He was convinced that the mass of the peasantry of Burma wanted only peace, law and order and efficient administration and government; no politics. Many of the more responsible Burmans deplored the revival of political turmoil.

"Burma—apart from Germany—is probably the most devastated country in the world, certainly in the British Commonwealth. It is a bankrupt country. Outside part of the Delta and Southern Tenasserim many towns are flat—literally rubble—and their populations are squatting in improvised villages. Rangoon has between 150,000 and 200,000 of her pre-war population of 500,000; apart from the Indian and Chinese communities who remained in the city, the bulk of the people have squatted near the Shwedagon Pagoda and in the suburbs. The formerly crowded area between the railway station and the river has been grievously damaged by bomb and fire. When we re-entered Rangoon we found rank jungle growing in the main streets, and the morass of garbage and sewage everywhere was revolting. The city had been the prey of rioters and looters for days before British troops arrived; no words can describe the staggering and wanton havoc. I could speak at great length and yet fail to make an adequate picture of the overall devastation of Burma."

The rice crop (he continued) had fallen from a pre-war exportable surplus of over 3,000,000 tons a year to a possible exportable surplus of 100,000 tons from the crop now being processed. It was certain that Burma would not be in a position to export any appreciable quantity of rice this year. There was a grave lack of clothing and textiles; in areas where large numbers of people were almost naked the Military Administration and later the Civil Government had issued relief supplies of clothing. Throughout the country enormous quantities of foodstuffs had been distributed to relieve famine conditions in essential foods. The Japanese had imported few consumer goods. Relief measures had alleviated the severest rigours, but discontent—in ignorance of world conditions—was growing because large volumes of consumer goods were failing to materialize. The stock of plough animals had been seriously reduced; the Japanese killed large numbers for meat; they drove large numbers to death as transport animals; uncontrolled epidemics had also taken heavy toll. Since it took about five years to breed and feed a yoke for the plough, this factor alone would seriously retard the return of agriculture to normal production.

There was grave damage and deficiency in every sphere of commerce and industry. Goods and equipment of all kinds were required in large quantities from needles and thread, everyday articles of every kind, to all manner of gear and equipment for commerce and industry, transport and communications. The railway was through to Mandalay, but too much store should not be set on this. The reconstruction of the railways would have to wait on engines and rolling stock, repair of damaged permanent way, bridges and equipment, and the general reconstruction of the country.

The evacuation of Upper Burma by the American Forces and their method of disposing of their equipment, combined with drastic reductions of R.A.F. and U.S.A. internal air services, left Upper Burma almost cut off from the rest of Burma and with local communications reduced in places to runners and sampans. The Civil Government was bending all energies to put matters in better shape. It was true that the Americans offered to sell certain equipment, such as bulldozers and road-making gear, but unfortunately there was no means of transporting such equipment by rail, road or river to the parts of Burma where it was urgently required. Incidentally it may be noted that power rivercraft are exceedingly scarce.

It was not realized that but for Army rations British personnel in Burma, official and non-official, must perforce live on a diet of rice and meagre supplies of other local

foodstuffs at exorbitant prices. Moreover, ordinary articles and amenities of a somewhat rugged domestic life are difficult to come by. The chaos was indescribable; inflation was threatening to take the bit in its teeth; the black market was widespread and difficult to control. The Civil Government had exceedingly difficult tasks to tackle. The Military Government, in his opinion, had in its brief life done an excellent job. The British Treasury had been generous to the Military Government. The Military Government got on with reconstruction by summary methods and with a marked absence of clogging procedure. In his opinion, and the opinion of others competent to judge, the return of the Civil Government in October, 1945, was premature, and imposed a drag on activities that were making good headway. Direct methods were replaced by the complexities and brakes of the civil administrative set-up. Although the Supreme Allied Commander had promised that all the services and resources of the forces in Burma would continue to be at the disposal of the Civil Government, it was in the nature of activities after the surrender of the Japanese that military resources in Burma should be scaled down.

The Military Administration had summary means of dealing with widespread disorders and dacoity as compared with civil administrative and legal processes. When the Civil Government took over it lost the services of military officers who were not also officers of the Civil Government, and in consequence some public services—e.g., the Veterinary Service—were seriously short of personnel. Unfortunately the advent of the Civil Government, in his opinion, made the occasion for a transfer of public opinion and energy to political activities instead of renewed concentration on the overriding necessity of rebuilding a strong and efficient administration. In his opinion, and admitting the undesirability and impracticability of inhibiting political activity, it was not unjust to say that the civil administration had not established itself firmly, and political unrest had confused the vital issues in Burma at a crucial stage in her history. What was required first was an efficient administration, the complete re-establishment of law and order, the import of immense quantities of consumer goods and capital equipment to get normal domestic and commercial life running again.

Burma also required help of the kind UNRRA was giving to other countries. (He did not know why UNRRA could not extend its activities to Burma.) He was glad to hear that the British Council was extending its activities to Burma. He urged that there should be a Reparations Commission in Japan on which Burma should be represented. The Japanese had stripped Burma bare. Money was of little use immediately, but if some of the scientific and technical equipment taken away could be got back from Japan it would be exceedingly useful. The sooner stolen equipment was returned or equipment requisitioned and allotted to Burma the sooner the country could be put on its feet again.

Finally, he regretted that in the time available his contribution to the discussion had been necessarily scrappy, and he had had to omit topics he would have liked to discuss. Also he must add he was conscious of having simplified, again of necessity, exceedingly complex issues.

The CHAIRMAN said that, although in some respects a very depressing picture had been drawn, it had to be remembered that it was a picture of the aftermath of war. It must strengthen the resolve to see that the new world organization was made a success and that scenes like those in Burma and elsewhere would never again darken the face of the earth. It was tragic to think of the happy, cheerful people of Burma being subjected to all this suffering. The economic and physical situation was obviously urgent and must first be attended to. There had been suggestions made during the discussion that constitutional progress might very well wait until economic and social needs were fully met. Political situations, however, were largely emotional in their origin and expression, and he thought that it would be found that *pari passu* with the physical regeneration of Burma and its people there must be a new political development shared in by the younger generation who were rightly eager to see their country come into line with the great nations of the world. The Burmese people might take it that we were absolutely sincere in our wish that they should have, as soon as possible, the right to manage their own affairs. There was every

reason to believe that at no far distant date we might hope to welcome a free and prosperous Burma into full membership of the British Commonwealth.

Sir HAROLD ROPER, in reply to the discussion, said that Sir Alexander's speech was of outstanding interest. It was particularly interesting to hear his conviction that generally the country was not interested in politics, but, as Professor Beasley had pointed out, it was an aspect which had to be taken into consideration.

Maung Ohn had expressed the view that it had been a psychological mistake to emphasize the limitation of the objective to self-government within the Commonwealth, but he suggested that, until there was some prospect of self-government outside the Commonwealth, it would not be honest to do otherwise. What the Burmese people wanted quickly was self-government, and self-government within the Commonwealth was practicable within a reasonable period of time. Even for those who desired complete independence, self-government within the Commonwealth would be a valuable first step, and agitation for complete independence at the present juncture, by delaying the restoration of law and order, was doing their cause more harm than good.

With regard to a point raised by Maung Hla Myint it was not his intention to give the impression that he contemplated payment of compensation to British firms only. It was generally taken for granted by the British firms that any scheme for compensation would include Burmese and Indian people and firms who had suffered losses in Burma.

The suggestion made by Sir Alexander Campbell that goods in kind should be brought from Japan was an admirable one, and he hoped that something could be done in that direction. Maung Ohn had raised a point in connection with the placing of Burmese nationals in commerce. The remedy rested largely with the Burmese themselves, to see that the right kind of Burman came forward, men with an education, outlook and character which would fit them to rise to leading positions in commerce. Education was a responsibility of the parents, but steps had been taken from time to time by the firms to help them in their task. His own company, the Burmah Oil Company, had made a gift of £100,000 to the Rangoon University for the building and equipment of the College of Engineering, and were employing men who had passed through it. Assistance in education had been given by other firms also. These were indications of goodwill and of an intention to employ Burmese in the higher posts, if men of the right calibre came forward.

Mr. F. BURTON LEACH expressed the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer.

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK writes :

Important in the extreme as is the need to restore Anglo-Burmese relations without delay on a basis of mutual confidence, no less important is the maintenance of the closest Indo-Burmese relations. India and Burma are interdependent in matters of geography, defence, communications, and economic development.

The unhappy events of 1930 and of 1938, to which the lecturer has referred, have left bitter memories based upon mutual fear. These, in their turn, prevented the success of an agreement between the two countries tentatively reached before the Japanese invasion. It is essential for a permanent understanding between them that mutual confidence should be restored at an early date, and that the necessary steps should be taken so soon as possible to reinstate the Indian permanent and semi-permanent population.

Burma is a multi-racial country. Its minorities, of which the Indian, which has contributed so largely to its culture and to its former relative prosperity, is one of the most important, should be actively encouraged to feel a sense of security and an obligation to contribute still further to the early fulfilment of Burma's natural political aspirations.

INDIA IN TRANSITION

BY SIR HENRY RICHARDSON

THERE are probably many here today who, like myself, have experienced those mixed feelings which inevitably arise as one stands on the deck of a homeward-bound liner watching the shores of India gradually fade away. To some of us the joys of home-coming are often subdued by the regret at having to part with many good friends, both Indian and European; by the regret that all efforts to solve the great constitutional problem have so far failed, and by the uncertainty of the future which cannot be other than unsatisfactory for both countries. I am also sure that many here have experienced that "out-of-date" feeling, even as early on as when your ship is just out to sea, a condition born of the knowledge that within the vastness of that great country things of vital political and economic importance are liable to happen any day.

With these thoughts in mind it is not without some diffidence and with a certain amount of reserve that I speak to you on "India in Transition"—a title which undoubtedly carries more significance and portent today than ever before. India's is a treble transition; political, from peace to war, and from war to peace economy.

The transformation of the Governor-General's Executive Council, giving it a non-official majority, is perhaps the most significant political transitional event in its ultimate consequences, but other changes in the alignment of parties, in the new emphasis upon the economic future, and more especially in the constitutional changes that are clearly foreshadowed, and that have been halted but not stayed by war, have greater importance for the future.

I have witnessed all the conditions during the transition from peace to war. That brought millions of men to the fighting forces and more millions to new industrial employments. In less than five years India trebled its capacity for manufacture. Probably no country in the world has made so great a bound forward within a like period of time.

And now, in facing the transition from war economy to that of peace, India has problems to solve more intricate and difficult than those of the highly industrialized nations. In these the majority of those who have given war service of any kind return to their old employments. But in India the vast bulk of its peace-time industry must be new and created from the foundations.

Indian political transition has been gathering momentum since 1858, when the Government of British India was taken over by the Crown. The Government of India Act of 1935 is the last of a series of measures passed by the British Parliament towards the fulfilment of the policy definitely announced in 1917 of the attainment of full self-government. Unfortunately the federated Central Government provided for in the Act has not materialized, but the Provincial Autonomy also enacted has been actually or potentially operative since April 1, 1937. In seven Provinces the Congress ministries held office for more than two years to the outbreak of war. In other Provinces various types of non-Congress ministries have functioned, and some still exist, but elsewhere the Government has been carried on without ministries by the Governor under Section 93 of the Act.

Early in 1940 the Muslim League adopted Pakistan as its policy. Although that was only some six years ago, the repercussions evidenced by the situation today amply illustrate the momentous nature of the decision. Two years later, when the Japanese armies were advancing towards India, the British Government made the first of its two war-period endeavours for an interim settlement by what is known as the Cripps offer. It was not successful, nor was the second endeavour made at the Simla Conference last June, after the overthrow of Germany, but before the final defeat of Japan. It is deplorable that the Hindu-Muslim breach has considerably widened during these years.

THE ADVANCE TO SELF-GOVERNMENT

Despite all this, however, it is not generally appreciated that India's advance towards full self-government has been more rapid than in the case of the Dominions. From the period of the Morley-Minto Reforms, which firmly established *representative government*, with Indian majorities in the Legislatures, to the conferment of full and responsible self-government in the Provinces, subject only to the seldom exercised veto of the Governors, less than forty years have passed. In Canada nearly a century was required for the process fully provided for India in the 1935 Act.

Notwithstanding the suspension of the Federal clauses of the Act, India has been accorded increasingly many of the attributes of Dominion status—membership as an original member of the now defunct League of Nations, representation on the International Labour Office, representation abroad by High Commissioners, assured representation in any future peace conference, separate membership of the International Monetary Union, of the United Nations Organization, and a part equal with that of Great Britain in the Advisory Council for the control of Japan. If it be said that the representation has not been that of the chief Indian political parties the fault must be with those who have been unwilling to give their co-operation. That co-operation at every stage would have been welcomed by the British Government.

THE FINAL STAGE

We can now turn to consider certain aspects concerning the commencement of what we hope will prove to be the last stage—namely, the final step to full self-government under a Constitution to be framed by Indians themselves.

The elections for the new Central Legislative Assembly having been completed, it is now holding its first Session, and on completion of the elections for the Provincial Legislatures, an attempt is to be made to set up a Constitution-making body. The all-important question is whether the issue between the Hindus and Muslims can be settled before that body is appointed. Lord Wavell tersely described the position when he spoke in Calcutta a short while ago. He said India stood at the golden gate of political and economic opportunity. Yet she stood on the edge of tragedy. The opportunity was in the British offer to transfer government and in the great progress made in wealth and industrial development during war years. The threat of tragedy was in those communal divisions that none but Indians could solve. But the Viceroy does not believe an agreed solution between the parties is impossible or that it would even be very difficult given good-will, common sense and patience on all sides.

PAKISTAN

And what do the leaders of those two great communal divisions say? As to the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah was recently reported to have said that the deadlock was not between Britain and India, but between the Hindu Congress and the Muslim League, and that the crux of the problem was Pakistan. He added that Britain was putting the cart before the horse by proposing the formation of a Constitution-making body before settling the Pakistan issue. Addressing the Central Legislative Assembly on January 28 last, the Viceroy spoke of the British Government's determination to establish a new Executive Council made up of political leaders, but Mr. Jinnah replied that the Muslim League will not agree to any Central Government being set up even as an interim arrangement, since that would relegate to the background the main issue—viz., the demand for Pakistan.

As to Congress opinion, we have Pandit Nehru's reported remark, made at Allahabad on Mr. Gandhi's birthday, that he did not think Pakistan was in the interest of India. The Nationalist forces which were surging up in different parts in the East indicated no such communal disunity and that Muslims in India should see the new trend. Further to this, during the recent elections to the Central Assembly, Mr. Jinnah gave an exposition of Pakistan to an American press representative on which Pandit Nehru is reported subsequently as having made this comment: "It is in the form stated by Mr. Jinnah an unthinkable proposition and im-

possible of realization. Pakistan can only be conceived, if at all, in terms of those areas where there is a dominant Muslim population."

More recently *The Times* Delhi correspondent, reporting the movements of the Parliamentary Delegation, summed up the situation in these words: "The delegates have now heard from politicians, important and unimportant, that India has no intention of waiting indefinitely for self-government; but that neither Hindus nor Muslims have anything more to say to each other on the question which prevents them from agreeing on a constitution for a self-governing India. The onus, the delegates will have heard, is on the British Government and Parliament to decide the Pakistan issue."

As long as this issue remains unsolved, frustration and resentment on the part of Indians will cause continued criticism and abuse of the present system of government responsible to the British Parliament. Uncertainty of the future is not only bad for trade with and in India, but is also obstructing and circumscribing the vital tasks to be undertaken in the delicate and difficult operation of India's transition from war to a peace-time basis.

RE-EMPLOYMENT OF WAR WORKERS

A most disturbing factor, which I believe it will be very difficult for any other than a truly National Government adequately to meet, is the problem of the re-employment of those people in India who will be affected by the end of hostilities. They are estimated to number approximately six millions, and comprise not only persons from the Forces, but also from the great war-time Indian factories and offices. Many of these persons have known no other life but that prevailing in this abnormal war-time India. Many have married and produced families in what has appeared to them to be the golden age. What is to happen to them now? For the most part their wages and salaries have been provided by H.M. Government, which is one of the factors responsible for the creation of what is known as the sterling balances held to India's credit. The problem therefore is not only how these people are to be employed in future, but also how they are to be paid. In other words, can the Government of India continue in peace-time to provide the very large expenditure which was mainly provided by H.M. Government in war-time?

Great works of national importance, such as road and rail development, huge and expensive projects connected with India's inland rivers and waterways, electrical and forest schemes—only these things can possibly absorb the large majority of those who will be affected by the transition from war to peace. Will India be able to afford these things? And if she can, will any other than a truly National Government, having the backing and support of the masses, be able to obtain the necessary finance and carry through these far-reaching projects so vital to India's future, both immediate and for many years to come? These are some of the questions which are very prominently in the minds of both Europeans and Indians in India today, for it is obvious that failure to deal with them could result in upheaval and disaster.

"PULLING TOGETHER"

The member of the Viceroy's Executive Council placed in charge of Post-War Planning and Development was Sir Ardeshir Dalal. He has recently resigned, but it is interesting to note what he thinks. Addressing the General Policy Committee in Delhi on October 8, he said: "Provided Government and the people pull together and certain conditions are satisfied, there is no reason why economic activity in the country should not be sufficient to avoid a serious drop in the expenditure, though its direction and purpose will naturally be different." Yes, "provided Government and the people pull together"; therein lies the crux of the situation.

The Indians on the Viceroy's Executive Council, who in the absence of party leaders have accepted and carried out tasks of heavy responsibility during the war, are entitled to the gratitude of their country in place of the taunts and non-co-operation which they have experienced both inside as well as outside the Legislature in Delhi. Their one sin has been that they had no major political following, and were not sponsored by either of the great political parties in India, neither of which was

willing to shoulder the responsibilities of office which they undertook. In the same way there have been many patriotic Indians who have carried out great and important ambassadorial duties, often to the admiration of representatives of other countries with whom they have had to work, and from whom they have received well-earned tributes testifying to their capabilities and sincerity. But in contrast to this these same men have been accused by some of their fellow-countrymen of being unnational, and attempts have been made to undermine their authority in the eyes of other countries by assertions in India that they do not represent the unconstituted and unformed National Government of that country.

These two examples illustrate the potency of Sir Ardeshir Dalal's proviso that Government and the people pull together. The government of India must be carried on by somebody, and since two attempts to bring the main parties into office by an interim arrangement have failed, it would appear that the ultimate and final settlement has now to be faced. But meantime will the people pull together with the present or any revised Government? A tremendous force for good or evil depends on the answer to this.

PLANNING

His Excellency the Viceroy recently made a timely reference to the need for a peaceful atmosphere in which to approach this complex constitutional problem. He also mentioned the necessity of readiness to undertake public works as soon as possible to counteract the problem of unemployment caused by the diminution of war expenditure, the importance of which I am emphasizing today. Lord Wavell also stressed the need of bold and generous planning for the future, so that India might become strong and healthy. What does Congress think of this? Their attitude has been described by Pandit Nehru, who, speaking at Lucknow on October 6, is reported to have said that planning without independence is nothing but a delusion. He could not understand planning in the context of what the present Government of India was doing. Congress have for many years been actively engaged through a special committee who have been evolving plans which Congress will approve and sponsor if and when they come into power. But meantime six million people affected by the end of the war cannot wait, and there is risk of their being deluded. What will be the effect on them of all the recent red-hot electioneering propaganda in India —propaganda which caused stern words to be included in a statement made in both Houses of Parliament on December 6. Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords and Mr. Herbert Morrison in the Commons said: "No greater disservice could be done to a future Indian Government and to the cause of democracy than to permit the foundations of the State to be weakened and the loyalty of its servants to those who are in authority to be undermined before that new Government comes into being." They added that the realization of full self-government can only come by the orderly and peaceful transfer of control of the machinery of State to purely Indian authority.

EUROPEANS IN INDUSTRY

I come to the lesser but nonetheless important factor of the possibilities of absorption of some of the war workers by private industrial development.

As was to be expected, industry under European management in India during the past fifty years has not advanced by anything like the phenomenal strides which purely Indian industry has taken. In that time the number of factories registered under the Indian Factories Act has increased from 800 to more than 13,000, of which by far the larger proportion must be Indian. It was never to be expected that Indian business men would sit still with folded hands whilst the lessons and prospects of the many enterprises started and fostered by Europeans grew and flourished under their very eyes. Unfortunately the glitter of the sterling balances and the abnormal prosperity of industrial India has dimmed the vision of certain sections of the Indian community, who see nothing wrong in expropriating British business or of adding to the heavy burden borne by this country as part of the cost of defending India against Japan. I say unfortunately because, although expropriation at present high

levels might be financially attractive, such a course would not in the long run benefit either party.

Great as are the potential resources of India, the process of building a new industrial life will strain them to the utmost. If that process is to be rapid—and it must be if a vast bulk of unemployment is not to be added to the national problems—India must be prepared to welcome aid in finance and technical knowledge from outside. That is recognized by all the “planners,” whether governmental or private. It is less clearly recognized that this aid will not be forthcoming on terms to be dictated by India. Certainly nothing could be more short-sighted than the mere buying up, with a view to control, of industries already firmly established and prosperous. That would be a squandering of resources already too limited for the tasks ahead. Concentration must be upon the provision of new avenues of employment, if the skill and the knowledge that war has developed are to be utilized to advantage.

Looking at the whole world picture as we see it today, there is ample room and need in India for the maintenance and expansion of industry both Indian and British. Each has its part to play, although it would be foolish to believe that in such expansion Indian industry will not have the greater share. At the beginning of the war I well remember how certain Indian politicians were alarmed and perturbed lest purely Indian industry did not share in the flood of great war-time orders which eventually descended and in which even village handcraft industries shared. The same alarm can be detected today over India's post-war industrial development, as is evidenced by frequent talk about the safeguards and discrimination against British industry. In this phase of India's industrial transition we cannot blame Indians for looking to their own interests, and I do not wish to say one word against that very right and natural national spirit which underlies many, but unfortunately not all, utterances of this nature. I entirely agree with Lord Wavell's remark the other day in Calcutta, that goodwill and cordial relations were of greater importance to both British and Indian business than clauses in an Act, and the establishment of such relations was at present and would be in future the real safeguard of the interests of both. But I must add that these things cannot exist if the traffic is one way only. There must be mutual reciprocation, and mutual visits both by politicians and industrialists of the two countries can do much to remove the distrust and misunderstandings and promote that cordiality and friendship which alone can provide the firm foundation so necessary for the future.

CONTROLS

I do not wish today to say anything in detail about the controls of industry visualized under the Government of India's post-war planning and development schemes, but of necessity they come into the picture, and will undoubtedly be carefully weighed by all business communities when considering new projects and even extensions to present industries. Industry in India does not like control any more than it does in this country, and it may well be that because of communal differences any method of carrying on business in India under Government licence and control may circumscribe and seriously damage industrial development. As I have said, however, I do not wish to go into the details of this question, and merely mention it because it is so obviously a factor which may very largely affect the absorption by private industry of a certain number of those persons affected by the end of the war.

We all know that 1946 will be a trying and testing time for most countries, but perhaps none faces such a momentous and difficult transitional period as does India. Having lived there many years and knowing something of her problems and peoples, I am convinced that they can and must govern themselves, and that we can and must help them in every possible way. It is not to be expected that everything will go smoothly, especially as the two main communities have deliberately foregone past opportunities of learning the art of statesmanship. The European community has received a tribute for its public service from every Commission that has reported on India, and I know it is prepared to continue to play its part if India so desires. During the short time I have been back in this country I have become equally assured of the tremendous seriousness behind the present steps which are proposed for an ultimate solution. The policy outlined by H.M. Government is accepted both by the

British community in India and by the British people, and with you, for the good of both countries, for the good of the world, I pray that the special Cabinet Mission which H.M. Government are sending to India towards the end of March will be successful, and that 1946 will see the achievement of India's responsibility for government being placed in the hands of her own people, which is what both they and we so ardently desire.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at the Caxton Hall, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, February 20, 1946, with Viscount HINCHINGBROOKE, M.P., in the chair, Sir HENRY RICHARDSON gave an address on "India in Transition."

The CHAIRMAN, opening the meeting, said that it took place on the morrow of the announcement of the Government's unprecedented step towards a solution of the Indian constitutional problem. He did not recollect that ever in the history of this country had a triumvirate of three Cabinet Ministers left these shores in peacetime in pursuit of one objective. Certainly no mission had ever been charged with a higher duty or saddled with a heavier or more responsible task. To his mind the composition of the mission alone was ample evidence of the full realization in this country of the nature and importance of the Indian constitutional problem, and also of that abundant goodwill which flowed from this country to Indians of all classes.

No one was better fitted to give them a true picture of the Indian scene at this time, when the need of one country to understand the other was so great, than their guest and lecturer that afternoon, Sir Henry Richardson. Sir Henry had unrivalled knowledge of many aspects of the Indian scene. He spoke with authority on commercial matters as a director of one of the great firms of Calcutta. He was also prominent in the fields of scientific and industrial research, of music, and now—he had told the speaker—also in the realm of films.

But many of them already knew that it was in the world of politics and statecraft that he had achieved his greatest fame. Sir Henry was a member of the Council of State of the Government of India from 1939 to 1941, and from 1942 until quite recently he was the leader of the European Group in the Legislative Assembly. He was the only non-official European present at the Simla Conference. Sir Henry was to speak on the constitutional, economic, and industrial problems of India after five years of war.

The paper was then read.

Mr. GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P., said he had returned from India only a week ago. They had listened to a most able and statesmanlike paper. He was sure they would agree that the most notable thing about it was the restraint with which Sir Henry had spoken, and he thought that anyone who spoke about India today ought to exercise that restraint. He and his fellow-members of the Parliamentary delegation had come back from India enormously impressed with the seriousness of the situation out there, and he could not help feeling that it was even more serious, more critical, than perhaps anybody, including the Government, realized. He had been interested in what Sir Henry had said about the value of mutual contacts, and he thought one of the tragic things in the past had been the comparative lack of contact between those in the official world in India and those in the political and business world here. He believed that the Parliamentary delegation that went to India was of value. He felt that the Cabinet mission was most important, and that their first task would be to convince India of British sincerity, of her determination that India should be mistress in her own house. It was deeply regrettable that very wide sections of opinion in India were beginning to doubt that sincerity and to say that inaction was

becoming a habit of the British. So that whatever the mission did, as long as they did something, they would have performed a valuable task.

Many difficult decisions had to be taken, but those decisions were for Indians to make; the keynote of Britain's policy must be to leave Indians to take the decisions and make it easier for them to take them. India was no longer a child, if indeed she ever was. India had reached adult stature, and it was the right, privilege, and duty of India to make those far-reaching decisions affecting her own future. The mission's immediate task would be the reconstitution of the Viceroy's Council, and there indeed they would find themselves in troubled waters full of shoals and reefs, but if only that reconstitution could be achieved the Constituent Assembly would come in by itself.

He would like to say something about two specific subjects. He still did not believe that we over here realized the gravity of the food situation. When he left India it was stated that the shortage of grain was 3,000,000 tons; now it was stated to be between 4,000,000 and 7,000,000 tons. He thought that must be turned into terms of rations to bring it home to people. Since he left India the ration had been reduced by 25 per cent. for adults, and he thought there was a corresponding reduction in the children's diet. Therefore rations for at least 63,000,000 people in India were deficient, which was indeed a terrible thought. It did not necessarily mean that 63,000,000 would die of starvation, but it did give some idea of the gravity of the problem.

The other thing was equally grave and he had not heard it commented upon. India was governed by Civil Servants, and the Administration depended for its existence on a personnel very largely Indian. But at the higher level among Europeans that Administration was stretched to a degree of tenuity which was very near breaking point. Hardly any of the British administrators had been home since before the war, and a warning should be given that unless something was done to give those tired men a chance of leave there was grave risk of an administrative breakdown.

He had come back from India as he came back from it before, full of deep affection for India. The situation was difficult and dangerous, but he was not a pessimist, for there were good grounds for hope for future good relations between India and ourselves. For example, there was agitation against this country at all levels, and yet there was an atmosphere of the greatest friendliness as between individual Englishmen and Indians. It was not to be explained away by the innate courtesy of every Indian. He thought that when it was made clear that any association this country would have with India would be purely voluntary the association between their two countries would be closer than ever. If India wanted to cut away from us she must be free to do so, but he did not think that would happen.

Sir JEREMY RAISMAN had listened with very great interest to Sir Henry from his position on the "benches," for it had been his experience frequently to have to stand up and make a long and fairly set oration whilst Sir Henry Richardson was enjoying himself listening-in and preparing the points on which he would take him up. Whilst he was on that subject and on the personal theme, he would like to say how indebted he was to Sir Henry Richardson for the assistance which he gave to him and the Administration at a very trying time. As leader of the European Group he led the only party in the Assembly which was prepared to concentrate on the immediate clamant problems of the day and to judge the measures proposed by the Government on their merits, and that brought him back to the keynote of Sir Henry Richardson's paper, that there were in India the most frightful social and economic problems which demanded instantaneous solution and for which, at the same time, no assistance whatever could be obtained until the political problem was settled. Throughout the whole period of his six years of Finance Membership he was constantly conscious of the way in which the unsolved political problem dogged one's steps whatever one did. It was a familiar experience for him to say, "Now, what would a national Finance Minister do in this situation?" and he would claim that most of the time, at any rate, that was his own criterion of policy, but there was no hope of securing an expressed approval for anything suggested because it was a

fundamental principle with the main political parties to put the Government in the wrong for the whole time. Even if it was something for which they had been clamouring for a long time, it was the wrong moment to do it!

He would give one example: he attempted to introduce a Death Duties Bill, which was one of the things he thought India needed very badly, and he found that the Congress section of the Opposition were prepared to throw it out, to oppose the introduction of the measure. He knew, as most of them did, that inheritance duties were part of the Congress platform, but at that moment when very large fortunes had been made it had not been possible to discuss the introduction of inheritance duties as a very important and urgent necessity. The Opposition were not even prepared to allow it to be introduced. It was a very unusual step not to allow the introduction of a Bill, and the reason was, in short, that they were not prepared to support the existing Government even in measures of the justification for which they were satisfied.

He was very interested in what the last speaker had to say, because Sir Henry Richardson and he left India about the same time, and their experience, of course, was very much in common. But Mr. Godfrey Nicholson brought later news even than Sir Henry and himself, and he was very deeply impressed with what he had observed. It was not necessary to remind those who went through the Bengal famine of 1943 of the gravity of the food situation. The deficiency then, he thought, was something like 1,000,000 or 1,500,000 tons, although it was concentrated in a smaller area, but the deficiency now being talked of was truly appalling and it was a black cloud over the whole country. Just as hunger made it impossible for a man to think of anything else but food, so the prospect of famine hamstrung every aspect of the Administration. It was impossible to get on with anything when the food problem assumed so disastrous a form as it was doing in India today. They could only hope that the visit of the present Food Mission from India would bear fruit in a measure of assistance which would mitigate the full severity of the problem. There again it was regrettable that the Congress Party in the Assembly was not prepared to associate itself with the efforts of the present Government even with regard to a matter so terribly important as the prevention or relief of famine.

The other topic on which Mr. Nicholson had touched was one which he had intended to mention himself. He was going to say to Sir Henry Richardson that it was not merely now a question of India in transition—they had come to the end of an epoch. It had been assumed for so long, and expected, that India would very soon begin to run her own affairs that it seemed the eventuality that she might not be doing so for some time yet had not been catered for. He thought the splendid machine of government which was built up in India, and by virtue of which a handful of men carried out functions which in other countries required ten times their number, was ceasing to exist—it had broken down. At the top, the key men had come to the end of their tether. He knew that very well. They had worked very hard in the last six years, and those of them who had lived in India knew that there were no fixed hours of business. An official messenger brought the files to them at any hour of any day or night and another was waiting for the answer, and when it was a question of grave importance like famine he could imagine there was no respite. These men must have a rest, and he regretted he could not tell Mr. Nicholson how they were going to be relieved.

The functions of government had greatly expanded and grown more complicated and difficult. The machine was a fraction of the size it should be and was worn out. In fact, there was no machine: they had definitely come to the end of an epoch, and unless His Majesty's Ministers could fix up something within a very short time he must say he was a pessimist about the future administration in India. Even during the war the additional calls made on the machine and the extraneous elements that had to be brought in led to a tremendous decrease in efficiency, and what was even more alarming was the growth of corruption. During the war in India they had had to introduce large numbers of controls, they had had to attempt to ration numbers which in some places exceeded the whole population of this island and to administer that rationing with a minute fraction of the qualified personnel used in Britain. They had had to do other things. They had had to attempt to sell cloth

and other absolute essentials of existence. Now they had not got the men to do so, and so they picked up such men as they could find.

If there was anything worse than scarcity and famine it was a corrupt machine for dealing with it, and he had to admit that it was borne in upon him unmistakably that a large number of the instruments they were trying to use for the relief of the distress of the people were merely operating to accentuate that distress. He did not remember any period in his service when corruption was so bad. This was not a subject anybody liked to talk about, but it did unmistakably obtrude itself, and anybody who had had to deal with the administration of India during the last few years could not ignore it. The cure for corruption was either such a degree of efficient supervision as would make it impossible for the weaker vessel to succumb, or, of course, the fundamental cure was such a degree of idealism as would make it uncommon for corruption to be practised or tolerated, and that got one back to the question of the attitude of the general public to the Government.

He had wandered a little from the point, but he thought he might give some impressions of India in transition. He would like to say once more how very interested he was in Sir Henry Richardson's observations and how very much he agreed with most of what he had said.

Mr. CHINNA DURAI said that Sir Henry Richardson should be congratulated on his picture of India. Things were very much on the move in India. The Parliamentary delegation to India had explored things for itself, and now there was the Cabinet mission. In addition, there had been elections in India which would determine the will of the Indian nation, and he felt that something was bound to happen. He was not so much concerned now about the constitutional status of India, as India's future is more or less assured, but he would very much like the Indian leaders who were agitating for self-government, which, of course, was their rightful due, to use the interim period to fit themselves for the responsibility to come. Sir Henry Richardson very rightly remarked that they had frequent opportunities for wielding responsibility but that they had deliberately forgone these opportunities for service. Great responsibilities rest on Indian shoulders today. There was, for instance, the famine that was threatening India. He had read the other day a speech by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the people of the United Provinces in which he asked them to revolt in the event of a famine there. That would not be helping India, but actually adding fuel to the fire. The Congress Party's praise of the Japanese-sponsored "Indian National Army" was a tactless piece of effrontery to the valiant sons of India—real soldiers—who fought so bravely to help save the freedom of the world—India's included. It was that sort of a perverted tendency to disservice which should vanish from Indian minds altogether if India has got to be helped at all. The conduct of the Indian Army during the war had put India on the map of the world most conspicuously, and he did hope that the leaders to come in India, whoever they were, would keep that high standard in front of them in all their doings.

Mrs. WINIFRED HOLMES said she had the privilege of going out to India last year to work in a fairly humble capacity for the Government of India when her husband went out as film adviser to the Government of India and she went as his assistant. They were warmly welcomed by their Indian colleagues. There was no kind of jealousy, no sort of hostility at all towards people going out and teaching them the technical skill they wanted to learn. Probably at first their Indian colleagues wanted to know whether they had any particular axes to grind, but when it was discovered that they had not, co-operation with them was splendid. This experience had shown that Indians would welcome technical help and they would take the greatest advantage of it. Another point was that they all wanted the opportunity of coming to England to continue to learn this technical skill. They did not specially want to go to America, though they knew America was ahead of us in certain things. They wanted to come to Britain. Britain was the place which could teach them what they wanted to learn.

This encouraged the belief that the friendship between England and India would not end when India got full self-government. At the moment the two countries

were at war, politically at war, but that did not alter their existing friendship, nor did it alter the Indian regard for English academic teaching. All the Indians she had met wanted to send their sons and daughters to England for university training, not to America. There was no question of boycotting English culture or English thought, and she did not believe that in the next ten years their two countries had very individual parts to play. On our attitude to India depended whether we kept her lasting friendship and alliance.

India had grown up sufficiently to criticize herself. That was another thing that impressed the speaker deeply. She got to know a great deal in Bombay about social services and other forms of activity, and she heard more sweeping criticism of Indians from Indians than she would have believed possible. This made her realize that India was certainly adult in every respect. Another thing that impressed her greatly was that there was in India a tremendous feeling of self-confidence in her own future and destiny. Right through the literate community, at any rate, there was this great feeling that the future was theirs. When she came back to England she found that she had come back to a country which was tired and full of anxiety. People were saying it would be difficult to find a solution for India. But in India there was this tremendous feeling of optimism and enthusiasm. People knew there was a difficult time ahead; there might even be clashes and bloodshed; but they all felt "We shall succeed; we shall make a Federated India which will please everybody; we have a great destiny in the world." Let us also be optimistic, because that would impress India more than talking so much about the terrible difficulties all round.

Mr. REDDY said he had listened with very great interest to the paper read by Sir Henry Richardson and to the following debate. It was well to take the advice that had been given by Mr. Nicholson regarding the Indian situation. He thought he had come back with a true picture of India. Sir Henry Richardson had endeavoured to be very sympathetic and had expressed goodwill and understanding of the Indian situation, but he seemed circumscribed and limited by the experiences he had gone through in India and by the interests he had represented there.

Regarding the industrial and commercial aspect, Sir Henry had stated that India had made tremendous progress during the five years of war, but he wished Sir Henry had taken them into his confidence and told them what India's industrial development had been. India had developed industrially only in one particular section, that relating to war, and the peace-time industries would have to be built anew from the foundations. Regarding the political aspect, Sir Henry seemed to be satisfied with the pace of political progress in India. He had stated that full provincial government had been conferred on the Provinces, and the speaker questioned that statement. Why had the then Governor of Bengal asked a Premier to resign? Regarding the Central Government, it had been stated that the political parties in India lost the opportunity of co-operating with Britain and establishing a National Government. It was not proper to fix the blame; the Congress Party did offer co-operation. It was not so much India in transition as India in turmoil.

Colonel TROTTER said that in his opening remarks the Chairman had referred to the men who were going out to India, and he (the speaker) and his wife wished them Godspeed and good luck, his wife especially knowing how they would be supported by the magnificent women of India.

Sir HENRY RICHARDSON thanked the Chairman for his very kind comments on what he had tried to do in the position in which he found himself in India. As a business man it was a little hard to have to switch over to high politics, and especially as one of the first tasks which confronted him when he took over the leadership of the European Group was to meet Sir Stafford Cripps. It was very nice to hear the appreciative remarks regarding the work which he and his group had done. He also thanked Sir Jeremy Raisman for his appreciation, for which he was grateful. Coming to Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, he was very interested, as other speakers had been, in hearing his impressions. He was grateful to Mr. Nicholson for mentioning the restraint it was necessary for all speakers to exercise.

Mr. Nicholson had also mentioned the question of famine and that he thought that the gravity of the situation was not realized. The speaker agreed with that comment, but could only hope that that terrible shadow of famine might be something evil from which good would result. What he meant was that the negotiations that were going to take place would inevitably take place under that awful shadow, and it might do a great deal to soften those leaders in their approach to the solution of the very difficult political problems.

Mr. Nicholson had also mentioned the question of the Civil Service and said it was near breaking point. He was expressing precisely the same thing as the business people had been expressing. They were near breaking point too, and he hoped that Mr. Nicholson and other Members of Parliament present that afternoon would do their best to see that relief was made available to Civil Servants and to the business community also, which was doing its best under very trying circumstances.

Mr. Chinna Durai spoke of the blame attributable to the leaders for things to come, and with that also he would agree. He had mentioned the fact of Pandit Nehru's appeal for revolt. When one got things like that happening it was an illustration of the extreme sense of frustration prevailing and for the urgent need to form a National Government.

Coming to Mr. Reddy, who gave the opposite view, he could not in the few minutes available to the speaker follow him in all his arguments. In fact, he did not know when Mr. Reddy was agreeing with him and when he was not. He knew Mr. Reddy did agree with some things he had said. He could not agree with him when he brought up small matters as an argument that provincial autonomy had not in fact operated.

He did not think he could do any more than thank those speakers who had contributed to the afternoon's discussion, while realizing that there was much more they all would like to have said.

Sir HUBERT CARR, in proposing a vote of thanks, said they could not break up without expressing their thanks and appreciation of what the Chairman and Lecturer had given them that afternoon. They had, he thought, brought home perhaps more keenly than ever the problem that lay ahead. Of course, in seeking the solution of that problem they were not likely to overlook the responsibility that rested with the Parsee Government.

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL INDIAN STATES

At a joint meeting with the Royal Society of Arts held at the Rooms in John Adam Street on December 6, 1945, Sir WILLIAM BARTON read the paper given in the January issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

The Right Hon. R. A. BUTLER, M.P., presided. He said: It is a great honour for me to take the chair today and to listen to a lecture on the interesting subject which we have before us this afternoon. I always think that one of the problems of India which we are apt to forget—of which we shall hear a great deal from the paper—is that of the development of the Indian States. I spent my youth in one of them and therefore I trust that in my handling of Indian affairs I have never left out this important aspect of the subject.

In my own library I treasure Sir William Barton's work upon the Indian States. We are very fortunate in having a lecturer who has personal experience of the States and who has devoted so much of his life to India. It is always inspiring to me to associate with so many of you who have done likewise. It is a fact that whenever I am dealing with public affairs on the home front, whether in educational affairs or

anything else, I am always brought sharply back to the Indian question. Latterly that has been happening to me again, and therefore I must continue to educate myself at the fount of real knowledge.

After the reading of the paper the CHAIRMAN said : I am sure I am voicing the feelings of you all when I express our grateful thanks to our lecturer today for the very concise contribution which he has made. There has been a really remarkable amount of knowledge imparted in a very short time with colour and imagination.

There are two things in the lecture which I should like to emphasize. The first is the question of the industrialization which is going on in the Indian States. I feel that it is an example to the rest of India. Anyone examining the economic position of India will be greatly impressed by the comparative lack of industrialization of the rest of the continent at the present time. It is a refreshing thing to feel that in this paper we have had set before us the example that the Indian States can give in this direction. I have never been a great advocate of the industrial revolution in this or any other country; if anything, my interests have been agricultural, and certainly there is nothing which haunts the memory more than the memory of the Indian village and its agriculture. It lingers with those of us who have not had the good fortune to go back to India. That, of course, is the proverbial and traditional India. There has, however, been a tremendous rise in the population which has occurred even during the war years, a rise as remarkable as anything which has taken place in the history of the world. The realists must think again and think very hard as to how so vast a population is going to be maintained with success when so much of the land is already being cultivated to the uttermost. Therefore, it will be partly upon increased industrialization that India must depend for her prosperity. Those of us who devote time to politics can reflect that the economic needs of India are greater even than her political needs, and therefore it is gratifying to know that there is a trade delegation from the Indian States returning to this country very shortly. The paper we have heard today is very apt. It reminds us of our duty, and I trust that our duty will also be a pleasure. I hope that we shall introduce our visitors not only to industry here, but also make their stay as pleasant as possible. I hope also that we shall give the Indian States a pat on the back for what they have done.

The political aspects of industrialization and the vexed problem of British capital and Indian capital are too complicated for me. Ten years ago I was grappling with them in the course of the passage of the Government of India Act and they are even more thorny today. I therefore do not propose to burn my fingers in any way, but it surely should be possible to regulate the relationship between ourselves and India. Accepting the basic view that it is high time India had her own opportunities of self-expression in Government there could, at the same time, be co-operation between ourselves and India in this vital field of invention and industry.

The lecturer has referred to the question of trolley buses in Kashmir. One would almost enter a plea for the ordinary bus because the absence of overhead cable would save the scenery to that extent. If the lecturer could use his influence with the Indian States it might be possible for him to convert this desirable development into fifty ordinary buses instead.

Sir HENRY CRAIK : I am very glad to be here today because for two years I was intimately connected with the States and therefore was much interested in the subjects dealt with in the paper. I am also particularly glad that Mr. Butler is in the chair, because he is the son of a very old friend of mine, and I regard him as a fellow-Punjabee.

I have, I think, visited every one of the States mentioned by Sir William Barton, and although I have not, of course, as intimate a knowledge of their latest developments as he has, I have listened with peculiar interest to what he has told us of the happenings in individual States. I think the only exception is the State of Rewa, which was going through an unfortunate chapter in its history in my time, but I am glad to learn that the great natural resources of that State are now being developed, and if coal is developed, as Sir William expects, that State should be in a very strong economic position. I was also particularly interested to hear of the development of

Bahawalpur, which only a few years ago was practically a desert tract lying between the Punjab and Sind. The great Sutlej Valley canal scheme, recently completed, has, contrary to some expectations, turned out to be a striking financial success for the State. That was largely due to the stimulus given to the purchase of land by the rise in prices during the war. I was told the other day that Bahawalpur land is fetching Rs. 600 an acre, and that the State has been able to pay off the greater part of its enormous debt to the Government of India incurred in the construction of the canal, which I believe, at its peak was 12½ crores of rupees.

As regards Patiala, the premier Punjab State, I have seen something of the energy and devotion which the new Ruler is putting into the exploitation of the resources of his State. He is very keen on fruit-farming and has a farm of his own, which he visits every day and works on himself, thereby setting an example to his people.

One State which the lecturer did not mention and in which I take an interest is that of Rampur, in the United Provinces, which, although a small State, has given a lead in the matter of industrial development, largely owing to the extraordinarily good team-work between one Indian and one English Minister. These two form the happiest combination which I ever came across. They work together with complete friendship. At the time of my visit to that State three or four years ago there were two sugar factories, a large textile factory, an oil factory and at least two others. That has led to a great increase in the income, not only of the State but of its individual subjects.

The Chairman said that in industrialization and economic development the States were giving a lead to British India Provinces. That is very true, and the States are entitled to great credit for setting that example and for the energy they have thrown into the business. But while that is true we cannot get over the fact that the States started with certain advantages in this matter as compared with British India. For one thing, the rate of income-tax in the States is much lighter than in British India. In some of the States there is none at all. During the war, as you all know, there has been an excess profits tax in India (66 per cent. to begin with, I think, and 80 per cent. later), but so far as I am aware few if any of the States have imposed that tax. I remember speaking to the dewan of one important State and asking him why he did not impose an excess profits tax. He told me that they worked it better their own way. "When a factory has a good year," he said, "I send for the manager and ask him if he does not think he should contribute a handsome donation for a hospital or a school." The necessary money is almost always forthcoming.

Another thing is that I should imagine that it is easy in the States to raise capital if you can interest the Ruler, and usually he is ready to be interested in anything which is going to benefit his State. All these things, combined with the great and praiseworthy eagerness of the Rulers and the very able statesmen who administer the great States—and I think some of the dewans are among the ablest administrators in India—place the States in a position more conducive to the rapid expansion of industry than that of British India. There is thus the possibility of grave prejudice to the interests of British India, if most of the factories springing up were to be concentrated in the States. That is a problem of some difficulty, and I think it is necessary, if the interests of British India are to be protected, that the States should agree to fall into line with British India in the matter of taxation. That question was, I believe, one of the matters in dispute between certain of the Princes and the present Viceroy a few months ago. I am not sure whether that difficulty has been satisfactorily overcome, but I mention it because it seems to me an important aspect of this question of industrial development. I do not see why we should not be able to achieve a state of affairs where the interests both of British India and of the States are fairly treated. That is what we all desire.

(Mr. Butler left the meeting at this stage and the chair was taken by Sir FREDERICK SYKES.)

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK : I have listened with the greatest pleasure to this paper because I feel that the lecturer has certainly helped to keep himself, and us, up to

date in Indian affairs. He has also provided a very considerable amount of up-to-date information which I think it is most important to disseminate both in this country and in the United States of America. I have often wondered why the Indian States, which represent one-quarter of the Indian population and cover about one-third of the total area of India, have not had their own information department in this country and in America. There is so much useful information which they could give, as, for example, the fact that Indian princes are not people who trail about Europe wearing pearls and diamonds and exploit their people, but that many of them are as up to date and patriotic as many other Indians in British India and are making a very valuable contribution to the national life of a special character.

There is another fact which I think might equally well be brought to the notice of the general public—namely, that in this development of the Indian States, British India, through several distinguished statesmen, has made a most valuable contribution. Many of the dewans of the States have come from British India, and they have rendered great service. Another thing which is not sufficiently known is that in more recent years subjects of British India have made their special contribution to the improvement, industrial and otherwise, of the States. Facts of that kind ought to be more widely known both here and in America.

Another point is that many of these Indian States are setting an example even to this country which is today rather priding itself upon beginning to nationalize industry and public services. Indian States have done that very thing for many years past. They have thereby rendered an extraordinarily valuable service to the welfare of India, and that fact should be more widely known than it is. It is things of that kind which make me think that the States might have a great deal of publicity which would be very good for the people here and also for the United States, where there is so much misunderstanding of Indian affairs. For that reason many of us have welcomed the visit of the States' industrial delegation to Britain and America.

As regards the actual development of the States we have been accustomed to divide them into relatively modern and backward areas, but we cannot do that for long with such examples before us as that of the State of Jaipur. Not very long ago that State was regarded as a backward one, but look at what has happened there in a very short period of time under the administration of the distinguished and experienced personality to whom Mysore owes so much—Sir Mirza Ismail. If that can happen in a short space of time, one can imagine how rapidly India could modernize herself under far-seeing and intelligent administration. We ought to be much more familiar with facts of that kind, and if we were it would render a great service to the States themselves.

There is one thing which the lecturer said which surprised me. He spoke of Hyderabad and Bhopal as "Mohammedan" States. That is surely not correct; the great bulk of their population is Hindu. I would not call the State of Kashmir a Hindu State, because the bulk of the population is Mohammedan. I remember that when the Ruler of Hyderabad was described as a Mohammedan Ruler, he said that he was a Mohammedan and a Ruler, but not a Mohammedan Ruler. That is perhaps the right way of dealing with the matter. I do not think we can speak of one State being Mohammedan or of the other being Hindu; they should simply be States, and their people Indians.

Dr. RANJEE SHAHANI: It is usually very difficult to disagree with Sir William Barton, and his present paper is no exception; I have no fault to find with it. I only hope that what he has said will be published in pamphlet form so that it can reach a large number of people.

Mr. Polak said—and I think rightly—that the Indian States should have their own information service. In fact, some of them have it, and I have a little experience of the methods employed. In 1940, soon after my arrival in this country, I happened to write an article on the Princes in the *Spectator*. A few months later I was astonished to receive a letter from the Information Adviser of one of the biggest States asking me, after suitable compliments, if I would enter "into relations of mutual benefit." That shows how far these things can go.

There is another point, which I can make only in this way. Once a friend of

mine, an English writer, was relating the story of a famous tiger-hunt to his small daughter. He was telling her how many beaters there were and how many guns, when she suddenly cried : " Don't go any further, Dad; I am for the tiger and always shall be." That was really sporting of her : the poor tiger had not a ghost of a chance against such a well-armed crowd. Well, the tiger in the present case is the people of the Indian States about whom little or nothing has been said this afternoon. I have been asked again and again to put forward their point of view, but I do not feel qualified to do so. May I therefore request Sir William, who knows his subject in the round, to give us a further paper telling us frankly whether the people of the States are oppressed or not. The answer to the question is important, for on it depends the fate of Princely India.

Lieut.-Colonel DAVYS, O.B.E. : The lecturer has not given us information about the more modern development of power and the distribution of heavy metals. Within ten years power from coal may be gone and atomic power will be developed. It would therefore be interesting to have a paper telling us where the heavy metals, such as uranium, come from. Would it be possible for the lecturer to give us a paper bringing that subject up to date so that we may know what the future of the Indian States will be apart from the development of out-of-date coal and electricity?

Sir WILLIAM BARTON : It is very gratifying to me that my paper has provoked so interesting a discussion. As regards the Chairman's remarks about trolley buses and his preference for ordinary buses, there is this to be said. The trolley bus will be driven by cheap electricity while an ordinary bus would consume a great deal of petrol, which would be a very expensive proposition. Electricity, on the other hand, can be produced indefinitely and very cheaply by means of water power.

The point about Hyderabad being a Muslim State is that it has been ruled by Muslims for 700 years, while the ruling class there is Muslim. I am glad to see, however, that the Hindus and the Muslims are coming together more and more. This communal problem is very difficult. It exists and has to be faced. Ask an ordinary Hindu in Hyderabad about it : he would certainly say that he was being ruled by Muslims.

I am afraid that I cannot say very much about what is likely to happen in fifty years' time when electricity becomes out of date.

Lieut.-Colonel DAVYS : I should say that the time will be roughly ten years or so not fifty. I think that in ten years' time atomic power will be used.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON : Let us hope, then, that India will be able to support 800,000,000 people quite happily.

Lieut.-Colonel DAVYS : If you can reduce the cost of electricity to one-fifth of a penny a unit you will have something which will support 1,000,000,000 people.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON : As Sir Henry Craik has said, most of the States have not imposed excess profits tax, though Hyderabad has a scheme which very much resembles it. Baroda has an income-tax, Hyderabad has not, but the latter State levies a customs duty both ways, for material coming in and material going out. That does to some extent take the place of income-tax.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Frederick Sykes) : The ground has been so ably covered by Sir William Barton and in the discussion that I will only touch upon one or two points. First, I should like to say a word in defence of the trolley bus. I feel that Kashmir has made a wise choice, apart from the economy of operation, because travelling in a trolley bus in London is one of the smoothest methods of conveyance there is. I strongly support the idea, however, that whatever form of transport is adopted it should not be allowed to become an eyesore in Kashmir. Kashmir is one of the most beautiful countries in the world, and we must ensure that there are no eyesores on the roads there.

A number of States in the Bombay Presidency are gradually grouping themselves to get advantages from co-operation. It has long been most important that this movement should be developed, but few realize the immense difficulties involved. I believe, however, that will be one of the great additional improvements which will

arise with regard to the Indian States. These States are of very real importance to India, and some of them are amongst the best ruled States in the world. The small and poor ones have great difficulties, but these will, I hope, be overcome.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Butler, Sir William Barton and Sir Frederick Sykes, said : We very much appreciated Mr. Butler's presence here this afternoon, particularly in view of the important debate now proceeding in the House of Commons.

We are also very grateful to Sir William Barton for a most interesting lecture on certain Indian States. A lecture of this kind serves a most useful purpose because popular opinion often regards the States as places which are badly administered and in which the people suffer from oppression while the Rulers live in luxury, spending money ground out of the pockets of their peoples. There are, of course, exceptions to every rule, but the majority of the States, particularly the larger States, are well administered, and in some ways set an example to British India. I particularly welcome the paper because it brings out quite clearly the fact that the States are progressive, that their future economically is in many ways a bright one and that they are not just the badly administered areas which popular opinion often supposes them to be. I propose a most hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for his address today.

There are two points in the paper upon which I would like to say a word or two. First, as regards hydro-electric projects. Such are, I believe, destined to play an important part in India's development, agricultural and industrial. First, they provide cheap electric power, so essential to the development of industry, particularly in rural areas, where the workpeople can live in better conditions than in the slums of the cities and large towns. Secondly, they provide water for irrigation, one of the most potent means of increasing agricultural production, and, thirdly, they improve river navigation.

The second matter to which I would refer is the need for the maintenance of agricultural prices at a level which will give a reasonable return to the Province. One of the things which this war has proved is that a fair price to the cultivator for his produce is essential if India is to prosper.

Finally, I must thank Sir Frederick Sykes for taking the chair after Mr. Butler had to leave for the House of Commons.

RESETTLEMENT OF INDIAN EX-SERVICE MEN

BY BRIGADIER J. H. WILKINSON

(Director of Resettlement, G.H.Q., New Delhi)

I do not propose to go into any great detail in my talk to you this afternoon on the problem of resettling Indian ex-service men, partly because time will not permit my doing so, but mainly because I think you will be more interested in the broad picture.

By the time the Indian Defence Services have been reduced to their peace-time strengths approximately 1½ million men and women will have been demobilized. Compared with the total figure for the male population of India over eighteen years of age, which is estimated to be in the region of 100 millions, this figure is small, and it might therefore be supposed that the problem of resettling ex-service personnel is relatively insignificant when compared with that in other countries. This, however, is not the case. The problem in India is just as complex and as difficult to solve as elsewhere, because there are factors, not generally applicable in the case of other countries, which have an important bearing upon it. Moreover, the peculiar political situation throughout the country influences the problem in varying degree from province to province.

PECULIARITIES OF THE PROBLEM

The majority of men who joined the Services during the war were illiterate at the time when they were recruited. Many of these have now become literate, and their interest in a general uplift programme has been aroused through lectures and discussions designed to achieve this object. Large numbers have been overseas and have had the opportunity to broaden their knowledge of many matters which concern them in their daily life in India. Their abilities have been developed and they have become used to a standard of living which, for the majority, has been considerably higher than that to which they were previously accustomed. Naturally, they do not wish to revert to their former standards, and the problem of providing employment which is both suitable and will enable them to earn a reasonable living wage is one of no little difficulty.

Large numbers of men who have been trained for various trades in the Services are today highly skilled technicians, many of whom wish for employment of a similar nature in civil life. In addition to these men there are equally skilled war workers, who, as a result of the stoppage of orders for war materials, are being discharged from Government factories and private industrial concerns and whose numbers are five or six times greater than those to be demobilized from the Services. They also look to Government for assistance in finding suitable alternative employment. On the other hand, the changeover of industry from a war to a peace footing will be slower in India than in other countries owing to the difficulty of obtaining the capital equipment required. Resettlement of technical personnel is, therefore, one of the most difficult aspects of the problem.

Pressure on the land is already very great and there is little available for fresh colonization. On the other hand, there are very large numbers of men in the Services recruited from the class of agricultural labourers who do not wish to return to their previous status, but who are nevertheless anxious to go back to the land as owners of economic holdings.

In India, generally speaking, wages paid to labour are lower than the total emoluments of men in the Services. This has resulted in a reluctance on the part of men already demobilized to accept employment at what they consider to be inadequate wages. It is difficult to make men realize that in a country where there is no scheme for social insurance nor settled scale of wages, and where supply of labour usually exceeds demand, they must accept employment which gives them a reasonable living wage and that thereafter improvement will depend mainly upon their own efforts.

At present there is no suitable organization for the promotion on a large scale of cottage and small industries. This is a matter of State policy, and it is hoped that such an organization will shortly form part of the co-operative movement for the expansion and development of which a plan is now being considered.

The solution of the problem lies in providing a sufficient volume of employment, including sufficient scope for the full use of abilities, to absorb ex-service men and other discharged war workers; and an organization which will make available as quickly as possible the necessary man-power and skill required for services under the control of governments and for private enterprise. Employment will become available when the schemes for post-war development prepared by the Central and Provincial Governments are put into effect, while the resettlement organization established by the Government of India provides the means for bringing together employers and workers of all grades.

PRE-RELEASE TRAINING

As in other countries, the resettlement of ex-service personnel is a civil responsibility. Assistance by civil governments to those who require help in finding suitable work will not be available until men are about to be demobilized, but it is possible for the Services to do a great deal to help men by pre-release training. Such training cannot be for specific employment, since the Services have neither the necessary knowledge nor the organization required to do this.

It has, therefore, been decided that the object of training given by the Services

before men are released or demobilized should be to prepare individuals for their return to civil life to the fullest possible extent, taking into account the facilities and time available. With this object in view, pre-release training has been organized under the following headings: (a) educational; (b) in agricultural subjects; (c) in cottage industries; (d) refresher courses for tradesmen; and (e) in matters affecting health, hygiene, and sanitation. All available facilities are being used, and in the cases of agricultural subjects, cottage industries and health, hygiene and sanitation, governments have been consulted in the selection of suitable items for instruction.

Educational training is carried out under a special scheme designed to provide such instruction as will improve men's chances of obtaining suitable post-war employment. It is essentially a unit scheme, commanding officers being responsible for its organization and conduct. Approximately eleven and a half hours a week is set aside from normal training or working hours for each individual as the minimum time to be devoted to this training, but additional periods may be added if circumstances permit.

The main effort is directed towards making all men literate in their own vernaculars, and to continuing instruction in the principles of citizenship and urban or rural development. For those who are already literate, provision has been made to enable men to qualify for higher certificates of education, including English, to undertake hobbies, handicrafts, and other cultural activities, and to take correspondence courses in business, commercial, or secretarial subjects. In addition, those who desire employment in civilian schools can take courses in the theory and practice of education.

Facilities for training in agricultural subjects have been provided at those demobilization centres through which men returning to an agricultural life will pass and also at certain major military stations. In addition, instruction is being given at military dairy farms and other service establishments where facilities exist.

At centres and in military stations small demonstration plots have been established, the purpose of which is to arouse interest through practical demonstrations in better methods of farming and in other matters connected with agriculture, and also to provide training in certain subjects so that men may improve and increase the output from their holdings. As the time available for training is short, subjects selected are those in which useful instruction, generally applicable to the conditions in all provinces, can be completed in courses lasting between two or three months. These subjects include poultry farming, bee-keeping, growing of vegetables, animal husbandry, the use of modern implements, methods to combat erosion, and other kindred subjects. Instructional staffs are army personnel who have been given the requisite training in civil establishments. While all men passing through demobilization centres will be shown the demonstrations, training in specific subjects is voluntary.

The object in teaching men useful cottage industries is to enable them to employ profitably their spare time in their homes. Instruction is voluntary and is given at training centres and in active units in a variety of subjects. These vary from the more complicated, such as handloom weaving, the making of mats and durries, carpentry and tailoring, to the more simple, such as the making of soap, niwar weaving, and the making of string and rope. For this training also Service instructors have been given courses at civil institutions or trained with the help of civilian experts engaged for the purpose.

Those who cannot complete their training before the date on which they are due to be demobilized or released will be able to do so under Government's post-release vocational training scheme.

Refresher training of Service tradesmen is designed to refresh individuals in the details of their trades, to broaden their experience, and to raise their standards. For this purpose full use is being made of all types of workshop and unit facilities, and, where it has been possible to do so, arrangements have been made with civilian firms to give suitable training to selected individuals.

Training in matters affecting health, hygiene, and sanitation is compulsory and is carried out in all units. Its object is to ensure that every man is acquainted with modern yet simple methods of maintaining healthy living conditions, applicable to civilian life. Training in these matters continues throughout the men's service, and

the short course which they undergo before demobilization is to confirm essentials in their minds.

POST-RELEASE TRAINING

The facilities which have been sanctioned or are now being prepared for the post-release training of ex-service men and women, other than the disabled, consist of schemes for (a) technical training; (b) vocational training; (c) further education; and (d) further technical training. Facilities for technical and vocational training available in the country or which can be established at once are limited, except in agricultural subjects, and it will, therefore, be necessary to operate these schemes for both these types of training for possibly three or four years in order that all those qualified may be given the opportunity to benefit from them.

TECHNICAL TRAINING

There are a number of Service trades which have their civilian counterpart, and men who have reached the necessary standard in these trades and have had sufficient experience will be able to take up civilian employment straight away. There are, however, a considerable number of men with insufficient knowledge or experience who will need further training to fit them for suitable civil employment; others whose trades have no exact counterpart in civil occupations, but are allied to them, and some whose trades have no counterpart in civilian industry.

The object of the technical training scheme is to provide facilities for training ex-services personnel, to assist their resettlement in civilian life, and at the same time to secure an adequate supply of skilled personnel required for post-war development schemes, both Government and private enterprise. For this training Government has provided 30,000 vacancies in forty-eight engineering and building trades in which employment may be available within a reasonable period of time. Courses will last for eight to twelve months, depending on the standard of training of individuals when they leave the Services, and will be given at Central Government or Provincial Government institutions and with private firms.

Facilities will be offered to those whose training was interrupted when they volunteered to join one or other of the Services; to those who had a civilian trade before they joined the Defence Services and need refresher courses; to those who have acquired a new trade and require training for equivalent civil employment; and to those who need apprenticeship and industrial or practical training before they can be effectively employed. In addition, should there be an urgent demand for workers in any particular trade, Government will undertake the training of ex-service men who were not Service tradesmen, provided they have the necessary basic qualifications.

Training will be provided with free board, lodging, and workshop clothing, and in addition each trainee will be given a pocket-money allowance of Rs. 15 (22s. 6d.) per month. They will be provided with free travelling concessions when they join for training and when their course has been concluded. Free facilities are also provided for games and recreation, physical training and medical treatment.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The vocational training scheme, which has still to be finally approved, will cover the training of men and women in agricultural subjects, cottage industries, minor industries, domestic science, commercial and clerical subjects, and other miscellaneous occupations. Arrangements are being made to provide 20,000 vacancies in agricultural subjects and a total of 50,000 at a time in the other subjects, the allotment between which will depend upon the demands for training. Full use is to be made of existing facilities in provinces, and Government intends to set up a large number of its own centres to supplement the former.

The subjects included under each main head will be related to employment prospects in the immediate future and will cover as wide a field as possible. Courses will last between six and twelve months. Other provisions to be made by Government have not yet been finally settled, but will be on the same lines as for the technical training scheme, although there may be differences in detail.

FURTHER EDUCATION

Government's scheme for further education, which has still to be finally agreed to by other Governments, provides facilities and financial assistance to enable those qualified to undertake or continue their further education or to undergo a refresher course for the occupation they desire to take up on return to civilian life. In order to be eligible for consideration for an award under the scheme an individual must show that he was unable to start the particular course of education for which he asks owing to having volunteered for war service, or that he interrupted an educational course in order to join the Service, or that owing to circumstances arising out of his war service he is unable to resume or continue his previous career, or that having been trained for a career he now requires a refresher course before resuming it.

Government intends to make arrangements for the facilities required by individuals and, where necessary, to make a grant covering the cost of training, incidentals, and maintenance allowances. The amount of the grant will vary according to an individual's obligations and financial resources.

FURTHER TECHNICAL TRAINING

Government's plan for further technical training is in two parts: (a) the Bevin Training Scheme; (b) the Higher Technical Training Scheme. Under the first, Government proposes to make its selections for the next batch of trainees entirely from the Services and ex-service men. Under the second, Government has asked Provincial and State Governments and private employers to make their selections of candidates for training abroad from men still in the Services or those who have been demobilized.

EMPLOYMENT

Analysis of a *questionnaire* issued to a cross-section of the Indian Army early in 1945 gave Government's data upon which to work in considering the various aspects of the resettlement problem with which they were concerned. It showed, amongst other figures, that about half a million men wished to return to the land, a quarter of a million had to be absorbed in technical jobs, a quarter of a million required higher administrative posts or clerical employment, and the bulk of the remainder requiring assistance were unskilled.

Apart from a certain amount of land which some Provinces and States are giving to those of their subjects who have received gallantry awards during the war, no land is to be given away to ex-service men as reward grants. Provinces which have land available intend to establish colonies of ex-service men on a co-operative basis, except possibly in the Punjab, where plans for colonization have not yet been finalized.

The Government of India has decided to contribute towards the financing of provincial colonization schemes which are found acceptable to the extent of Rs. 500 per colonist or one-third of the total cost of any scheme, whichever is the less. They have also agreed to meet a proportion of the extra cost which may be incurred by providing additional staff in connection with these schemes.

As irrigation projects of the Provincial Governments are completed more land will become available for colonization, but most of these plans are long-term projects and do not affect the immediate problem.

In order to safeguard the interests of those who have undertaken war service, a large proportion of the vacancies which have occurred during the war in the various services under the control of the Central and Provincial Governments have been filled on a temporary basis only and are available for war-service candidates. Arrangements have already been made for recruitment to the I.C.S., the Indian Police, the Central Services Class I and II, and the Provincial Services, and selections are now taking place. Recruitment to vacancies in the subordinate and inferior services, both under Central Government and under Provincial Governments, will normally be spread over the whole period of demobilization. If, however, a Government wishes to recruit for any particular service more quickly than at the rate agreed upon, then the vacancies will be offered to both ex-service and serving personnel, and those of the latter category selected for appointments will be released under Class "B" of the Regulations.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE SERVICE

The Employment Exchange Service in India functions under the Department of Labour, and consists of a central exchange at New Delhi, nine regional exchanges, and sixty-one sub-regional exchanges. The central exchange co-ordinates the work of regional exchanges and also acts as an inter-regional clearing-house. The regional exchanges co-ordinate the work of sub-regional exchanges within their respective areas and act as clearing-houses for them. Sub-regional exchanges are responsible for the registration and placement of personnel within their own areas. Linked to sub-regional exchanges are employment information bureaux, the number of which depends on the numbers likely to be demobilized to sub-regional areas. The main function of employment information bureaux is to act as a supplementary channel for communicating information, advice, and guidance to ex-service men and women, and to forward their requests or representations to the sub-regional exchange concerned. In many provinces, employment information bureaux have been established in the offices of the District Sailors', Soldiers', and Airmen's Boards. The whole organization is being built up on the lines on which it has developed in the United Kingdom.

The staff for the employment exchange service has been found partly by the release of personnel from the Services and partly by recruitment from civilian sources, and has been trained under special arrangements made by the Labour Department. In each regional and sub-regional exchange either the manager, deputy-manager, or assistant-manager will be an ex-service person.

The central exchange and each regional exchange has an appointments branch, dealing with applicants for higher grade administrative, managerial, professional, or technical appointments. Each sub-regional exchange has a mobile section, to work in areas where large numbers of demobilized ex-services personnel reside.

Employment index cards are made out at the demobilization centres for all men leaving the Services and are despatched to the employment exchanges which deal with them. At each demobilization centre is an officer or officers of the Resettlement Advice Service, who will interview men being demobilized and explain to them the facilities available to assist in their resettlement and answer questions on problems concerning their re-absorption in civilian life.

With a view to standardizing occupational terms and evolving a common nomenclature, Government has issued a "Guide to Occupational Classification and Registration of Applicants for Employment," showing civil equivalents against service trades. A forecast of army releases giving the numbers of men to leave the Services by categories and civil districts has also been issued to all civil Governments in India and to employers' organizations, so that they may know the number of ex-service personnel in various categories available for civilian employment.

CO-OPERATIVE SCHEMES

One of the principal means by which men will be able to raise their standard of living will be through co-operative effort, and various schemes for the organization of co-operative societies have been recommended to Provincial Governments. These cover such matters as contract labour, mixed farming, small-scale industries, and cottage industries. Last year the Government of India appointed a special committee to draw up a scheme for the development of the co-operative movement throughout the country, and their report is now under consideration by Government. The plan involves complete reorganization of the movement and its expansion to embrace both producers and consumers of many categories, and if put into effect will be of particular importance to the classes from which the bulk of those in the Services have been drawn.

THE DISABLED

Approximately 40,000 men of the Indian Defence Services have been disabled during the war, and the majority have already been discharged from the Services with disability pensions. Responsibility for their rehabilitation and resettlement is divided between the War Department and the Labour Department of the Government of India, the aim being to equip disabled persons for undertaking the most skilled work of which they are capable.

On the completion of hospital treatment, disabled men will be sent to post-hospital rehabilitation centres established by the War Department, where their mental and physical rehabilitation will be brought up to the stage at which they are ready to undertake training for specific employment. At these centres facilities are provided to enable men to try out their abilities in various agricultural and small-scale industries, although no attempt is made at this stage to train men for employment.

On the completion of post-hospital rehabilitation, men become the responsibility of the Labour Department. Those who cannot be placed at once in suitable employment will be passed to basic training centres, where they will be put to light and useful work linked with their training for employment, and where their aptitude and capacity will be assessed. From these centres the men will pass either to an ordinary training centre for training under normal conditions or to special training centres, where they will be given training under sheltered conditions. When this has been completed, special arrangements will be made for their registration and placement in suitable work.

Those who have been blinded are sent, after hospital treatment, to St. Dunstan's Hostel at Dehra Dun, which combines the functions of a post-hospital rehabilitation centre and of a special training centre.

In order to overcome certain prejudices which exist amongst the majority of men who have been disabled, it has been decided to retain those not already discharged on the active list for a limited period of time. Those who have already left the Services are being given the opportunity to enter post-hospital rehabilitation centres and to undertake training in the same way as those remaining in the Services. For this category, special allowances have been sanctioned for a limited period, which, added to the disability pensions already authorized, will bring an individual's total emoluments to those he was receiving at the time of his discharge.

A proposal is under consideration to establish two homes for disabled men who cannot be rehabilitated, on the lines of Star and Garter Homes in the United Kingdom. A further proposal to establish colonies for those who cannot be fully rehabilitated but can undertake a limited amount of work, either out of doors or in a workshop, is also under consideration.

SERVICES POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION FUND

In April, 1942, Government decided to constitute a special fund to assist the resettlement of ex-services personnel known as the Services Post-War Reconstruction Fund. The fund has been built up by monthly contributions from the Government of India at the rate of Rs. 2 for each combatant and Rs. 1 for each non-combatant in the Defence Services, and at the end of the financial year 1945-46 will amount to approximately £9,750,000.

Of this sum, 80 per cent. is to be distributed to the Provinces and States on the basis of their strengths in the three Services at the outbreak of war plus the number of recruits provided by them up to January 1, 1946. Provincial shares are to be administered under the provisions of the Charitable Endowment Act by a committee of administration consisting of the Governor as chairman in his personal capacity and four members, three of whom will be nominated by the Governor and the fourth by the Commander-in-Chief.

In order that those for whom the fund has been built up may reap the full benefit from it, expenditure is to be so arranged that provincial shares will be extinguished in twenty-five or thirty years, the money being spent for the collective benefit of ex-soldiers in providing them with facilities or amenities which Provincial Governments may not be in a position to provide for the people in general, or on specific schemes to help groups of ex-service men to settle themselves in civil life.

The remaining 20 per cent. of the money will be used as a central fund, to be administered by a committee under the chairmanship of the Commander-in-Chief, and will be used mainly for the benefit of those remaining in the Services.

That ends the broad outline of what is being done in India for the resettlement of ex-service personnel. Both the Central and Provincial Governments are taking a very keen interest in the problem and appreciate their responsibilities in connection with it. Plans are complete or about to be completed, and it is to be hoped that the

men and women leaving the Services will take advantage of them. We in the Services are doing our best to ensure that all those being released or demobilized know what assistance is available, if they wish to use it, and the advantages of doing so.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association on Tuesday, March 5, 1946, at Caxton Hall, S.W. 1, Brigadier J. H. WILKINSON, Director of Resettlement in India, delivered a lecture on "The Resettlement of the Indian Soldier." General Sir MOSLEY MAYNE, K.C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., A.D.C., presided.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was a privilege to introduce Brigadier Wilkinson, Director of Resettlement of ex-Service Personnel in India. He had returned to this country to study the methods being adopted in Britain, and the Association had taken the opportunity to get him to explain what had been done, was being done, and would be done in India. He (the Chairman) had heard a good deal of adverse and ill-informed criticism since he had been home about what was being done for the resettlement of ex-service men in India. A great many people at home seemed to think that it was not being taken seriously, but there was evidence that it had been taken seriously. The directorate of resettlement had been set up eighteen months ago and various high-ranking officers had been taken away from other work in order to get things going. Among them was Brigadier Wilkinson.

The scheme was for the men of all three defence Services—the Indian Army, Navy, and Air Force. It was a very complicated task in India, owing to the size of that country and the diversity of races as well as the necessity of getting schemes implemented by the Provincial Governments. The second point was that there were very few ex-service men in India who wanted to return to their pre-war jobs. Most of them had been trained to different tasks and different trades and had had a better standard of living than before the war. They all wanted to better themselves, and that was one of the real problems with which the Director of Resettlement had to deal.

After the lecture, Sir MAURICE HALLETT said that it was quite untrue that the work of resettlement was not being done; officials in India were doing their best to get on with the work. In his own Province—United Provinces—relations with Army headquarters and Central Command were extremely cordial, and they and the civilian administration worked together very happily. In one respect the war ended too soon; no one thought that VJ day would come so quickly; it was felt that there was plenty of time to get plans prepared. But much had been done, however, by the time he left India last December. The real difficulty and problem was that in many cases an uneducated man had been taken from the fields and had been turned into something extremely good, his physique and intelligence had been improved, and he must not be allowed to go back and vegetate and deteriorate in his village.

Perhaps he could give some of his personal experience of the training he had seen. There was at Allahabad an excellent Agricultural Institute run by the American Methodist Mission under Dr. Higginbotham, the finest practical farmer the speaker had ever met. Dr. Higginbotham offered his co-operation and took in thirty or forty N.C.O.s of various regiments and gave them a fairly long training, so that they could go back and teach agriculture to the men in their own regiments just as they taught them to use a Bren gun and other weapons of war. Another centre was at the Government Agricultural College at Cawnpore, where similar work was done. He also saw some of the work being done by regiments and units in cantonments. In many cases the Army has become most excellent farmers; they cultivated any bit of land which was available and raised large quantities of chickens, rabbits, and other

foodstuffs to supplement the Army diet. That practice came in useful when the question came forward of giving the Indian soldier some training in agriculture before demobilization. Though the training was rather short, yet it was better than nothing.

He had also seen some of the training in cottage industries, and trusted that it would have a useful effect. Another line of work undertaken in the United Provinces was to show the soldier what was being done in rural development in the villages. There was an impression that rural development was rather apt to become too political, that the officers of that department were devoting attention to political problems rather than to practical problems of improving conditions in the villages. During the last six years it had been possible to get the departments to face up to and meet the practical problems arising in the villages. In one area in the United Provinces, where the village improvement scheme was going well, a good many soldiers went to spend two or three weeks there so that they could see what could be done. He had seen a village where a soldier on leave had taken on a job of work and had set himself to improve his house or the village street, and the speaker was optimistic enough to hope that the returned soldier would set himself similar tasks. Anything of the nature of rural development in the villages must come from below; it could not be imposed from the top. Endeavours were being made to expand the training, therefore, and other agricultural institutes were being set up where more soldiers could get further training, particularly in mechanized agriculture.

Training was, however, only a quarter of the battle, possibly less than that. If a soldier was trained and then he could not find employment, it would be a greater danger than if he had never been trained at all; he would be more discontented and liable to become a dacoit or a terrorist. It was hoped, however, that that problem would be solved.

The great difficulty was in the months immediately ahead. Schemes had been worked out to be carried out at once, but they were mostly "spade and shovel" schemes, and whether the combatant soldier would wish to take them up was rather doubtful. There was also the demobilized labour force to be considered. From the heavily populated districts hundreds of thousands of men had been sent to various parts of India to help in building aerodromes and other work of that kind. All these men would be available, and they too must be helped.

Steps had been taken to start Labour Exchanges, and the officers in charge were working cordially with the military officers doing the work which Brigadier Wilkinson had described. One idea in the United Provinces—and he trusted it would be carried into effect—was to make great use of the district Soldiers', Sailors' and Air-men's Boards. When he first went to the Province six years ago, these boards were rather moribund, in some of the villages there might have been some old subadars who met together, but the administration wanted the organization to include everyone who had been in the fighting services or labour battalions. In some districts that would involve a very large number of men. The Boards could work in close liaison with the Labour Exchanges and could see that the soldiers' interests were not neglected. He was fortunate enough in the United Provinces to have a lot of liberal people who contributed liberally to war funds, and one of the items of expense on which the funds were expended was the construction of an office and a rest-house where soldiers could live when they went to headquarters. That gave the Boards a habitation, and if they were vigorous and active and worked in close liaison with the Labour Exchanges it would do a good deal to help the ex-soldier in finding employment.

There was other work which the soldiers' Boards could do. Brigadier Wilkinson referred to the Post-War Reconstruction Fund, which was founded in 1942 and to which the Government of India had contributed 2 rupees per month for every soldier. That money would come in extremely useful, and it was the intention that the soldiers themselves should have the main voice in deciding how the money should be spent. They could say what was needed, a school, a hostel attached to a school, a school for boys, or a school for girls; the money would be used to supplement money given by the local Government. It would be particularly useful in districts where recruiting was heavy. Two districts in the United Provinces,

Garhwal and Almora, did very well in recruiting, and they had earned a large sum of money which would enable the area to be developed; it was rather backward at present.

The whole problem of finding employment was a question of the implementing of the various schemes under contemplation in connection with the general problem of post-war reconstruction policy, such as the development and improvement of irrigation and the production of electrical power, for which there were big schemes under preparation in the United Provinces. If only that power could be developed it would be possible to improve agriculture and to start small industries in the outlying towns and villages. Scattered over the Province were thirty aerodromes, built at the time of the Japanese threat. They had never been used, but the concrete was on the ground, and it seemed to the speaker that there model garden cities might be made or small factories erected where people could find employment. That could not be done, however, until electrical power was available, which might not be for two or three years.

With regard to disabled soldiers and St. Dunstan's, he had the highest appreciation of the work done by St. Dunstan's. It was absolutely splendid. The superintendent, Sir Clutha MacKenzie, was blind himself, and inspired all the men with confidence. He would give one instance. There was a Burmese tribesman who had completely lost the sight of both eyes; he was in hospital at Lucknow and all he wanted to do was to die; there was no one there who knew his language properly. The speaker saw him there and later, a short time later, at St. Dunstan's, where he was sitting up smiling and busily engaged in typing. That was a good example of the type of work being done for the blind by St. Dunstan's in India. The disabled soldiers were another problem. He fully agreed with the proposal that a settlement should be set up where the more seriously disabled soldiers could be looked after. They often needed some medical attention, and if they could be put in a centre with their wives and families it would prevent them becoming beggars in the streets of the large towns. The work done in the hospitals in connection with rehabilitation was splendid, and he would like to pay a tribute to the women of the United Provinces, many of whom were volunteers, who did a great deal of the work in the hospitals.

Something was being done to solve the problem, and Sir Maurice hoped that his successors would meet with success in this very vital matter.

General Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL, Director of Resettlement and Reconstruction, 1941, said that an enormous amount of work had been accomplished to achieve the plans now working. In 1941, when he himself was appointed to make plans for resettlement, everybody was immersed in the war and very few took any interest in reconstruction. Some of the higher military authorities were definitely hostile. Delays in getting replies to inquiries were enormous and no lead was given by the Government to the Provinces.

One of the questions discussed by Brigadier Wilkinson was the reluctance of the soldier to accept lower standards of pay than he had been receiving while in the Army. This question of the living wage in India was vitally important, and the extremely low standards should be abolished. The lower grade employees, even in the Government, were paid wages on which it was quite impossible for them to live. The railways were equally bad. A level-crossing man was paid Rs. 12 a month, and it was well known that it was impossible for him to live on less than Rs. 18 a month. The result was, of course, corruption.

The speaker doubted whether educational training in units had much effect. Commanding officers and other officers, even if they had the ability, were too busy. In some cases it might have results. Brigadier Wilkinson said that three months' agricultural training was given. Was it given before they were demobilized or after? He doubted whether very much could be taught in that short period. With regard to the reservation of vacancies in Government employ, had the Provinces agreed to any number? When he was making inquiries he received a reply that Provinces would reserve 50 per cent., but one of the jobs only recruited two men per annum, so that there was not much in it. Now a great many people were taking an

interest in resettlement, which made things very much easier. When he was Director the Labour Department said they would only deal with 25 of the higher grade trades; of that 25 only 5 existed in the Army, and it was difficult to see how much that would help, because there were 290 other trades in the Army. One of the schemes was for the employment of male nurses. The nursing situation in India was frightful; there was a large call for male nurses, and it was thought the Services would be able to provide 10,000 who had been trained in the Army hospitals. These male nurses would be invaluable in the extension of medical services inevitable in the near future.

He was not quite sure what Brigadier Wilkinson did with the record cards; they should be at the centre nearest the man's home. If all the regional Boards were placed in industrial areas they would not be near the places from which the vast bulk of men were recruited.

With regard to the Reconstruction Fund, had the Government of India made up its mind how they would deal with the money due to the Gurkhas? They had earned about 2 lakhs of rupees per month; the money could not be given to the men nor to the Nepal Government; the men were entitled to it, and he hoped some decision had been made.

Another thing he suggested was the formation of a Corps of Commissionaires, on the same lines as the Corps in England, for men with excellent characters. In Madras it was stated that places could be found for 5,000 men; that was only one Province, so that such a Corps might have a future. The Government of India would have to guarantee Rs. 50,000 for five years until it became self-supporting.

The Brigadier also spoke about the co-operative societies, and the speaker hoped that they would be successful. There was an idea of forming battalions of ex-soldiers who could be utilized by the Government for making roads, canals, and general rehabilitation, but there did not seem to be any such idea now.

Brigadier WILKINSON said that men who volunteered for training in agricultural subjects or in cottage industries in which training could not be made available in active units were, if they could be spared, sent to their corps or regimental centres in time to complete the course selected before the date upon which they were due to be demobilized.

The decision of the Central Government was that 70 per cent. of all reserved vacancies were to be filled by candidates with war service, the remaining 30 per cent. going to men who had been recruited during the war to fill vacancies on a temporary basis. Of the 70 per cent., three-quarters would go to candidates from the Defence Services. It had been suggested to Provincial Governments that they should follow suit.

The Employment Exchange Service was dealing with all types of employment, except land colonization, and not merely selected technical trades. Cards for each individual requiring assistance in finding employment were normally sent to the regional and sub-regional exchange nearest his/her home.

The Gurkha share of the Services Post-War Reconstruction Fund had been calculated. The question of its expenditure was still under discussion with the Government of Nepal.

With regard to the proposal to form in India a corps on the lines of the Corps of Commissionaires in England, there was a proposal to organize such a corps in each of the Provinces, with some central co-ordinating authority. Details had not yet been worked out.

Asked about plans for the women's services, Brigadier Wilkinson said that pre-release training for women was organized on the same lines as for British women's services. Apart from that, Indian resettlement facilities were, generally speaking, open equally to women and to men.

Sir ALFRED WATSON proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman. A glimpse had been given of the manner in which the military man turned with enthusiasm from his ordinary job to embark on the task of making fine soldiers into good citizens and trained workmen. That humanitarian work was

being carried out with much detail, and all hoped that it would meet with deserved success. A past tragedy of India had been the failure to find employment for the equipped man. This Government scheme was an endeavour to prevent that tragedy spreading further. There must not be too much dependence on the Government. There had been a tremendous lot of planning on paper, but the men were being released before the new employments were available. A vast amount of new enterprise not connected with the Government was needed in India for the creation of employment. Few men in India had hitherto been trained to improve their conditions. That training was now being given, and for the work it was doing in that sphere he could congratulate the Army. The Association might also congratulate itself that so complete an account had been given that afternoon of what had been and was being done.

THE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO INDIA

BY GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P.

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, March 13, 1946, when Mr. GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P., gave an address on "The Parliamentary Delegation to India." The Chair was taken by Mr. H. V. HODSON, lately Reforms Commissioner in India.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the speaker, said that one of the dangers inherent in the problem of British relations with India in the past few years had been the lack of personal contact between the two peoples as a result of the war. Thus there had arisen misunderstandings which were inevitable at all times between nations in different parts of the world having different outlooks and few opportunities of common meeting. The Parliamentary Delegation which recently went to India had helped to remedy that defect, and its value increased with the extension of the ripples from this pebble thrown into the water. The paper that afternoon was to have been given by Major Wyatt, M.P., but he was subsequently enrolled as one of the secretariat of the Cabinet Mission, and in view of that appointment he felt it better he should not make an address in public. Mr. Godfrey Nicholson had taken his place at short notice, and had asked him to explain that, for that reason, he had been unable to prepare a paper and would rely on notes.

Mr. GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P. : Like all substitutes, I come before you with mixed feelings of apology and trepidation. The apology I have to make is for not being Major Wyatt; the trepidation is added to by the fact that I see in the audience several gentlemen who have had very distinguished careers in India, and they and many others here have obviously a far greater knowledge of India than I have myself. Then there must also be trepidation in the breast of any Member of Parliament who presumes to speak about India with relative lack of knowledge; that famous figure, "Padgett, M.P.," who graces the pages of Mr. Kipling, is bound to be recalled to the minds of some. But I regard myself as making merely the first speech in what I hope will be an interesting general discussion.

First, about the Parliamentary Delegation. We had no terms of reference whatever. We were sent out on the understanding that our mission was twofold : first, to carry a message of goodwill from Parliament to India; and, secondly, to inform ourselves of the situation. We were not asked to bring back as a result of our five weeks' visit a complete solution of all India's problems and offer it to the Cabinet!

I think we achieved some measure of success in our mission of goodwill. Any other ten Members of Parliament, of course, would have done precisely the same; I am not claiming any credit for us as individuals. We had the kindest reception,

alike from political friends and critics, from Indians and Europeans. I felt myself—and I think my colleagues felt—that the tone of the Press noticeably improved during our visit. For instance, on the day after we got to India we had a large press conference in Delhi, with 80 to 100 pressmen. It was not exactly hostile, but it was touchy. We finished our visit with the same pressmen in the same building, and I was conscious of a feeling of warmth and friendliness which had been absent previously. I believe we were able to express to everybody who reads the Press in India the feelings of warm affection and friendliness towards India which exist in this country. We tried, of course, to convince India as a whole of the sincerity of Great Britain, and there, again, I believe, we did some good. I hope my colleagues who are here will agree with me about that.

As to informing ourselves about India, time alone can show what fruit that will bear. I certainly learned a great deal. I had not been in India for eleven years, and, comparing the later visit with the earlier, I learned two great things :

(1) In the course of eleven years India has changed enormously. It is not the India that it was. Eleven years in India mark much greater changes than eleven years in this country. Lord Halifax used the expression in an article in *America* a week or two ago, "India comes of age." Political India has come of age; it is now adult. That does not mean that India necessarily has all the accumulated wisdom of full-grown political stature, any more than a young man who has come of age has the accumulated wisdom of his father and grandfather. But India is now grown up enough to be entitled to say that she is capable of managing her own affairs.

(2) I was relieved to find a complete conviction in my own mind that our policy, as represented by the Cripps offer—our policy as it was then and as it is now—is right and inevitable. I had gone out there with some doubts, but those doubts were blown away very soon. I believe that the path we have marked out for India is absolutely right. It is the fulfilment of all our political doctrines, and I for one am proud that India should be repeating all our beliefs as fervently as they have been uttered here. It was borne in upon me quite clearly that not only would no British Parliament stand for any policy of repression in India, but that such policy could never succeed.

India is adult for two groups of reasons. First, in a material way India has made the most enormous progress during the last eleven years in industry and in technical knowledge. Secondly, she is adult in the realm of education. I am enormously struck by the effect of the very great out-turn from the universities and high schools. Anybody who has gone back to India after some years must have the same impression. It is often the fashion in this country to say that the effect of Indian education on the country is over-estimated, but we have to remember that India is predominantly a rural and peasant country, and for that very reason the towns and the townspeople and the educated classes, though small in proportion to the total population, have a far greater influence than they would have in an industrial nation like ours.

INDIAN FEELING

I should like to say a few words about the impressions I gathered of the feeling in India towards this country. There is great feeling against dominance by Great Britain, but I do not think it is anti-British or anti-Britain feeling as such. It is a very strong feeling against dominance by Parliament and Whitehall. The cry "Independence" means, not independence of Western influence, but independence of Parliament and the India Office. It causes resentment throughout India that a Parliament which is not elected by Indians should have the power of legislating for India, that the Secretary of State should have to answer questions about Indian affairs to people who have no connection with India whatever. Those are the sort of things that cause any anti-British feeling in India today. More and more I am convinced that our ideas have permeated every stratum of Indian life—in education, in literature, above all in the concept of law and justice. More and more I am confident that the link between India and Britain will never be broken. It is a link of affinity and background. But I am convinced that the legal, constitutional, legislative links between the two countries must be severed as soon as possible. The germ of the idea of independence—the "Quit India!" idea—has permeated the whole

country. Every single Indian who studies affairs at all, whether he is in Government service—and loyally serving the Government—or whether he is a politician hostile to Government, feels the same about it, that India has now grown up, that the present subordinate status of India in the commonwealth of nations is hurtful to him and to his country, and we all came back with a feeling of deepest sympathy with that idea. Equally we came back with the firm conviction that the spiritual and intellectual links between India and this country will never be broken.

As far as the future is concerned I believe we have got to recognize two very distasteful facts—facts we are more aware of today than we were a few months ago. One is the extraordinary peril of the present situation in India. I do not believe there is a single comparable land or population-area in the world today where the situation is so critical and perilous. 'Anything may happen at any time.' The second thing we have got to recognize, and which has not been recognized yet by the great mass of people in this country, is that there is no answer or solution to what is called the Indian problem.

Many people seem to think that political problems are like problems in algebra or arithmetic set at school, and that in due time you can turn to the end of the book and look up the answer. There is never a complete solution for any political problem. If the present Cabinet Mission are going out with the idea—or people think they are going out with the idea—that they will get a perfect answer or solution to the Indian problem, produced like a rabbit out of a hat, then there is bound to be disappointment, and the consequences will be serious. There can be no question of a clean-cut fundamental change coming suddenly over the face of the situation. That sort of thing does not happen in politics. The factors which govern the situation—we here know them so well—will not change overnight. This condition of crisis in India is endemic. It will persist for as long ahead as we can see. No change of name or change of system on paper will alter the main factors governing the Indian situation. That is what we do not seem to have realized. I pray that the Cabinet Mission have realized it.

THE CABINET MISSION

The one thing the Cabinet Mission *cannot do* is to bring back a solution. What they *must not do* is something else. They must not underwrite to an extent which this country will not be prepared to carry out. They must not go too far in committing this country to responsibilities which the electors will not be willing to honour. Then they must not take more decisions than are strictly necessary. That is the most essential thing. The keynote of our policy towards India must be to force India herself to take decisions. Owing to our system of government or administration in India—I am not allocating praise or blame—we have almost encouraged Indians to throw their responsibility for difficult decisions or unpleasant decisions on to other shoulders. The great problem of the Mission will be to take a minimum number of important decisions and to prepare the way for the maximum number of such decisions to be taken by the Indians themselves. So I hope the Mission will cut down the number of decisions to the basic minimum. There is another thing they must not do which hangs on that. They must not give an award, whether constitutional or communal. The day may come when this country may be called upon to give another communal award. I shall deeply regret it, because, when you give an award of any sort, there is a certain remaining responsibility to uphold it. At this juncture above all I hope the Mission will not be led to give an award. Most schools of thought in India are hoping for such an award, but I trust it will not be given unless we are begged and prayed to do it, and that it will certainly not be given at this juncture.

The duty of the Cabinet Mission as I see it is exploratory and lubricating, by which latter term I mean the greasing of the wheels. I think they can do what we in our humble way tried to do—namely, convince Indians of our country's sincerity. There has been and may still be a feeling in India that we are prone to let the failure of Indians to agree amongst themselves be a good excuse for not ourselves making the very strongest efforts to resolve the deadlock. The Cabinet Mission can do something to resolve that deadlock. It can bring home proposals for the solution

of what I might call the question of status, the independence question. I shall be very much disappointed if within a very few months proposals are not laid before Parliament for changing the present constitutional relationship between India and this country. I hope the day will soon come when no more questions about India will be asked on the floor of the House of Commons, when Whitehall will no longer be responsible for representing India's case, say, to the Union of South Africa, when there is no Whitehall finger in the pie in selecting India's representatives at international conferences. Those are the problems which the Mission can and should solve.

RESOLVING THE DEADLOCK

There have been many suggestions as to how this problem should be solved. I should like to touch on one which is attractive superficially but at the same time may be unsound. That is the suggestion made in this country, and in India, that India should be declared a Dominion—in other words, that the settlement of status should precede the settlement of the constitutional issue. It would mean that India with her present Constitution and her present Viceroy, with the full powers of a Dominion, would draw up unaided a new Constitution for herself without reference to this country. It is an interesting suggestion, and worthy of serious consideration.

I have said that part of the duty of the Cabinet Mission would be to prevent or to resolve the general deadlock. I believe that there is also a particular deadlock in India today, and I think it has got to be resolved one way or the other. Unless this particular deadlock is resolved there will be no progress towards the setting up of a constituent assembly, and possibly no progress with regard to the reconstruction of the Viceroy's Council. I am most anxious not to say anything that will make the work of the Cabinet Mission more difficult, so I will only touch upon this question in very general terms.

I am, of course, referring to the great and difficult question of Pakistan. What is meant by Pakistan? As I see it there are two main conceptions of Pakistan. One is the Hindu conception—I am not saying whether the Hindus agree with it or do not—of a union of districts with a Moslem majority. The other is Mr. Jinnah's conception of Pakistan, which is what I would call a viable Pakistan—I mean, something capable of independent life. Mr. Jinnah's conception of Pakistan is to have the six Provinces as an independent Muslim State. He is ready to negotiate with Hindustan to have rectification of frontiers both ways—it is not to be all giving on the part of one and all taking on the part of the other. As I see it, the Cabinet Mission has got to take a crucial decision on the issue of Pakistan. I will leave it at that. I am not debating the merits or demerits of Pakistan, but in my opinion no progress will be made towards the resolution of the general deadlock until a decision has been taken on this question.

We do not know what the sailing orders of the Cabinet Mission are, and apparently we are not going to be told. The Prime Minister may elaborate their terms of reference when he speaks in the House of Commons on Friday of this week or, he may not. But I hope they will proceed along the lines I have indicated.

There is yet a third group of questions with which the Mission will have to deal—namely, those concerning the present state of efficiency of the Administration. India above all countries in the world depends upon the efficiency of the Administration. A large majority of the administrators of India are Indians, but it is still true that the majority of the administrators in key positions are Europeans. They are relatively few in number, tired to death, and they are all, both British and Indian, most uncertain about the future. Many of them are disillusioned and despondent, and I believe there is grave risk of an administrative breakdown unless prompt steps are taken for the renewing of the life of the administrative system. This really is the most fundamental question in India today. An administrative breakdown in India cannot be afforded. Where it would come I do not know; it might come over the famine, or over a score of things, but I do warn you that the efficiency of the Administration is stretched to such a point that its tenuity or thinness is a most deadly menace. It may crack at any time. Unless before the end of this year steps are taken to see that the efficiency of the Administration is renewed, that some cer-

tainty is given to the members of it, some relief to those who are over-tired and exhausted, and some new recruitment brought in, there will be a disaster of the gravest kind. If any words of mine go out from this meeting I do hope that those will go out. I regard that as one of the gravest sides of the present situation.

I have indicated some of the main problems which I think will face the Cabinet Mission that is going out to India. I should like in conclusion to say one or two words about my own idea of the future of India. It is rash to prophesy, but I believe that in the long run India will have to be some sort of Confederation. I believe also that in the long run it will be found necessary to have at the centre something in the nature of a permanent coalition. It is a mistake to have a Government dependent for its continued existence from day to day upon the whim of Parliament. The alternative is something analogous to the Swiss or American systems in which the Government is irremovable over a certain term of years. I have not yet said anything about the States. I think the States are ripe for Confederation, and that is one of the brightest spots in the whole position.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, I believe it is useless to think that there is a solution round the corner. It is useless to think that whatever constitutional changes come about in the near future a new Administration will arrive automatically. The problem of India is the same as the problem of every other country, and that is the problem of carrying on from day to day. If we do not solve our day-to-day problems we shall never solve our long-term problems. I take a grave and serious view of the situation, but not a pessimistic one. We in this country can and will in the future be of the most enormous help to India. I believe that if only India feels that the link between us and herself is a voluntary link on her side and on ours, and not compulsory, then the relations between the two countries will be better in the future than in the past.

I have given you a confused picture of a confused situation, but, as I have said, I do not take a pessimistic view. I believe that through much tribulation in the long run salvation will be found.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

The CHAIRMAN said that they had listened to a most stimulating address. He agreed with Mr. Nicholson's emphasis on the fact that there was no political problem to which a cut-and-dried solution could be found. It seemed to him that that was one of the great defects of the Cripps offer in 1942. It was in essence an attempt to find a solution for the Indian problem, but he hoped that, taking that proposition together with Mr. Nicholson's second major point, with which he also entirely sympathized, that H.M. Government should not give awards, none of them would be tempted into thinking that the responsibility of this country was to stand aside while other people did things. It was quite clear that they must grasp this nettle of the deadlock over Pakistan. Their objective, like that of India, was a completely self-governing India. They knew that they could not get there all at once, that between them and that objective was an unbridged gulf—the gulf of a transfer of responsibility, with all that that implied. Their solution in theory hitherto had been that the gulf must be bridged by some agreement amongst Indians reached through a constituent assembly. That was the Cripps offer, but to his mind the constituent assembly was an essential part of the objective as well as the means of getting to it. A successful constituent assembly was hardly conceivable in India except under an effectively self-governing India in which the main decision as to the seat of power had already been taken.

If that analysis was correct there must be some other form of transfer of power. Lord Wavell sought it through the reconstruction of his Executive Council by means of which more and more power would have been effectively transferred to popular Indian hands—popular in the sense of representing the popular political parties. That might still be the main way, but he thought they had also to recall that in the Provinces they were a generation further ahead in the forms of self-government than at the centre. At the centre the government was still being

carried on under the Government of India Act, 1919; in the Provinces, under the Government of India Act, 1935. He suggested that part of the solution would be, as far as practicable, the grant of self-government within the existing constitutions, with the right given to the Provinces to amend those constitutions.

DISCUSSION

Mr. A. G. BOTTOMLEY, M.P., said that when it was first mentioned in the House of Commons that a Mission should be sent to India he had his doubts about sending the Mission at all, and when his own name was mentioned those doubts were intensified. His own knowledge of India had been very slight. Like all intelligent students of the international situation, he had tried to find out something about the country, but that was the limit of his knowledge. As a member of the delegation he had said to himself that he was going out there for one purpose only, to study the political situation as it existed. He was not there to study social problems, still less to go on a sight-seeing tour. He felt that, meeting the various political leaders and going out into the districts, the members of the delegation ought to be able in six weeks to come to some decision which would be helpful to the Government at home. From that point of view the selection of the members of the delegation was wise, and by meeting the political leaders, exchanging their views, and pooling their knowledge, he thought they had been able to make a contribution to the Cabinet at home which was probably to a large extent responsible for the Cabinet decision to treat the matter so urgently as to send out the three Ministers who were going at the present time.

The situation in India was tense. He wanted a complete understanding with India. It would be a tragedy if anything was done to upset the long-standing friendship between India and this country, but the longer they delayed facing up to the question the less chance of such a good understanding would there be.

Indians were divided into two powerful parties, the Congress and the Muslim League. But, in addition, two other organizations were beginning to show themselves. One was the Communist Party, which was using the same tactics in India as in every country. They had their cells and were well organized. The other Party was the Radical Democratic Party, which pleased him immensely, because the policy it put forward was similar to the one he advocated in this country. At every meeting of that Party he attended there were groups of young people, enthusiastic and intelligent, coming from all walks of life. He thought that there lay the hope for some kind of political democracy in India.

The Congress Party and the Muslim League were becoming so powerful that there was a real danger of two autocratic states arising in India. It was said to be more difficult to see Gandhi than to see the King. He went to see Mr. Jinnah, and he was stopped three times on the road by youths with big sticks who wanted to know his business, and at the house there was a sentry on duty with a drawn sword. The last time he saw this sort of thing was in Nazi Germany.

The sooner freedom was given the sooner would the form of organization which was detested by most of them be broken up. Many of the political leaders said to him, "We recognize that in the world today there are three schools of thought: one of them in which you have political freedom and economic insecurity, another in which you have economic security but not political freedom, and a third," which we are showing in this country, "of a social democracy where we have complete political freedom and endeavour to give the people economic security." Indians liked that form of government.

He did not think they were ever going to get the Hindus and the Muslims together. Congress and the Muslim League were now such powerful organizations that if freedom was to be given to India one must face up to them. If India was to be kept within the British Commonwealth of Nations it must be given complete independence now; if not, India would obtain independence by her own power, and Great Britain would forfeit her friendship for ever.

Brigadier H. M. BURROWS alleged that the Parliamentary Delegation fell into the hands of the politicians and the press. The bazaar story in Peshawar was that

the M.P.s were taken out to a village which had accepted a bribe from the Congress to say that they hated the British. He would apply to the Congress and the Muslim League the Indian word "goonda," which might be translated as "coarse" or "thick," the very antithesis of "quality." The quality which that Association must appreciate were the Princes, the martial races, and the Punjab Government, all of whom had come through the war with great distinction. The Chancellor, the Nawab of Bhopal, had appealed to all India to unite and compromise. That was in line with the Princes' magnificent effort in refusing to discuss politics during the war. The Forces both in India and at home had admired their attitude, and it was to them that the flower of our Army would turn when the British Government went. The war effort of the Indian Army, and the persecution and propaganda to which they were now being subjected, were fully recognized. From Keren to the Apennines it became a matter of course for the Indian divisions, including their British comrades, to be called upon to tackle any hill. This they continued to do whilst India was stabbed in the back and great campaigns had to be fought in the jungles. Even now the Fifth Indian Division was leading far ahead in Java and had accepted the surrender of the Japs on Bali.

The Punjab Government had demonstrated what little importance was to be attached to political parties. They had maintained a Unionist Government throughout the war, and they were responsible for half the voluntary army of two and a half millions. They had now startled the Muslim League by producing a Congress-Akali-Unionist coalition. The Cabinet would consist of three Unionist Muslims, two Congress Muslims, and one Akali Sikh.

Dr. C. L. FABRI said that Mr. Nicholson had given a very able account of the six weeks which were well spent in India, and he hoped no one would take serious notice of the diversionary tactics of the last speaker. During the last twelve years which he had spent in India he had watched with amazement the growth of a vast politically conscious middle-class. The size of it was completely unrealized by those who, even though they had spent thirty or forty years in India, had not been in the country during the last five or six years. The idea that the politically conscious Indians were now in a small minority was completely untrue. One found in small villages people like lorry drivers or those who manned the petrol pumps entering into the merits of political problems. He was conscious of the mistakes and follies which had been made by Parliament and Whitehall, but they were due largely to ignorance of the incredible growth of this politically conscious highly educated middle-class in India. India wanted independence and the sooner we gave it the better; we were already at the thirteenth hour.

Mr. GIBBS said that the word "safeguard" had not been mentioned, and he hoped Mr. Nicholson would say a word about the safeguards for minorities in the future Constitution.

Mr. GODFREY NICHOLSON said that that was an important question. The delegation received many representations from minorities, not so much asking for definite safeguards as expressing the hope that they would understand their position. He did not think that any minority felt that safeguards incorporated in the Constitution for an India having complete independence were what were wanted. Every community was determined to share India's fate and to become part of India, but there was anxiety on the part of all minorities that their position should be thoroughly understood.

In reply to Brigadier Burrows, he must not assume that they were all quite so stupid as he seemed to think. If Brigadier Burrows had first-hand knowledge of India today he would find that the very people for whom he expressed such respect and admiration took very different views from those he thought they should take. The delegation met not only Indian politicians; he himself stayed with the Viceroy and with the Governors of six of the Provinces, and he met most of the prominent Europeans and many of the prominent Indians in administration. If Brigadier Burrows were in India today he would change his views.

Professor R. RICHARDS, M.P., the leader of the delegation, said that he would like to endorse the view put forward by Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Bottomley that the position in India at the present moment was critical, and that if they were not prepared to give India her independence soon India would take it willy nilly. The three members of the Cabinet who were about to go to India had a most difficult task, but he thought something could be accomplished if they still believed in the doctrines they had preached, which doctrines had been absorbed to an extraordinary degree by the intellectual Indians and by others too. If they believed in the validity of democracy it would be the duty and privilege of the Cabinet Ministers to extend that right to India. India was fully conscious of the fact that she was entitled to it. She was steeped in our own traditions in the sense that the educated Indians today had read all the literature on this question. He had been amazed, staying in Indian houses, to find the literature which was on the shelves. It should be considered the great privilege of this country to extend to India the right of self-government and, because they all admitted that they had a great deal to learn, to offer Indians the hand of friendship in leading them along the tortuous path that the British people had followed during the last seven hundred years in establishing a truly democratic system in this country.

Mr. T. SHAIKH, who said that he was one of those Indians who had spent a few years in prison in India, fighting for the independence of his country, desired to utter one warning—namely, that if independence was given to India care must be taken to see that political power was transferred to the people as a whole and not merely to the agents of vested interests. The latter would not meet the demand of India.

Mr. NICHOLSON asked whether the inference to be gathered from this remark was that India was not ready to manage her own affairs. Mr. Shaikh seemed to be demanding that they should impose a certain kind of Constitution upon India, and that was what they were unwilling to do.

Mr. T. SHAIKH replied that the Radical Democratic Party had placed before the British Government a proposition based on the request that the British Government should desire all political parties to produce their draft Constitutions and place them before the people of India and take a referendum. He was not saying that India was not prepared for independence, but only that if independence was given, it should be given to the people, not to the mill-owners or to the vested interests of the country.

Mr. GODFREY NICHOLSON added a word on the subject of the Constituent Assembly being the end and not the means. If the other problems were solved the Constituent Assembly would come by itself. They could not start with the Constituent Assembly. He agreed with what had been said about the emergence of a middle-class. India was in a state of ferment. Relatively speaking, it had not been touched by the war nor by the events of recent years. India was going into these shark-infested and rocky waters, not realizing for what she was heading, and if we in Great Britain could convince India of our deep sincerity we might do much to help her in this transition.

Sir FRANK NOYCE, in expressing the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, to the Chairman and to the other members of the Parliamentary Delegation who had spoken, said it was good for all of them to receive the first-hand impressions of those who had been out to India as recently as Mr. Nicholson and his colleagues. It was quite evident that they used their time in India to the most excellent purpose, and their visit could not fail to have valuable results both for India and for this country.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association.)

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE STATES*

BY H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANIR

WE are on the threshold of a new era in India, an era in the making of which every part of this country, every section of its people, has to co-operate and work with patriotism and zeal. Mutual distrust will blast our hopes and ruin our chances from the very start. The Indian States are fully alive to the new forces that are shaping the course of events all over the world, and more especially in India. The Princes have made their attitude towards the problem of India's future unequivocally clear. Speaking as a patriotic son of India, I yield to none in my desire to see our motherland attain her full stature and occupy a position in the world which is justly her due, in view no less of her history and civilization than of her potentialities for the future. The Princes and States of India are prepared to contribute their share to bring about this consummation. All that they desire is that they and their States should have a recognized and assured position worthy of their past and their traditional relationship with the rest of India, a relationship which is now governed by solemn covenants and obligations.

The fact is not often remembered that the Indian States and their Rulers are not something strange, external, or imposed on the life of India. They are not interpolated passages in the magnificent epic of Indian history, not hiatuses marking a break in the steady progress of India's life and culture. On the other hand, they are of the warp and woof of the variegated pattern of Indian life and, diverse as their forms are and different though their origins and history be, they are integral parts of the same whole, and claim without hesitation the right to be treated as such. The future India as we visualize it is one in which every part has an equal right. It will be, no doubt, as her sons make it. Considering that the States of India represent so large a section of India's population, it is clear that in the shaping of the India to be the voice of the States must count for a great deal. The Rulers of Indian States have not denied their responsibility or their obligation to the greater whole to which they are proud to belong. But they claim that they should have a voice proportionate to their importance in the shaping of that future.

His Excellency the Viceroy, whose deep interest in a speedy settlement of the Indian problem is well known, has in his recent address to the Central Legislative Council indicated the steps which he intends to take to give effect to the declared policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to the framing of India's Constitution. The preparatory work in this connection is to begin practically immediately under the guidance of a Central Government, reconstituted on a political basis. In due course, after the elections are over, a Constitution-making body is to be called into being. The association of the States at every stage of this procedure is a matter of the highest importance, especially in the preliminary stages when the procedure, agenda, and other essential details of the Constitution-making body are discussed and settled.

Perhaps it may not be inopportune also to emphasize that when a political cabinet is set up at the centre, the interests of the States in all-India affairs should not be allowed to suffer. In the administration of food, cloth, and other necessities, in the control of capital and other financial policies, and, more than all, in post-war planning, the Central Government functions in practice for the whole of India, without any effective machinery for the close association of the States. It has been the complaint of the States that their interests have not in many cases been adequately safeguarded in the past. Though the machinery of co-operation has improved, there is a possibility that with the government constituted of political parties, the interests of the States may continue to be overlooked in this crucial period, especially in the immediate issue of food policy and the vital problem of industrial development. It seems to me to be essential to fill up this lacuna in the interim constitutional arrangement that has been envisaged.

* Based on an address delivered in Bikanir on February 12, 1946.

On the necessity of the States' participation in the Constitution-making assembly there have been no two views. Though the date of summoning the constituent assembly is approaching, the problems connected with the representation of the States, so far as I am aware, have not yet been discussed. What is going to be the strength of the representation of the States? Will it be such as to enable at least the larger and more important States to have individual representation? In what way would the representatives be chosen? All these questions have to be decided before the participation of the States can be rendered effective. I have no desire today to enter into a detailed discussion of any of these questions, but it is obvious that any decision in regard to them can only be taken in consultation with the Princes.

The Bikanir State, by virtue of its historic importance, size, population, and revenue, as well as its great potentialities for the future, will be entitled to be an independent unit in any future union. If, as I earnestly hope, a solution is found of the various questions involved and a procedure acceptable to the States is evolved which will enable them to participate effectively in the Constitution-making body, I for one have no doubt that the Princes and States will not fail in their duty to India, but will make their contribution to the hammering-out of a suitable Constitution for our country.

What is required is goodwill, confidence, and trust on both sides. The Princes have demonstrated their earnestness, their sympathy, and their patriotism. They feel assured that the same spirit of sympathy and friendship towards them exists in large sections of people in British India. But it is unfortunate that there should be a small and determined group who, posing as champions of the so-called oppressed, should even at this time seek to spoil the spirit of friendliness and trust which leaders on both sides have been endeavouring to create. If credence is attached by leaders outside to the malicious allegations made by these few disgruntled persons, then, for all I can see, the atmosphere is likely to remain tense and vitiated.

I should like, therefore, to make an earnest appeal to leaders in British India not to be prejudiced by propaganda, not based on facts, issued by interested parties. I would also appeal to the Indian States Peoples' Conference, and everyone connected therewith, that if they have at heart the best interests of the people of the States, they should put a stop to the present policy pursued by them and not encourage the creation of a situation which will compel the Government of a State to take action, but that they should open a new chapter by a change of heart and policy and co-operate with the Rulers and States' Governments for the good of the people, which, after all, is the goal we all have in view.

INDIA AND AMERICAN OPINION

BY SIR ROBERT HOLLAND, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

IDEALISM is the manifestation of religious sense in people's hearts. It is a fortunate thing for humanity that the American public is eager to discern moral issues in world problems, and staunch in backing what seem to be righteous remedies for ailments. But sometimes the far-flung view turns out to be a mirage. Truth is elusive, and generalizations from incomplete data may prove direly misleading. Alexander Hamilton pointed out that in the half-century preceding the adoption of the Constitution wise and good men had been on the wrong as well as on the right side of questions of the first magnitude to society. Only in the far future will it be possible to assess what humanity owes, and is destined to owe, to the spiritual vision of the American people enlightened and guided by the principles of their Constitution.

During recent years critics, both at home and abroad, of America's shortcomings in the field of foreign policy, have ascribed them in large part to the complacent idealism of the American public which ignored the hard facts of international life. They have pointed out that after the war with Spain the United States Government

failed to realize the significance of American obligations in the Pacific and failed to sustain them by powerful armaments and prudent alliances; that after the Great War the realities of the world situation were never apprehended, with the result that America, in pursuance of Utopian fallacies, did not enter the League of Nations and sponsored a disarmament policy which was particularly calamitous for Britain and France and nearly resulted in world ruin. They have satirized also her hesitation and unreadiness as a combatant in the recent war, upon whose issue the fate of American civilization in fact depended.

That phase has ended. Since America's entry into the war her unrivalled forces and their great leaders have been architects of victory. American acts of statesmanship have impressed the nations. Lend-lease, the policy of Philippine independence, achievements at the Charter Conference, judicious interventions in Europe's tangled affairs, and lastly the magnanimity and statescraft and superlative skill exhibited in effectuating Japan's surrender, have captured the imagination of the world. Many peoples lift their eyes to America as the prime source not only of economic power but of the moral and spiritual impulse which is needed for the world's regeneration.

Never again will America withdraw into proud seclusion from the "depravity" of power politics. Atomic bombs have routed isolationism. The terrific secret of atomic force must soon be loosed from present wardship, and its employment must be controlled, if the world is to survive, by an organization of the Powers in which America will play a leading part. But in the path to unity and peace there are pitfalls for all of us, and especially for America. As Sir Alfred Ewing said :

"The command of nature has been put into man's hand before he knows how to command himself."

The chief problem which faces the Great Powers is the maintenance of a harmonious blend of public opinion between their peoples, without trenching on the freedom of comment on world affairs which democracy claims as an inviolable right. Press, platform and radio comment on raw news and controversial questions will need to be chastened in all countries by constant premonition of dangerous reactions abroad. Criticism must take account of the sensibilities of friendly and allied peoples, especially in matters touching their national honour, and should therefore be couched in terms which, while conveying the literal facts and indicating legitimate inferences, are calculated to cause as little offence as possible to neighbours whose goodwill and good humour are of vital import to us. Tendentious propaganda, the creation and exploitation of popular prejudice for material ends, irresponsible dramatization of news items, the imputation of ignoble motives, brash claims to a monopoly of spiritual vision—these are likely to stir in people's minds emotions of contempt, fear, pride and hatred, culminating perhaps in war hysteria.

The ultimate cure for the evil rests in the enlightenment of the public as to their country's essential interests. This must come from intensive education on world subjects, in schools and universities and debating clubs, oriented from time to time by factual Government reports to the people, designed to scotch false rumours and provide a groundwork for the formation of sober democratic opinion. Instances of such reports are afforded in England by the Parliamentary White Papers, analysing an important series of events or explaining the object and scope of proposed legislation, and in America by the Notes on "Lend-Lease Fact and Fiction," which were issued by the Foreign Economic Administration in order to dispel misapprehensions about Lend-Lease and reverse Lend-Lease operations, and by the transactions of the House Committee on Foreign Relations.

The need for such enlightenment is illustrated (1) by outbursts in England and the United States against Russia's alleged totalitarianism, her hyper-sensitiveness about security frontiers, her blunt diplomatic methods, and her manipulation of the Press; (2) by acrimonious protests in Britain against the abrupt termination of American Lend-Lease; and (3) by the systematic cultivation in America of a body of opinion hostile to Britain's policy concerning India.

Any speaker endeavouring to present the British point of view about India to an

American audience will receive a courteous and friendly hearing. He may be enthusiastically applauded if he is eloquent and forceful, or if he has an attractive personality. But at question time he is likely to become aware that, while some listeners, usually of the older generation, share his views and appreciate the gravity of the issue, a much larger, and sometimes clamorous, section is quite unconvinced, and derides any attempt to whitewash what is regarded as an outworn and discredited imperialism.

At the close of a crowded meeting in an American city, when the chairman thanked an eminent British speaker for his talk on India's problems, and politely invited him to come again, a voice from the audience piped up, "But not till you have given India freedom."

This typifies the widespread sentiment, especially among younger people, that Britain's control in India is wholly discreditable. The belief is that the British conquered India by force; that they have ruthlessly exploited the country for centuries past and still systematically drain off its wealth; that they have done little for the people's welfare; have artfully fomented dissensions between Hindus and Muslims, and between the Indian States and Provinces, in order to retard political unity; and that they now hold 400 sullen millions in slavery, refusing to grant the independence for which they are ripe. During the war the indictment was barbed with the thought that the lives of American boys were being needlessly sacrificed because an unfree India was incapable of a worthy war effort. Now the bogey is that unless British imperialist rule is speedily ended another and a far worse war, involving unwilling America, will assuredly break out in a few years' time between the coloured peoples of the Orient and their white oppressors.

The prejudice no doubt stems in part from the George III incident and all that followed. It reflects the basic American ideas as to democratic freedom, the inalienable rights of man, and the immorality of the government of one people by another, because government derives just powers only from consent of the governed. But the real issues of the Indian problem have been obscured, and ill-will against Britain has been fanned by subtle propaganda for political ends. The main object is to induce the United States Government to intervene and urge Britain to "give freedom" to India, or, in other words, to hand over the reins forthwith to the Congress Party organization.

There are two conspicuous propaganda agencies in America which support the aspirations of the Indian Congress Party—namely, the India League of America and the National Committee for India's Freedom.

The former was organized in 1937 in order to "interpret India and America to each other." It publishes a monthly bulletin, called *India Today*, which purports to "present a brief synopsis and interpretation of authentic and significant news from India." The character of this sheet can be appreciated from perusal of any one of its issues. The prevailing themes are Britain's insincerity, reluctance to surrender tyrannical power, and subtle exploitation of internal cleavages.

In 1942 the League engineered the publication of a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* of September 29, proclaiming that India is America's business, and urging that President Roosevelt and Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek should recognize the interest of the United Nations in India's dilemma, and use their good offices to bring about the country's immediate independence. The advertisement was signed by fifty-seven Americans prominent in various walks of life; but no names of Indians appeared on the list. The idea perhaps was that the campaign would commend itself more to the American public if it were organized, conducted and controlled by Americans, the India League remaining in the background, and discreetly leaving in American hands all action which might have a bearing upon party politics in the United States. The list of signatories illustrates the diversity of interests, political, educational, ethical and journalistic, which were lined up in support.

India League speakers throughout the country, talented Indians and Americans in unison, continually hammer at the theme of Britain's obduracy and perfidy, and they have now captured the credulity of a large section of the American people. Americans are eager for information about India, its peoples and its problems, and anxious to know what rôle India is destined to play in the East, but quite naturally

they are more ready to believe what a Congress Party Indian tells them about his country's politics than what the British may say by way of rejoinder. The Congress Party claims to represent all Indians who desire and work for independence, and asserts that all Indians are united against the British. The League leaders are therefore anxious to avoid verbal polemics with any Indian visitors to the United States, and sometimes bring strong influence to bear on such persons, even if they have come for purposes unconnected with politics, in order to induce them to disparage British rule.

The National Committee for India's Freedom was founded in Washington in 1943. There is not much cohesion between the Committee and the India League, but they have a common purpose, to oust Britain from India. The Committee's publication, *The Voice of India*, is more substantial than *India Today*, but its tone is similar. The stated object of the Committee is to make the voice of India heard in Washington "just as the voices of all the other nations are heard there," in spite of the fact that there is an Agent-General for the Government of India in residence.

Congressman Coffee, speaking at a meeting sponsored by the Committee on January 25, 1944, said, "I am proud as an American to identify myself with the cause of India's freedom, and also because it is a military necessity." It would be hard to imagine a British politician making a similar public utterance in London; for instance, about betterment of the condition of the people of Puerto Rico.

At a similar meeting held in Washington on January 29, 1945, a resolution was passed in the following terms:

"This public meeting of the citizens of Washington, D.C., calls upon the United States Government to represent to the British Government, who are our allies, the desirability of the immediate release of the tens of thousands of political prisoners who have been imprisoned in India without any trial; and further to follow up this necessary preliminary to help achieve India's constitutional freedom now, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. We believe such action to be necessary both for speedy victory in the Far East and for the achieving of a lasting peace."

The agitation gained powerful reinforcement in 1944, through the strange leakage of a Report by Mr. William Phillips to President Roosevelt on the Indian situation, in which he backed the Congress Party doctrine and disparaged the Indian Army. Senator Chandler added fuel to the fire by quoting in the Senate what he said was an official cable from India to London about the incident.

The Committee and the League put forth their utmost efforts at the Hot Springs I.P.R. Conference, and at San Francisco, in order to bring the cause of India's freedom to the attention of the delegates. Their protagonist was a lady member of the Congress Party, Mrs. Pandit, who was paying a private visit to the United States with the concurrence of the Government of India. She freely aspersed British rule and policy, and claimed also to champion the enslaved peoples of Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies, thereby casting obloquy upon France and Holland as well as England.

Such obtrusive and tactless advocacy probably tended to alienate rather than to enlist sympathy in responsible quarters, but the campaign is trumpeted abroad by the authors, animosity is spurred, and the canker spreads.

Another activity was sponsored, in 1945, under the auspices of the National Committee, by Mr. Gobindram Watumull of Honolulu and Los Angeles, to collect data about Indians residing in the United States and to help the movement for immigration rights. On the cultural side the new body is reported to be promoting the foundation of professorships and tutorships to be held by Indians at American Universities, and also of travelling scholarships to enable Indian students to come to this country in greater numbers. These are essentially laudable objects, but since candidates for both the tutorial posts and the travelling scholarships will naturally require backing from the Congress Party agencies, new outlets will be available for anti-British propaganda, and new facilities for enlisting impressionable youth.

The movement for American mediation in the Indian question is supported by

many prominent citizens and influential bodies in the U.S. These include members of the extreme right; persons with leftist or communist sympathies; quondam isolationists and supporters of "America First"; religious pacifists who aim at the elimination of the colonial system; idealists who would obliterate racial differences and group distinctions, in pursuit of universal brotherhood; and many others. They constitute the raw material from which a nation-wide impulse could be started, and for this reason the Indian issue now seems likely to become an element, and perhaps an exploitable influence, in American domestic politics.

The agitation has, of course, received no official countenance or encouragement. The President and his spokesmen have at various times emphasized that it is not possible to "confer independence" on any people; that advances in political freedom must be achieved by each nation primarily through its own work and effort; and that complete statehood can only be reached through periods of educational preparation and of training by the practice of more and more self-government.*

Under-Secretary Sumner Welles, replying to a correspondent on April 10, 1943, remarked that the people of India had been most solemnly assured that as soon as the necessities of war permit they will be given the opportunity to choose freely the form of government they desire; and he added that, "to make active intervention in the Indian situation a test of liberalism, as some have done, presupposes a definition of liberalism which is beyond comprehension." Under-Secretary Grew, at a news conference on January 19, 1945, also candidly explained the attitude of the United States towards contribution to a solution of the Indian question.†

Celebrated American publicists—writers, radio commentators, columnists, and reporters who have acquired first-hand knowledge of India—have dealt with the problem fairly and dispassionately, and have warned the American public against the futility of trying to impose a solution by exhortations addressed to the British or Indian peoples.

The British Information Services in New York and the Government of India Agency in Washington constantly provide experienced speakers and distribute authentic and lucid material about India. The great American journals and magazines from time to time publish weighty articles emphasizing that the Indian political deadlock must be ascribed in large part to the differences between Hindus and Muslims; that the cleavage is not a figment of the British imagination or the product of political intrigue; and that the intricate and difficult problem of how to combine Indian unity with independence is without parallel in the world. American press comment on the breakdown of the Simla Conference was in general restrained and sympathetic. It is apparent also at public meetings and forums that there is a body of sober opinion which is distrustful of the campaign against Britain and alarmed at its progress.

But unfortunately no unofficial presentment of facts or argument seems to shake the concrete American pre-judgment of Britain as the Pharaoh of India, or alter the conviction that India and the Philippines are classic examples of the wrong and the right way to handle dependent peoples. No consideration is directed to the question whether, if Indians were to reach agreement about their future Constitution, they would regard as "freedom" such a set-up as the Philippines are likely to have when the promise of independence is implemented in 1946—hedged, as it must be, with reservations as to United States requirements in the fields of strategic defence, control of foreign policy, and economic relationship.

Mr. Walter Lippman wrote in 1942 :

"India is a subject which is as remote from the political experience of all of us in America as Einstein's mathematics are from ordinary arithmetic. For no matter how many times we are told that 'India' is no more a nation than 'Europe' is a nation, it is not long before most of us fall back into talking as if

* See speeches by Mr. Cordell Hull, dated July 31, 1942, and by President Roosevelt dated November 15, 1942.

† See the *New York Times* of April 10, 1943.

the Hindus of the Congress Party are India and Gandhi is the George Washington of the Indian nation demanding independence from King George III."

So a mirage of the Indian problem continues to attract the gaze of young America. Bad feeling against the British is engendered, with corresponding unpleasant reactions in the British Commonwealth.

Suspicion and mistrust beget invective and acid retort, and thus the friendship and co-operation between two great guardians of world peace may deteriorate. The peril is imminent and real. What can be done about it?

Mr. Bertrand Russell, writing in *Horizon*, observed that while it is of course the duty of every Englishman to do what he can to soften the hatred of us which undoubtedly exists in the United States, yet a great part of the work will have to be done by Americans. "The American Government," he said, "is clearly aware of the necessity, and perhaps may find means to promote that friendly feeling without which the outlook for the world must be utterly black." It is to be hoped that his picture of British disrepute in America is over-coloured, but he is probably right in hinting that the American Government could find means for promoting a more friendly feeling. One possible method would seem to be for the State Department to issue a Note on "Misconceptions about India," similar to the Notes on "Lend-Lease Fact and Fiction" which, as mentioned above, were published by the Foreign Economic Administration. Much material for such a Note exists in the *Pocket Guide to India*, which was published by the War and Navy Departments for the use of American personnel in India.

President Roosevelt issued a blunt challenge to the American people to prevent world peace from becoming a party question. Is not a similar act of statesmanship now needed, in order to reveal to the American people the artificiality and injustice of much of the anti-British propaganda in their midst on the subject of India?

India's future destiny is a problem of political science which needs to be approached without emotional prejudice and to be studied in the dry light of history, with due regard to international relationships and the trend of human development. Issues are involved which will affect the happiness of a large part of the world's population. Grievous penalties might follow upon mistaken diagnosis or untimely experiment. Mistakes have been committed, and wrongs done, by the British, but they have led the peoples of India a long way on the road to nationhood, and whatever the merits or demerits of Britain's tutelage may be, American criticism of it may be pointed, as between brethren, but need not be venomous.

The issues of the peace to follow war are now survival issues for the American people, just as they are for the British and Russian peoples and the peoples of all other countries. Peace machinery must draw its power from the hearts of men, and if the common purpose is to be served mirages which darken the understanding must be dispelled, and the diverse aspirations, hopes and ideals of the nations must become blended through faith and brotherhood.

BRITISH PROFESSORS IN TURKISH UNIVERSITIES

BY A. R. HUMPHREYS

SOME years ago, when Professor Cemal Bilsel (then Rector) was writing the history of Istanbul University, he cast his eye over sixteen centuries during which academies of one sort and another have existed, if intermittently, in that city. But the story is a fitful one, like a book of which pages have been defaced by time, and sections left unwritten, read by a flickering illumination, where some chapters are obscure and

others glow with significance. On the morrow of the capture of Constantinople, Mehmet the Conqueror unified its theological schools; Süleyman the Magnificent founded there the leading medical school of the East; and in the nineteenth century that fierce reformer Mahmud II tried to introduce the modernizing ideas of the time. But in between, history is obscure. The story is one of foundings and extinctions, eclipses and rebirths.

Since the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, however, and more particularly since the founding of the Republic of Mustafa Kemal in 1923, an unremitting attempt has been made to integrate the life of the country as a whole with the intellectual atmosphere of Europe. The realization, deepening throughout a century and more, that the future of Turkey depends on a considerable degree of Westernization, has brought a transformation of higher education. At Ankara, faculties of Law, Letters, and Science have been founded, as well as Institutes of Agriculture and Political Science, and Istanbul has seen a great expansion of the activities of the ancient university as well as the establishment of a second (technical) university out of the former Higher Engineering School. And, since a definitive reorganization carried through in 1933, Istanbul University has engaged foreign professors, not to weaken its national character, but to conduct several of its departments until the supply of adequately trained Turkish graduates is sufficient, a precedent followed by the newer faculties at Ankara.

The British, it must be admitted, came rather late on the scene at Istanbul, though at Ankara Professor O. R. Baker has been at work for several years in the School of English Language and Literature, and has trained some extremely able Turkish colleagues, who have done notable work in the translation of Shakespeare and of the Irish dramatic school. At Istanbul, foreign experts were, until recently, mostly French, or refugees from Nazi oppression, many of them (like the Romance philologist Dr. Leo Spitzer, now of Johns Hopkins University) men of the highest distinction who have served the university admirably.

With the establishment of the British Council in Turkey in 1940, the chance was taken to secure the services of British professors also. First to arrive (late in 1941) were Professors A. K. McIlwraith (Andrew Cecil Bradley Reader in English Literature at Liverpool) and Patrick Duval (Lecturer in Mathematics at Manchester). It was a happy augury for Anglo-Turkish intellectual collaboration that both these appointees were entering departments already distinguished by eminent Turkish scholars—the Department of English Literature by Professor Halide Edip, Turkey's famous woman novelist and the heroine (and historian) of the struggle for independence, and the Department of Mathematics by Professors Kerim Erim and Ali Yar, who bore a leading part in the transformation of the pre-1933 university into its modern shape. During the academic year recently ended, nine chairs were held in Istanbul, with recognized distinction, by British occupants: those (besides the two mentioned) of Byzantine Art and Archaeology (Hon. Steven Runciman), Classics (R. Syme), English Philology (C. E. Bazell), Astronomy (T. Royds), Applied Mathematics (J. Rankin), Physical Chemistry (F. H. Constable), and Obstetrics and Gynaecology (W. C. W. Nixon). In addition, appointments were made to lectureships in classical philology (two) and English Literature (two), and to the directorship of the University Botanical Gardens. The new Istanbul Technical University appointed a British professor (J. Rankin), as did also the Ankara Faculties of Law (C. Parry), Science (W. J. McCallien and W. Strang), and Letters (B. E. C. Davis). In addition, the important post of Professor of Education at the Gazi Institute (Teachers' Training College) at Ankara has been filled by Professor E. V. Gatenby.

In some cases these have been appointments to new posts; in others, expansion has taken place, libraries and laboratory equipment have been provided by the British Council, and plans laid for the future by the British appointees and their Turkish colleagues. A development of outstanding importance has been the work of two advisers to the Technical Branch of the Ministry of Education (N. A. Miller and A. C. Ritchie) in the planning and equipment of the projected Ankara Technical University and Technical School—a scheme of wide scope which will eventually train thousands of technicians annually to meet Turkey's pressing needs.

The future of this work is hard to predict, depending as it does on the liability to

recall of several of the British staff since the end of the war; some have already left, and the urgent demand for educationists in Britain will bring many more home in the near future. It is to be hoped, however, that every possible attempt will be made to continue the collaboration so well begun. To a very great degree the progress of Turkey depends on the progress of her universities, her technological development, and her access to foreign ideas. The scientific and medical departments in her universities are of key significance in this respect; so, too, are the schools of English language and literature. The benefits, it may be added, are not all on one side; there is a certain lease-lend of intellectual advantage, particularly in the field of research in Byzantine and Classical art and archæology, and, more generally, in the marked increase of Britain's intellectual prestige which is following upon a knowledge of her achievements. This happy result, should the present well-laid foundations be properly built upon, will be the outcome of friendly collaboration between the Turkish Ministry of Education, the university authorities of Istanbul, Ankara, and British universities, and the British Council, which can count this as one of the most fruitful achievements of its five years of work in Turkey.

A JOURNEY ON SKIS TO ULUDAG (MOUNT OLYMPUS)

BY ROMA SANDERS

MANY Turkish listeners, as well as English, will probably be interested in this talk tonight as it concerns a sport which has only recently come to their country, but which has certainly come to stay. My talk, however, is not about the intricacies of ski-ing as a sport—I shall leave that to the experts—but of a journey on skis to one of the most beautiful mountains in Turkey. I am no skier—but a recent heavy snowfall and the sight of several sturdy young Turks getting off from Ankara with their skis over their shoulders for a day on the mountains fired my enthusiasm. So I donned a pair of skis and, finding that I could at least move along and remain upright, I decided to have more of this and go for a ski-ing holiday. Thus, my first introduction to ski-ing took place in Turkey. And what a country for ski-ing—the value of which was only too readily recognized as a form of transport by the Turkish soldiers serving on the Eastern Front during the first world war. Before then ski-ing was practically unheard of in Turkey. In 1932, however, a Frenchman attracted by the snowy splendour of the Turkish mountains set off with a party of five young Turks to scale the heights of Uludag, a great mountain which has its roots in the Turkish city of Bursa. This party came down with such a glowing description of the beauties of Uludag and the unlimited possibilities of ski-ing, that a further group of twenty-seven men, inspired by the Frenchman's account, set off for Uludag in March, 1933. These men spent a week encamped at the top, during which time they explored every avenue of ski-ing available and came back with the report that Uludag was, indeed, a skiers' paradise. So impressed were they at the sporting amenities of Uludag that they brought it to the notice of the Governor of Istanbul, and it was under this Governor's leadership that the first mountaineering club was formed in March, 1933—a club which has continued to flourish and augment its membership ever since. Later, a ski-ing club was founded in Bursa, and ten days ago I had the pleasure of meeting its president, who introduced us to the delights of ski-ing on the mountain of Uludag.

Some students of Greek mythology claim that Uludag is the original home of the Greek gods. If this is so, Jupiter and some of his cronies may well raise grizzled eyebrows—if they are still anywhere hovering above—at the curious antics of the beings who gleefully tumble below on two pieces of flat wood and a couple of little

sticks. Maybe also the spirit of Bacchus still haunts the bar of the hotel which stands atop the mountain where beginners (and I among them) renew their courage with a glass of raki and nurse their bruised and battered limbs.

Uludag rears its great height of 8,000 feet from the town of Bursa, which nestles at its foot. Bursa is an enchanting "city of dreaming minarets" set in a lush, green valley bounded with olive groves and the dark beauty of cypress trees. The towering, brooding strength of Uludag forms a magnificent buttress against the sky and casts a protective shadow over the little town below. From November till the beginning of May, the summit is covered in deep snow and it is only possible to climb part of the way, the rest being accomplished on skis.

It was a fine, slightly misty December morning when we started our climb. For the journey to the snow line we hired ponies and a guide, together with a donkey to carry our rucksacks, to say nothing of the cognac and whiskey which we took to fortify ourselves *en route*. The ponies do not follow the mountain road, they have their own tracks and their own curious ways of climbing them. The track was rough and precipitous, and the ponies had an uncanny knack of walking as near the edge as possible. They would place their two forefeet delicately on the brink, stop for a moment or two and gaze meditatively at the drop below, as if undecided whether to buck their riders to the bottom or no, and so gallop untrammelled to the top. After we had travelled for two hours we came upon one of the delightfully refreshing springs which abound everywhere in Turkey, and which, even in the burning noonday sun of a Turkish summer, never fail to give forth their ice-cold water. They are the oases of Turkey for travellers on horse and on foot, and have been so since time immemorial. It was at one of these we halted while a peasant, with hospitable forethought, graciously offered us draughts of water from a wooden bowl.

A short while afterwards we arrived at a tiny mountain village, where the guide proudly pointed out his home next to a minute mosque bearing one stout little minaret. The horses, by this time, were breathing hard. The climb, with riders, is a tough one, yet the little donkey—despite his huge load and two pairs of unwieldy skis—was indomitable. His small, dainty hooves, hardly bigger than a half-crown, picked their way with a sure, fastidious grace along the loose stones and rubble with an almost monotonous regularity until he reached his journey's end, which was the beginning of the snow line. We dismounted for lunch at a gendarmerie, where the Turkish gendarmes made us very welcome and comfortable round their fireside.

An eleven-mile climb still lay ahead of us before we reached the mountain hotel, but this part of the journey had to be done on skis.

The entire trip till now had taken place through scenery of unbelievable grandeur and magnificence which was even more enhanced by the advent of the snow. Great meteor-like rocks clung to the sides of the mountains, each covered with its mantle of snow. Pine trees and evergreens were in abundance, and snow mists, after the recent fall, hung softly between the delicate tracery of the undergrowth. Rising on our right were the undulating heights of Uludag, and to our left a glorious, sweeping panorama of snow and evergreen fell away gently to meet the limpid blue of the sea. It seemed odd to think of Bursa, only four hours' journey behind, warm and cosy at the foot of the mountain with its flourishing olive groves and tobacco fields, and now the contrast of this snow-clad magnificence comparable only with the alpine grandeur of Switzerland. Unfortunately, my beginners' limbs were not equal to a swift climb, and nightfall was upon us long before we sighted the lights of the Uludag hotel. For two hours we skied in darkness, our eyes fixed on the little orange oasis of light which marked our destination. Only the soft shushing of our skis broke the velvet silence of the snow which glittered with a crystal radiance in the starlight.

The hotel lay in a valley which meant a fairly steep descent. The only thing for me to do therefore, never having been down a slope before, was to sit down and roll, bounce and slither my way to the bottom, which I did. Of course, it was not till morning that I discovered that there was a perfectly good track leading to the hotel door. It appeared afterwards that the guide had been very much alarmed at my sudden and precipitous descent. Little did he know that the descent was not

entirely of my own volition—the skis had pointed downwards and down I had to go, right or wrong.

It was with some relief that I crawled into the warmth and lamplight of the hotel, where the manager gave us a most cheerful welcome. Steaming bowls of soup were placed before us, which we devoured ravenously. Our needs were attended to by fresh-faced mountain boys who had been specially trained for the job. The bedrooms were large and roomy, and a soft-footed servant arrived punctually at seven each morning to light the fires. The food was the highlight of the little hotel—beautifully prepared and served—which was indeed surprising in such a snowbound spot; there are no funicular railways to Uludag, and all supplies to the hotel have to be brought up on the backs of ski-ing porters. Indeed, two members of the ski-ing party were greatly puzzled at the persistent presence of a cow, which followed them almost to the top. A lonely cow, knee-deep in snow, is an odd sight enough, and it was only later that we learned of its ultimate survival as a delicious roast for our lunch the next day.

The hotel is perhaps unique in so far as you cannot move out of doors without your skis, unlike so many Swiss resorts, where it is necessary to walk some distance from the hotel to find ski-ing ground. It is superbly situated in a great bowl of mountains, and the sea is plainly visible from the hotel windows. At sunset the mountains take on a breath-taking beauty—the peaks become tinged with palest pink, which, gathering momentum, surges into a rich canopy of colour enveloping the whole of the countryside in a glorious pattern of peach and gold.

Turkey is indeed a land of infinitely varied charm and climate, and there is unlimited holiday ground waiting to be broken. Future travellers to Turkey could not do better than to direct their footsteps to the summit of Uludag, where a warm welcome awaits them in this skiers' paradise.

A KHWARIZM CITY OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

BY PROFESSOR SERGEI TOLSTOV

The author of the following article, Professor Sergei Pavlovich Tolstov, is Director of the Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography and Dean of the Faculty of History, Moscow University. In 1939-40 he headed an expedition equipped by the Academy's Institute of the History of Material Culture for the excavation of sites in Khwarizm. The following article tells about the city of Toprak-Kala which the expedition discovered.

AMONGST the many monuments of ancient Khwarizm discovered by the expedition of the Marr Institute of the History of Material Culture, Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., the city of Toprak-Kala, on the site of the "lands of ancient irrigation," Shabbas Region, Kara-Kalpak Soviet Republic, is of particular interest. It lies at the extreme end of the Gawhoreh Canal.

We first discovered the city during our excavations in 1939 and made a detailed survey of it in 1940.

We were able to trace the planning of the city in all its details, thanks to the way in which the surface had been destroyed, the upper soil layer being soft, friable, salified sand (*solonchak*). The culture stratum covers the whole area of the city up to its present surface. The contrast in colour between the brickwork walls of the dwellings and the sand of the culture stratum which fills them enabled us to follow the planning of the city in almost every tiny detail as easily as if it were drawn on the surface.

The excavation of the city gave us a large number of coins, most of which were early Afrighid of the third and fourth centuries A.D. There were also quite a number of Kushan coins, mostly those of Vasudeva. A unique Khwarizm coin with an imitation Greek inscription like that of the coins of Eucratides and a seal (*tamgha*) of the Siyavushid dynasty, with the typical Khwarizm horsemen on the reverse and a bearded king on the obverse, surmounted by a miniature Nika, we place in the last century B.C. The late Afrighid coins occur in large numbers on the surrounding *tagira* (patches of clay amidst the sands), but were rare inside the city. The prospect well sunk to obtain a stratigraphical map of the city site showed that the whole monument, whose surface had been badly eaten away by the salified sands, consisted of a culture stratum four metres thick divided into ten levels, between which were clearly defined clay floors; there were also some less important inter-strata. The lowest strata produced characteristic Kushan pottery and the upper strata pottery of the early Afrighid period not later than the fifth or beginning of the sixth century A.D. Thus the whole depth of the culture stratum at Toprak-Kala covers a period of not more than five centuries. This is a further warning that the antiquity of a monument is not to be judged by the depth of the cultural stratum, an error in which some of our archaeologists still persist.

The planning of the city is very interesting.

The city site was a rectangle 450 by 270 metres, with its long side running north and south, surrounded by a wall of classical dimensions built of unfired brick, strengthened by a large number of square towers. The whole north-western corner of the fortress was occupied by the huge castle of the city's governor; the castle consisted of a courtyard 180 metres square, intricately laid out, and a magnificent citadel with three towers, which have been preserved to a height of some 20 metres; it contained many vaulted rooms, which have been preserved intact. Both the castle and the city walls retain traces of pilaster decoration between the narrow embrasures in the outer walls, the embrasures themselves placed in rectangular niches between the pilasters.

This feature distinguishes Toprak-Kala from earlier known fortresses of the late classical period, which have smooth surfaces to their walls and high narrow openings as embrasures. In this respect Toprak-Kala appears to be synchronous with Kyzul-Kala, a neighbouring city and a monument of the last stage in the history of the architecture of ancient Khwarizm and which may be regarded as the prototype of the massive half-columns which form the corrugations on the castles of the Afrighid period.

The south-east wall of the castle is joined by the remains of an extensive complex of installations, the centre of which is formed by a huge rectangular building surrounded by double brick walls with a passage between them, and a corridor on the southern side leading to the main street of the city. The presence of large quantities of white ash right up to the surface in the central rectangle and the general planning, with the characteristic surrounding passage-way, is similar to the planning of the fire temple at Shahpur; it is safe to assume that this was the city fire temple. The central building of the temple was surrounded with an intricate system of corridor-like premises, traces of which still remain. The complex of buildings formed by the castle and the temple was surrounded by a huge wall with towers in the centre of the eastern and southern walls and a whole system of interior courtyards laid out to the north of the temple building. At the entrance to the southern corridor and outside there was a square courtyard with a columned portico. The corner between the castle and the temple groups and the eastern wall was an open space without any traces of building remains; we consider this to have been the market square. The remaining part of the town, the residential section, is divided into two by a street leading in a straight line from the gates in the southern wall to the temple and castle. On either side of the street the area was divided into ten or twelve blocks by lanes; each block was rectangular in shape, and consisted of a solid mass of dwellings without any signs of their having been divided into separate houses. Each of these dwelling blocks consisted of a huge number of interconnected rooms—in a single block there were 120 and even 200 rooms. Every block near the centre of the city had a raised portion, frequently in the form of a paved brick platform. We

are of the opinion that these are remains of square central towers which rose above the dwelling-houses—the prototype of the Afrighid towered castles.

In general the Khwarizm town of the late antique period is seen in all its details, and fully confirms the hypothesis we once put forward from written records to the effect that the Central Asian town in the late classical period consisted of a collection of large family community dwellings connected with a fairly archaic form of society.*

In the town of the late classical period the main features of the same way of life were retained as that which we established for the fortified settlements of the Kaigui period (Janbas-Kala type), including the traditional division of the settlement into two parts by a central street, probably in some way or another retaining some connection with the phratry. The new features are the gigantic three-towered castle dominating the city and the huge mansions which make the many-family dwellings of Shahristan look like dwarfs.

On the whole the architectural composition of Toprak-Kala, in which the outstanding feature is the vertical lines (the towers on the residential blocks, the castle of the governor) and the great heights of the central buildings, overpowering in their titanic proportions, are closely associated with classical oriental architecture. The development of late-classical Khwarizm architecture, therefore, repeated at a date some centuries later the path of development formerly adopted by the builders of Mesopotamia, a fact which is of no little importance in estimating the social and economic life of ancient Khwarizm. It is interesting that we found analogies to the Toprak-Kala castle-mansions in the other cities of the same period—at Eres-Kala and Kyrk-kyz-Kala—as opposed to early cities like those at Bazar-Kala, where the citadel had no living quarters and was apparently the refugium, a communal meeting place and religious centre like the “fire-house” at Janbas-Kala.

We therefore have before us the main features of the social structure of the Central Asian classical period in its full development, some peculiarities of the growth of which we have outlined in earlier papers. Late classical Khwarizm is shown to us through its archaeological monuments as a typical ancient oriental society, with its contradiction of a developed town life, a well-formed state headed by a slave-owning aristocracy, on the one hand, and a thoroughly archaic and stagnant system of communities which retain the various and stable traditions of the gens. In ancient Khwarizm the town still retained the dying traditions of the ancient Orient. An analysis of the Khwarizm village of that period shows that it was here that the new social and economic tendencies appeared with the embryonic elements of feudalism.

The decline in town life which is characteristic of this process was clearly reflected in Toprak-Kala. In the fifth and sixth centuries there was a sharp decline in the handicrafts of the town, seen most clearly in the pottery, which became more clumsy. The clay mass from which the pottery was made had a large content of foreign matter. The percentage of clumsy home-made pottery articles, made without the potter's wheel, increased. By the sixth century the town emptied of its inhabitants and became a gigantic necropolis. On the surrounding *taqirs*, on the contrary, life continued, judging by the coins found, which continue to the end of the Afrighid period. Here we see the regular transition from the classical, slave-owning system of society to feudalism, the transfer of the centre of social life from the city to the village with the latter dominating all life.

* In this connection of special interest are the “ancient Soghdian writings” of the second century A.D., discovered at Tun Huan by A. Stein, which confirm our hypothesis of the presence of family communities, firmly welded together, in the Soghdian towns; the “council” of each community determined the fate of its members (H. Reichelt, “Die sogdischen Handschriftenreste des britischen Museums.” II. Heidelberg, 1931. III. 9, cp. A. Rosenberg, “Ancient Soghdian Writings. The Early History of the Soghdian Colony in Central Asia.” 1932.)

THE RURAL RECONSTRUCTION MOVEMENT AND THE NEW HSIEN GOVERNMENT SYSTEM*

BY PROFESSOR C. W. CHANG

(Dean of the College of Agriculture, Nanking University)

THE Rural Reconstruction Movement is one of the several movements of great importance that have taken place in China during the last two or three decades for the uplift of the country. However, it differs from all other movements in at least three respects.

(1) It is not something remote from the masses of the people, but rather it is very closely related to their livelihood, and tries to improve it from where they are to where they should be. Its work is usually begun with a survey first, finding out the real needs of the community in which it is to be done. Then, based on the needs, a plan of improvement work is made, which in general includes agricultural improvement, public health, rural industry, education and citizenship training. All these things the people need most, and they are received gratefully by them.

(2) Not only does it work with the people and for the people, but it is so planned that the people of the community will take it over and run it themselves in due course of time. In any community, before the work is actually started, a committee of the local leaders of the community is usually organized, either to sponsor the movement or to serve in an advisory capacity to it. It enlists the help of the local people as much as possible and encourages them to take active part in it, thus making them feel that this work is one of their own, so that they will give it their full support. By participation they are not only trained, but also they learn how to work together. Hence the work gradually takes root and grows.

(3) It works from the bottom up, instead of working from the top down, as many other movements do. Unless it is intimately related to the life of the people no movement can ever succeed, because it works without a foundation.

Before the war with Japan in 1937 the movement had already become a nationwide one. Three national conferences on Rural Reconstruction were held, first in Tsou-ping, Shantung, in 1932, second in Tinghsien, Hopei, in 1933, and the third in Wusih, Kiangsu, in 1935. They were all well attended. More than 400 people attended the last conference, representing some 250 organizations that were directly concerned with the movement. The proceedings of each Conference were published in book form by the Chung Hwa Book Company. Such organizations as the Mass Education Movement at Tinghsien, Hopei; the Rural Reconstruction Research Institute of Tsou-ping, Shantung; the National Association of Vocational Education at Shanghai; the International Famine Relief Committee, the Provincial College of Education at Kiangsu and the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking, are among the pioneers that have pushed the movement forward.

Let me cite Cheng-Ping Hsien, Honan, as an illustration of the work of the movement. Cheng-Ping was at a time not safe to live in because of bandit trouble following civil wars. Mr. Pang Yu-ting, a native of the district, returned to his home village in 1929, after a period of service with the north-western army. Having experienced considerable trouble himself, he decided to stay at home. With the help of the local people, he soon succeeded in wiping out the bandit trouble, and then started the so-called self-government work in the whole district. The work included such items as taking population census, land registration and measurement, social welfare work, public health, education, customs reformation, road making, telephone service, agricultural improvement and country policing. In a few years' time he had accomplished marvels. The whole district was cleared of bandits, so

* Lecture delivered before the Universities' China Committee on February 20. Major M. Hiles, O.B.E., presided.

that the people could live in their own homes. He had all the money that he needed for his work of reconstruction, and it was raised entirely from local sources. This experiment had enjoyed a nation-wide reputation. Every year many persons went there for a visit from all over the country. Unfortunately he was shot to death in the spring of 1933 by the reactionaries, when he was just over forty. However, the work he began has taken root and grown, because the people have been well organized and trained, and they have continued and strengthened it. During the war they have successfully repulsed the invasion of the Japanese Army; each time they inflicted heavy casualties on their enemies. Toward the end of the war this place has been selected by the Government as a centre of operation for the promotion of rural industrial co-operatives and relief work, with the local people in charge.

I will not stop to enumerate all the centres of rural reconstruction that have come into existence in different parts of the country in the last two or three decades. There were several hundreds of them before the war. Some of them were small, often limited to a school community, some were large, covering one-third or one-fourth of a hsien. Some were started by a group of individuals, some were started by training institutions. Among the latter the most notable is the National Council for Rural Reconstruction, which was organized in 1925 by such institutions as the Mass Education Movement, Tsinghua University, Yenching University, Nankai University, Peking Union Medical College, and the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking, with the financial help of the Rockefeller Foundation. The Council had a very good field centre for training and research in Tsi-ning, Shantung. The Council was in full co-operation with the Provincial Government. It nominated one of the professors from the participating institutions to the Government for appointment as magistrate of the district (county). Then the magistrate appointed his staff members for the different offices of the Government on the recommendation of the various participating institutions. As a general principle, each of the participating institutions was supposed to contribute its best. For instance, the Mass Education Movement was for its adult education, Tsin-Hwa University its engineering, Yenching University its rural sociology, Nan-kai University its economics, Peking Union Medical College its public health, and the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking its agricultural improvement. In the offices of the county government, dormitories, library, discussion rooms and laboratories were provided by the Council, and teachers and students from the participating institutions went there for research and training. Certainly it was a wonderful set-up. It was originally intended to develop the so-called "University Community Concept Idea." That is, to select a place, typical of the country, for the rural reconstruction work, as the Council's field centre, where the participating institutions would make their distinctive contributions and work together through one set of Government machinery in a controlled environment. This was a splendid idea for a co-ordinated effort. Unfortunately the war broke out, making the full realization of this idea difficult.

The effect of the Rural Reconstruction Movement on the Government as well as on the public has been very great. In the Second National Conference on Civil Affairs, held in Nanking in 1932, a resolution was passed to the effect that a few hsien be made models for reconstruction on a hsien-wide basis. Very soon afterwards five model hsien came into being in four Provinces. The result of this experiment has been very encouraging. Probably it was the first time in the history of China that the hsien Government has actually done something for the welfare of the people at large.

In the spring of 1940 the National Government decided to inaugurate the new hsien Government system in all the hsien of the country. According to the new system, each hsien is to be divided into a number of hsiang and cheng (cheng means a market town), each hsiang or cheng into a number of bao. Each bao consists of ten chia and each chia ten families. The idea is that there should be a people's foundation school in every bao, and a community centre school in every hsiang or cheng. The latter is to give supervision to the former. The principal of the school may concurrently act as the head of the community for civil and military affairs. The major function of the system is to get the people organized for training and increase

of production. In other words, the system makes provision for people to practise self-government and to improve their livelihood by the increase of production.

At present all hsien in the country are supposed to operate on the new system. The Provincial Government of Szechuan has designated four hsien as model hsien on the new system, two near Chengtu and two near Chungking. The Provincial Government has organized a Supervision Committee, of which the writer is a member, to assist the Government to give supervision to all hsien that are operated on the new system.

So far as the writer is aware, the most difficult thing that the Government is facing in the operation of the new system is not the lack of funds but the shortage of men sufficiently trained in and devoted to the task. Take Penghsien, one of the two model hsien near Chengtu, for an illustration. By efficient management of the public land and the improvement of taxes of the district, there is a sufficient amount of funds available for operation. But where to look for men! It is not enough to have one good magistrate, but he must have a team of workers to work for him. Otherwise the new system cannot be effectively operated. It is the function of all training institutions to train men for the need.

The new system is a Government attempt to undertake the reconstruction work on a nation-wide scale. It works from the bottom up, paving the way for a real democracy. During the war everything was for winning the war, and so the Government could not push this work very far. But now the war is over the Government will push it with all its force for a successful operation.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT OF CHINA*

By KUANG-MIEN LU

(Director, North-West Headquarters, Chinese Industrial Co-operatives)

A SHORT HISTORICAL SKETCH

ACCORDING to the latest data, up to June, 1944, there were 173,328 co-operative societies in China, with a total membership of 15,191,823 and an accumulated share capital of CN \$501,517,132. The co-operatives are roughly divided into four kinds—credit, consumers, marketing and producers. Many of our existing co-operatives are credit societies, about 50 per cent. These are then followed by marketing or agricultural societies, about 34 per cent., consumers' societies, about 11 per cent., and producers' societies, about 5 per cent.

The development of the co-operative movement in China is only a matter of twenty-five years. The first co-operative, the People's Co-operative and Savings Bank, was organized in Shanghai in 1919 by Professor Hsueh Hsien-Chow, together with a number of his colleagues and students of the Fudan University. Professor Hsueh studied for many years in Germany and was much impressed with the German co-operative credit movement, which was started in Germany around the sixties of the nineteenth century, ten years after the Rochdale Pioneers, and later became a very strong movement spreading over cities and countryside. However, Professor Hsueh's Co-operative Bank in China was not able to last very long, and closed with his death a few years later. Hsueh wrote many books and also published a paper called the *People's Weekly*, expounding co-operative principles and reporting co-operative achievements abroad. Though Professor Hsueh was not able to accomplish much himself, the co-operative seed was sown for later development and growth.

* Lecture delivered before the China Institute on January 2, 1946. Dr. Chen Yuan presided.

In 1924 farmers' co-operative credit societies were organized in Hopei, a Province of North China, with the help and direction of the China International Famine Relief Commission. The Commission is a combination of a number of relief organizations in North China which helped to tackle the most serious famine of 1920, resulting from drought for two succeeding years in the Provinces of Hopei, Shansi and Suiyuan. In 1921 there was a good harvest and the relief organizations joined together and formed a permanent relief body, the CIFRC, with the object of devising ways and means of preventing any further repetition of famines. One of the first steps taken by the new Commission was the promotion of the co-operative organization among the farmers. In granting small loans at a very low interest rate to the farmers for productive purposes through the co-operative credit societies the Commission was aiming on one side at freeing the farmers from the exploitation of the moneylenders and on the other side at re-equipping the farmers with the cattle, tools, seeds and fertilizers necessary for their farm work. The number of co-operative credit societies increased steadily after 1922, and by 1930 there were established altogether over 900 societies, mostly located in the Province of Hopei, with a total membership of 25,000.

Meanwhile co-operative organizations were spreading far and wide in Central China, principally in the two Provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang in the years after 1928, when the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking. Two farmers' banks were established in Kiangsu and Chekiang in 1929 with the sole object of financing the co-operative credit societies. In 1934, after five years of promotional work under the Provincial authorities of these two Provinces, over 3,000 societies came into being with a total membership of 90,000. Later a National Farmers' Bank was established, and co-operative works were extended to nearly all the Provinces under the National Government. In 1935 a National Co-operative Conference was called by the Executive Yuan, and resulted in the promulgation of the Co-operative Law. A Central Co-operative Bureau was established under the Ministry of Industry for the registration and promotion of the co-operative organizations throughout the whole country, with branch offices attached to the Provincial Governments. Later the Bureau was reorganized into the present Central Co-operative Administration and placed under the direction of another Ministry, the Ministry of Social Affairs.

A number of educational and social institutions, such as the Mass Education Movement, the University of Nanking, the Nankai Institute, the Rural College in Choping, the National Christian Council, the North China Farm Products Marketing and Research Committee, together with a number of private and commercial banks, were all taking an increasing interest in the promotion and financing of the co-operative movements. Some of them were making most valuable experiments, and were carrying on a great deal of educational work such as the training of co-operative students and organizers. So far the co-operative movement in China up to 1937 had not been able to extend further to any considerable extent beyond the scope of credit and agricultural marketing. The consumers' and producers' movements had not been able to take root in China until after the war started with Japan in 1937. They were only a growth of the last seven or eight years. The statistics in 1937 show that there were altogether 16,983 co-operatives of various kinds in the whole of China, and the total membership was well over two million.

During the last few years of war the co-operative movement in the occupied territories must have suffered greatly, but statistical data show that the war gave new impetus to the development of the co-operatives in China. A great number of consumers' co-operatives were established in the cities. They were attached mostly to Government offices and public organizations, and were entrusted sometimes by the Government with the distribution of controlled goods such as sugar, cloth, salt and various other articles. Many of these co-operatives were not real co-operatives owing to the fact that the members were usually not taking a very active part in the running of the co-operative businesses. The managements were often in charge of people directly appointed by the administrative heads of the organizations concerned. However, these co-operatives sometimes rendered very useful service to members in obtaining for them a fair share of daily necessities at controlled prices, which otherwise would be rather difficult to get. Of course, there are exceptionally good and really democratically controlled consumers' societies such as the Sa Ping Pa Society

in Chungking. They are, however, few in number, and the bulk of the consumers' movement in China reveals a general lack of understanding of co-operative principles.

Another line of co-operative achievement during the war was the organization of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives. The Association for the Advancement of the Industrial Co-operatives was established in Hankow in 1938. It was a semi-governmental organization under the leadership of the chairman of the Executive Yuan with four regional headquarters situated at strategic points at the various Provincial cities undertaking the promotion and financing of the industrial co-operatives. Owing to the shortage of all kinds of manufactured goods in the interior of China, and with the active participation of hundreds and thousands of refugee labour and skilled workers as the result of the evacuation of the coastal Provinces, the movement grew very rapidly during the first four years after 1938. According to the data of the CIC Association, the number of industrial co-operatives in 1942 was a little below 2,000, with a total membership of around 30,000. The actual number of industrial co-operatives must be more than this, as a great number of these industrial co-operatives were established spontaneously by the workers themselves following the examples of the workings of other co-operatives in the neighbourhood, and they were not necessarily receiving any financial help from the CIC Association. In 1944 there were well over 5,000 industrial co-operatives registered under the Ministry of Social Affairs. These industrial co-operatives have done a great deal during these years of war in the mobilization of all available man-power and natural resources manufacturing innumerable articles to meet civilian and military needs. The co-operatives were owned and run by the workers themselves, and they have been able to form a number of federations through which joint business and educational activities were carried on with very successful results. Indeed these industrial co-operatives have achieved something more than just helping the national cause. They have been able to demonstrate to the ordinary working-class people a new form of life by which they get practical lessons in the workings of democracy and learn to become masters of their own destiny.

Besides the consumers' and industrial co-operatives, there have been organized throughout China, during the last few years the largest number of multiple purposes co-operative societies, the so-called "hsiang" (village) and "chen" (town) co-operatives. According to the new system of the local government administration, the villages and country towns in China should be divided into a number of chias and pao. A chia is made up of ten families and one pao is made up of ten chias—i.e., one hundred families. Under this new system the co-operative is regarded as the basic economic organization of the villages and towns, so with the enforcement of this new law each chia must have a co-operative, and there should be a co-operative federation at each pao. A number of these pao federations will form themselves into a county co-operative federation, and a number of county federations will in turn form Provincial federations and then national federations. As a result of this a great number of chia and pao co-operatives have come into being. They undertake various kinds of activities. Sometimes they do productive work, sometimes they simply run like ordinary consumer stores. Quite often, too, they are just the ordinary co-operative credit societies. Sometimes they run just one single business, but in most cases they undertake several businesses with multiple purposes. Though exceptional successful cases are not completely lacking among these groups of co-operatives, they are not sound co-operative business organizations.

The above is just a brief sketch of the co-operative movement in China in the course of the last twenty-five years, leaving out an immense amount of detail of the work. Though many mistakes have been made, the rapidity of its growth, the interest of the Government and private organizations in its promotion and the response on the part of the people themselves, although sometimes half-hearted, are very encouraging. The agricultural credit societies spread far and wide over the rural districts. A great number of them may not be run according to sound co-operative principles, and the credit they are able to obtain from the societies may be very far short of meeting their proper needs. The fact that 32 per cent. of the farmers in China actually borrow money through these societies with an interest rate far below the market rate shows that these co-operatives have relieved at least some of the hard-

ships of the ordinary farmers, which otherwise they would have to bear for themselves under the pressure of the local landlords and merchants.

FUTURE CO-OPERATIVE POLICIES

The one peculiar character of the Chinese co-operative movement has been the existence of a number of Government and private promotional agencies. The movement is not a spontaneous growth from among the people themselves. It is something imposed upon them from above. This is an advantage and at the same time a weakness. It is an advantage because without the help of these promotional organizations the movement could have never grown so rapidly. It is a weakness because the people themselves have not been able to take their proper and active part in it. The successes and failures of the co-operatives depend sometimes very much on the policies of the promotional agencies. With any change either of policies or of the directing personnel on the part of the promotional agencies, the movement suffers. The current opinion in China is this, that the farming and working-class peoples are rather poor. It is almost impossible for them to accumulate enough capital for the running of their co-operative enterprises, and also they are not well educated. Financial and organizational help is needed at the present stage. Since the Government is going to put the co-operative movement in a very important place in the new national economy, the existence of Government and private promotional agencies is essential. The question is to what extent should the promotional agencies function in the furtherance of the movement. The Chinese farmers are no strangers to the co-operative way of life. They have practised it for a thousand years in their families and with their neighbours in their villages. What are actually needed are the modern technique in the workings of democracy and new method in managing businesses. The function of the promotional organizations should be limited as far as possible to the propagation of the co-operative ideals and principles. It should not go so far as to help in the management of the affairs and business of the co-operatives themselves. The co-operative movement, if it is going to make a real success, must be in every sense a people's movement—i.e., it must be a movement of the people, by the people and for the people. It has been proved in China as well as elsewhere that the co-operative movement would take root and grow lively wherever and whenever the co-operators themselves are left alone to learn to manage their own businesses and are not unnecessarily interfered with by others. The organization of the "hsiang" and "chen" co-operatives is rather mechanical, and it is tending to kill rather than to arouse the real spirit of co-operation. Moreover, co-operatives with multiple purposes generally have less chance of making any success, as a co-operative is a business undertaking and sound managerial principles must be observed. All this concerns co-operative policies, and needs to be reconsidered and readjusted. Otherwise, if the promotional agencies, Governmental as well as private, are overdoing themselves and taking over the functions of the co-operative organizations themselves, the spirit of genuine initiative and spontaneousness will be likely to disappear and the progress of the movement will be handicapped.

CO-OPERATION AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

It is the strong belief of the Chinese co-operators that the co-operative movement in China should take its rightful (if not leading) place in the programme of post-war China's reconstruction. The object of China's post-war reconstruction will be the general improvement of the livelihood of the people. This can only be achieved through industrialization. How is China going to be industrialized? Some economists in China in recent years have preached rather an extreme viewpoint. They are of the opinion that China must be industrialized at all costs. Large-scale industries must be built up as rapidly as possible in order to absorb the excess population living on the inadequately cultivated countryside. They are of the opinion that within from twenty to thirty years it ought to be possible to reduce the proportion of farmers in the total population from 75 per cent. to 50 per cent. For the capitalization of such an immense programme they hope to obtain a loan of 50 billion dollars for the purchase of industrial plants abroad, and the Government is going to play an important rôle in the field of heavy industries, leaving the consumer industries in the hands of

private enterprise. It is quite clear that this group of economists is preaching something rather theoretical and impracticable. They have not quite realized the size of the Chinese population. Removing one hundred million of the rural population into the cities within twenty to thirty years is something quite unthinkable. China has suffered so much in the course of this war from her unbalanced development of industries in the past. Nearly 80 to 90 per cent. of her modern industries were located in a handful of coastal cities, and were completely lost to the enemy within the first six months of the war. She found the bulk of her population living still on their farms, poverty-stricken, toiling hard, yet still not able even to earn a bare living. Home industries which existed in the countryside of China since prehistoric times now disappeared, and were wiped out as they were unable to stand the competition of the modern industries from the coastal cities. But hard as it was they had to carry on with their meagre resources this war of resistance. They supplied this war with the necessary man-power. They fed the soldiers and grew the cotton, wove the blankets, and made the garments to clothe them. Here is the real life and strength of the nation, and China ought to learn a real lesson from this war, and in planning her post-war reconstruction she cannot afford to overlook this important factor in her traditional social and economic organization. To transform the whole Chinese culture and economy to fit in with the modern factory system and to lead the Chinese nation to become another victim of the "Great Illusion" of the modern industrial revolution would be attempting something too costly and explosive, and would cause incalculable human miseries. The alternative plan would be for China to adopt the co-operative system in agriculture and in industry. The advantages of making the co-operatives the centre of the new Chinese national economy are many. It will help increase the production of various consumer goods other than the crude agricultural products. Industries are decentralized and will operate in a much wider field of productive activities. With the improvement of transport and communication and with the construction of irrigation systems, making available enormous cheap power supplies in the countryside, decentralized industries could run just as efficiently as centralized industries. Meanwhile, it would help provide a much more wholesome occupation for the surplus rural population than to repeat the error of piling up a crowded and sweated mass of workers in a few large industrial cities. In many parts of China agriculture is only a part-time work of the farmers, and with the industrialization of the countryside the working hours of the farmers could be made full use of, and the sons and daughters of the farmers could operate their industries either in towns or villages where they would be close to their home communities and be able to enjoy life with their own families. The cost of such form of industrialization would be much smaller, and would lessen greatly the burden of the Chinese people on foreign obligations. The standard of life will be raised and creative genius and personal initiative will be able to find its full expression as everybody realizes clearly that it is his own business and he is not working, as ordinary workers in the factories do, for somebody else. It has been the professed conviction of both the leaders and the people of China that in the rebuilding of her post-war national life the principles of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen must be followed. That means that China must have political democracy as well as economic democracy. Dr. Sun was very much impressed in the last few years of his revolutionary life by the achievements of the consumers' co-operative movement in Great Britain, and he mentioned many times in his various lectures the co-operative movement as a better substitute for the theory of class struggle preached by Karl Marx. Had he lived longer I am sure he would preach the producers' co-operation as a better substitute for the competitive industrial organization for China's industrialization and for the realization of his principle on the socialization of income or capital. The co-operative movement in the West has been built up after over a hundred years of very hard struggle on the part of the working-class people under a capitalistic economic order. In China especially after this war the co-operative movement enjoys equal opportunity as private enterprise, starting, so to speak, from scratch. If it could take an important and leading place in the reconstruction of China's post-war national economy it would help China to build up a new economic order based on voluntary association and democratic control. It would be something midway between *laissez-faire* capitalism

and compulsory state ownership. It would save China from falling a victim to the modern industrial revolution which has been very exploitive and aggressive, and has always constituted one source of trouble and unrest in national and international life. Such an economic order would enrich and rejuvenate rather than degenerate the traditional social and economic ideas and ideals characteristic of the life of the Chinese people, and would help to preserve for mankind an ancient civilization which is considerate and peaceful and appreciates more than anything else the human and ethical value of man's life.

THE MALAYAN UNION

BY A. G. MORKILL,
Malayan Civil Service (Retired).

FOR fifty years after we had established ourselves in trading posts known as the Straits Settlements, we did not attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the hinterland.

There were treaties between the East India Company and the rulers of the Malay States designed to protect shipping from piracy, to facilitate commerce, and prevent traffic in slaves, but no attempt was made to take a hand in the government.

As the trade of the Colonies expanded, however, the prevailing lawlessness outside the area of the Settlements became a more pressing problem. British subjects were the victims of piracy and robbery, and fugitive criminals found a ready shelter outside the boundaries of the Settlements. We found, as we have found elsewhere in the world, that it is difficult to maintain law and order and foster peaceful progress if in your immediate neighbourhood crime and disorder prevail.

And so between 1874 and 1887 we imposed Treaties of Protection involving control upon the four States which are now known as the Federated States (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang). It is true that there was an occasion in each case for interference—e.g., in Perak there were fights over the tin mines, and the Treaty recites that certain Chiefs had requested assistance; in Pahang it was the murder of a Chinese British subject; in Negri Sembilan pirates in the Linggi River estuary—but it is as well to admit frankly that in Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang we interfered to protect the lives and property of our own subjects and in the interest of civilization. This is clear in the Pangkor Treaty in 1874 with Perak which begins:

“Whereas a state of anarchy exists in the kingdom of Perak owing to want of a settled Government in the country and no efficient power exists for the protection of the people, and large numbers of Chinese are employed and large sums of money invested in Tin Mining in Perak by British subjects and others residing in Her Majesty's possessions, and the said mines are not adequately protected and piracy, murder and arson are rife in the said country whereby British Trade and interests greatly suffer and the peace and good order of the neighbouring British Settlements are sometimes menaced and certain Chiefs . . . have stated their inability to cope,” etc.

In all cases, in return for protection, the rulers undertook to govern on the advice of a British Resident in all matters except Malay religion and custom.

Absolute control by the British in their States was involved from the beginning.

In 1895 the four States made a Treaty of Federation; revenues were pooled and a Resident-General established whose advice was to be followed on all matters of administration other than Malay religion and custom.

In 1909 the Federal Council was established. It consisted of the High Commissioner, the Resident-General, the four Sultans, the four Residents, and four nominated unofficial members.

Laws passed by State Councils were to continue in force except in so far as repugnant to the provisions of the Federal Council.

Questions of Muhammadan religion were reserved for the State Councils.

About twenty years later there was a change in the Federal Council under which the Sultans retired from it. There was also a measure of decentralization: State Councils were given blocks of revenue to spend.

As a result of all this, at the time of the Japanese invasion the Sultans of the four Federated States had no powers apart from Malay religion and custom. Such pressure or influence as they could exert upon the Residents or High Commissioner depended on their own personalities. As Presidents of their State Councils they had a say in matters of religion and custom, large alienations of land and State estimates, but in effect the Federation smothered the States and the Sultan's position was that of the social and religious head of his Malay subjects. Their influence is by no means negligible. The four rulers are young men of character and high principles, well educated, widely travelled, and with enlightened ideas; one (Negri Sembilan) is a member of the Bar of England.

The Sultans of the Unfederated States were, on the other hand, in a stronger position: they came under protection later when their States were in a more advanced condition. They had, moreover, had time to see how things had gone in the Federated States with their brother rulers.

In 1885 an agreement with the Straits Settlements Government and the "Independent State of Johore" provided for protection of Johore, control of its foreign policy, and a British officer with functions similar to those of a Consular officer to reside in the State.

In 1914 it was agreed that there was to be a General Adviser whose advice had to be followed in all matters except Malay custom and religion. The Sultan made certain stipulations. British officers were to be considered Johore officers and wear Johore uniform. Preference was to be given to Johore Malays in public appointments; Malays and Europeans were to be treated as equals. The High Commissioner agreed to all these stipulations.

In 1909 Siam transferred to the British Government "all rights of suzerainty, protection, administration, and control whatsoever which they possessed over the States of Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, Perlis, and adjacent islands."

In the administration of these States the Siamese had employed some British officials, and the States of Kedah and Kelantan were at the time of their transfer to us considerably more advanced than any of the Federated States at the time of their Treaties.

Kedah's position was regulated by a Treaty as recently as 1923.

In addition to the terms common to agreements with the Federated States it contained a clause that His Britannic Majesty could not transfer, merge, or combine the State with any other State or with the Colony of the Straits Settlements, without the written consent of His Highness in Council.

It also provided that Malay in vernacular script was to be the official language.

Before signing the Treaty the Sultan obtained the High Commissioner's acceptance of certain stipulations: he was to be consulted as to the appointment of the British adviser; European officers were to be considered Kedah officers and wear Kedah uniform; administration was to be carried out as far as possible by Malay officers and preference was to be given to Malays who were natives of Kedah; these Malays were to be sent to Europe for education with a view to employment in the Government; Malays and Europeans were to be treated on terms of equality.

Treaties were also made with Terengganu and Kelantan in less detail, but in those States also the Sultan was in a stronger position than any of the Sultans in the Federated Malay States.

At the time of the Japanese invasion, in these Unfederated States there was a larger proportion of Malays in higher administrative posts, and they were not overshadowed by Federal Departments. All revenues were State revenues. The State prepared its own budget.

The Rulers in Kedah and Johore took a very lively interest in the administration of their countries.

Hints to the Rulers of the Unfederated States that they might join the Federation produced no response. They were afraid of it.

Under the new Constitution now proposed all the nine Malay States and the Settlements of Penang and Malacca will form a union, with a central authority consisting of a Governor with Executive and Legislative Councils; each State and Settlement will have a local Council, presided over by a Resident Commissioner, which will have such powers of administration and subsidiary legislation delegated to it by the central authority as are appropriate to the purpose of local government. In each State there will be a Malay Advisory Council appointed and presided over by the Ruler. It will legislate on matters of Muhammadan religion, but this legislation will require the Governor's assent. For this purpose he will be advised by a Central Advisory Council of the Malay Rulers sitting under his chairmanship.

These Advisory Councils may discuss other subjects under certain conditions.

The Malay Lands Reservation policy will be maintained.

His Majesty, who previously had no jurisdiction in any Malay State, will now be enabled to legislate for all States under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act.

There will be a Malayan Union Citizenship, which will carry with it the qualification for public and administrative service in the Union.

How will all these changes affect the various elements in the Settlements and States?

The ruling families in the Federated States will, it will be seen from the historical background sketched above, be little affected. They will remain the social and religious heads of their Malay peoples.

The ruling families in the Unfederated States, who were in a stronger position, will find it changed. It has been stated that in Johore and Kedah the Rulers had obtained the High Commissioner's acceptance of stipulations which included approval of their policy that the administration should be carried out as far as possible by local Malays who were to be sent to Europe for training. As was natural and proper in a feudal State, the Rulers' relations had preference both in these educational opportunities and in the appointment to higher posts in the Government. With members of his family in leading positions in Government Departments, a Ruler was strengthened in his relations with the British, as represented by the British Adviser, and there were no federal heads of departments to overshadow the administration. There were occasional lapses, for the Old Adam dies hard, but on the whole the system worked well. Malay commoners were by no means excluded from office, and some of the Malay officials stood comparison with our best.

It is only, however, fair to point out that even if a State like Kedah remained outside the Union, in course of time, when the numbers of those who had received higher education had increased, democratic ideas would spread and the privileges of the ruling family in regard to public appointments would give way to a demand that these should be allotted on a broader basis. This result was brought about some time ago in Siam by students returning from Europe.

How will the Union affect the Malay people as a whole?

When the country began to develop it soon became obvious that unless special measures were taken the Malays would be dispossessed by the economically stronger races. Their lands were being bought up by Indians and Chinese, or sold to non-Malays in execution of judgments or to pay off mortgages. The comparatively slow natural increase of the Malay population stood no chance in competition with the torrent of immigrants; and unless virgin land was reserved for Malays all available Government land would be taken up by the time there were Malays to occupy it.

So the Malay Lands Reservation Laws were enacted, under which land in certain gazetted areas could not be alienated to or transferred to non-Malays.

The White Paper states that this policy is to be continued. It was not altogether popular with Malays, and there were methods of evading it. For instance, a "man of straw" of the Malay race was put up by the creditor to bid for the land at sales in execution of judgments. He became registered as the nominal owner, disappeared, and left the creditors in possession. They planted rubber on the high land, and the swamp land where the Malay had grown his rice was abandoned.

It is more than probable that pressure will be exercised under the Union to break this system down, and its preservation will be more difficult if and when responsible Government comes about, for then there will be no official majority in Council to

watch over Malay rights. Our clear duty is to see that the Malays are not dispossessed, and that sufficient land is reserved for them against the time when their numbers and economic strength increase. Some land now in Malay reserves will have to be released. Much of it contains tin and is suitable for large-scale rubber cultivation; it has never been, and probably never will be, cultivated by Malays.

Some land, not now in Malay reserves, might well be set aside for the growing of foodstuffs only, and in this the Malays would certainly take a hand. In early days rubber was planted on land which should have been reserved for rice. We read that the Japanese have cut down some rubber for the growing of foodstuffs, which is a step in the right direction.

Union is not likely to be opposed by other races than Malays. All will welcome the abolition of Inter-State Customs Stations, which are an impediment to trade.

When the Unfederated States are in the Union there will be more opportunities for non-Malays for mining, planting, and other economic enterprises in them, and there will probably be a large increase in their non-Malay populations. With the administration largely in Malay hands economic penetration by non-Malays would be obstructed to some extent.

Another obvious consequence will be that higher administrative posts all over the Union will be open to its non-Malay citizens. In the Federated States this has been a thorny question for years. Chinese magistrates were appointed in the Colony some years before the war, and have been a success. Leading non-Malays have pressed for the appointment of non-Malays to higher Civil Service posts in the Federated States, not only because there are plenty of qualified candidates, but because the population of some of the States is predominantly non-Malay, and the States have in fact been developed mainly by non-Malays.

The answer hitherto has been (a) Chinese would not renounce their allegiance to China, and being technically subjects of a foreign power were obviously disqualified; and (b) the Treaties with the Rulers did not contemplate anything of the kind. The Treaties with the Rulers of the Federated States actually say nothing about this question, but such a possibility probably never entered the heads of those who signed them. The same cannot be said of the Treaties with the Unfederated States. We have seen that the Rulers of two of them stipulated that Malays should be employed in the public services.

It will be clear from what has been said above that the new proposals were not consistent with existing Treaties, and that new agreements would have to be made before the new policy could be put into effect.

I will not discuss here whether or not the Rulers were given sufficient time for deliberation. Sir Harold MacMichael's own account of his negotiations and subsequent protests from Rulers have raised doubts about this. If further time is not given to the Rulers to confer and put forward their views a disastrous legacy of resentment may remain.

On a broad and long view, was the change necessary or desirable and will it work?

In the statement of policy contained in the first White Paper the Government gives its reasons:

"Uniformity of legislation in the Malay States, therefore, required separate action by at least six, and in some cases ten, legislatures. . . ."

"The increasing complexity of modern administrative, economic, and social developments demands a system of government less cumbersome, more adequate for large common services, and making better use of time and labour."

"A return to the old position would be manifestly contrary to the interests of the territories and their inhabitants in the post-war world, with its difficulties arising out of the war, and, for Malays, the special problems created by the Japanese occupation. . . . International relations, as well as the security and other interests of the British Commonwealth, require that Malaya should be able to exercise an influence as a united and enlightened country appropriate to her economic and strategic importance. . . . Efficiency and democratic progress alike demand, therefore, that the system of government should be simplified and reformed."

In the explanatory note (App. 1 in Sir H. MacMichael's report) the change is advocated as "the best means of leading the Peninsula, as a strong and united

country, towards the goal of self-reliance and self-government within the British Commonwealth of Nations."

After explaining the proposed Union and the new citizenship the Note states :

"Thus there will be no fear that the Malays will be submerged. But side by side with the Malays, those men and women of other races whose real loyalty is towards Malaya will be able to reap the reward of their loyalty, for Malayan Union citizenship will carry with it the qualification for public and administrative service in the Union. This will strengthen the Malays and the country."

The Malays and their friends may, in view of past experience, be pardoned for failing to see that their strengthening or even their preservation from submergence follows logically from the proposals.

There is a good deal of *non-sequitur* and *petitio-principii* in these two White Papers, but from them we see that the main reasons advanced for the change are that they constitute a step towards democratic self-government and give the non-Malays an equal political status with the Malays in the States as a just reward for their loyalty.

Now it is perfectly true that with the possible exception of Inter-State Customs Stations, the difficulties and inconveniences of the old system, from the point of view of the ordinary man, were more apparent than real.

There was, in fact, a uniform system of justice and administration, of posts, telegraphs and railways, and such difficulties as there were could have been eliminated by degrees without any radical changes in the Constitution. The various races lived together in harmony; the administration was generally clean and efficient. It perhaps had too many European officials, but these were to a large extent being replaced by Malays in the States and by locally born men in the Colony. Under the old bureaucracy all the freedoms were enjoyed by the man in the street to an extent undreamed of in many European countries today.

World opinion, however, and especially American opinion, moulded by years of hostile propaganda abroad and by uninformed left-wing doctrines at home, hated colonial bureaucracy and all its works and would believe no good of it. An ignorant world refused to believe, what was the truth, that under that very system the goal of responsible self-government within the Empire was always before us, and that in places like Malaya trusteeship had been gradually giving way to partnership all the time. But we were never good propagandists.

Furthermore, we have now to consider these questions in the light of our position as members of the United Nations Organization. On February 9, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations accepted the Report of its Committee on Non-Self-Governing Peoples. That Report reaffirms the declaration contained in Chapter XI of the Charter, which binds members responsible for the administration of territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government *inter alia* "to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement."

The Report concludes with these words : "The General Assembly expects that the realization of the objectives of Chapter XI, XII, and XIII will make possible the attainment of the political, economic, social, and educational aspirations of non-self-governing peoples."

Speaking in the Assembly on this occasion the delegate of the United States said : "We make it clear once and for all that the declaration regarding non-self-governing territories contained in Chapter XI of the Charter is not merely the concern of the Colonial powers, but also the concern of the United Nations."

Article 73(e) of the Charter binds those members responsible for non-self-governing peoples "to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General . . . statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are responsible, other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply" (*i.e.*, other than territories placed under the Trusteeship Council).

Speakers at the session on February 9 underlined this undertaking. The United Kingdom delegate said : "The Report before you is not limited to the problems of

trust territories . . . the world is entitled to be critical of the manner in which Colonial powers discharge their responsibilities. Indeed, one of the greatest weapons which the Colonial peoples have is the weapon of publicity and world public opinion."

Our work and conduct in this field will henceforth be watched more closely than ever by a critical world. This need not disturb us, for our new commitments under the Charter are entirely consistent with our previous policy.

Some such change, however, as is now proposed for Malaya is perhaps now called for, if only to satisfy world opinion that we mean what we say.

There is, too, the question of defence to be considered. All are surely agreed that peace can be preserved only by eternal vigilance.

There must be a comprehensive plan of defence for this and other Eastern areas, worked out in conjunction with our Allies. This requires joint staff conferences and may need immediate action.

Speed, security and efficiency require that there should be one central authority to represent the whole peninsula, and that any means which time may show to be required will not be hampered or delayed by the necessity to consult State Governments.

Besides the allegedly insufficient time given to the Rulers to confer and consider the new proposals, which was mentioned above, Press comments in Malaya and this country centre round the claims of the Malays to a privileged position as the "natural inhabitants" and "heirs to the inheritance," and round their fears that they will be submerged by other races.

I do not propose to enter on the barren question as to who were the "original" inhabitants of Malaya, for such arguments lead nowhere. If you go back far enough, all races were once immigrants. As regards their fears of submergence, some past census figures are given in the Appendix. These, it is suggested, give no grounds for pessimism as regards the Malays' future. In considering the figures it must be borne in mind that, while some of the increase among the Malays is due to immigration, most Malay immigrants take up land and remain; on the other hand, a large proportion of the Chinese and Indian immigrants are coolies who will not remain long enough to qualify for Malayan citizenship.

We have seen that the White Paper expressly promises that the Malay Lands Reservation Policy is to be continued.

As regards the inevitable increase of non-Malays in higher Government posts, no uneasiness need be felt as to the supply of men qualified by character and ability for the work. Many of the young generation have been educated in the United Kingdom and have already proved their worth in the professional and business life of the country. Where Malay officers have succeeded we need not fear that Chinese and others will fail.

Some merchants in Penang, which is one of the two Settlements to join the Union, have expressed the fear that if the Dutch maintain Sabang in Sumatra as a free port, while Penang is trammelled with Union Customs duties, Penang will lose her trade to Sabang. Time alone will show whether their fears are well founded, and the position will need careful watching.*

Parties to Treaties cannot foresee the future. Time and progress create new obligations and Treaties grow out of date. We have both our clear duty to the Malays and a debt to pay to those other races, and perhaps especially to the Chinese, who have contributed so much to the country's development and who have displayed such superb devotion and loyalty to ourselves. No Englishman can fail to be moved profoundly by the accounts now reaching us of the loyalty of the Straits Chinese and of the help which they readily gave at the peril of their lives to our nationals in their time of need. It was the same in the first World War as in the second.

There is no apparent reason why, after some adjustments, the scheme now proposed should not succeed. Much is wisely left to be worked out on the spot. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald and Sir Edward Gent are a strong team who may be trusted to see fair play. All men of goodwill should wish them success.

* Since the above article was written the Government has announced, on the occasion of the third reading of the Bill, that Penang will be a Free Port in the Malayan Union and that Free Port facilities will continue.

FEDERATED STATES							
	<i>Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Census Year.</i>	<i>Malays.</i>	<i>Chinese.</i>	<i>Indians.</i>	<i>Approximate Malay Percentage of Total Population.</i>	
Perak	7,980	1901	131,470	150,239	34,760	41	
		1911	173,166	217,206	73,539	37	
		1941*	335,385	450,197	196,056	34	
Selangor	3,160	1901	34,248	109,598	16,847	21	
		1911	48,730	150,908	74,067	18	
		1941*	152,697	339,707	193,504	22	
Negri Sembilan ...	2,580	1901	54,701	32,931	5,526	59	
		1911	65,146	40,843	18,248	53	
		1941*	106,005	125,806	59,270	36	
Pahang	13,820	1901	65,571	8,695	1,253	87	
		1911	75,870	24,287	6,611	70	
		1941*	128,539	73,925	17,226	57	

NON-FEDERATED STATES†							
	<i>Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Census Year.</i>	<i>Malays.</i>	<i>Chinese.</i>	<i>Indians.</i>	<i>Approximate Malay Percentage of Total Population.</i>	
Johore	7,500	1911	109,983	63,410	5,659	61	
		1941*	302,104	308,901	58,498	45	
Kedah	3,660	1911	197,702	33,746	6,074	80	
		1941*	341,294	108,445	60,898	65	
Perlis	316	1911	29,598	1,627	114	90	
		1941*	46,441	8,277	1,127	80	
Kelantan	5,750	1911	268,914	9,844	731	94	
		1941*	369,256	23,363	7,591	91	
Teringganu ...	5,050	1911	149,553	4,169	61	97	
		1941*	186,580	16,956	1,409	92	

March 19.

FRANCE IN INDOCHINA

By HENRI BRENIER

(Correspondant de l'Institut de France)

FRANCE's record in Indochina is insufficiently known, and too often wrongly judged, even among many of our British and especially of our American friends. It is difficult to give, in the four or five pages allotted to us (and for which we are none the less very thankful), an adequate idea of the work we have accomplished in a country a

* 1941 figures are estimates supplied by the Malayan Information Agency.

† 1901 figures for the Non-Federated States are not available.

part of which we have occupied for the last eighty-seven years* and the remainder for sixty, and which is bigger (295,000 square miles) than Burma (261,000 square miles) and about two-thirds more populated (24 million as against 15 million inhabitants). We must at least try, and hope we will be excused for presenting a bare skeleton made out of the dry bones of statistics where we would have liked to expose the living figure in full flesh that it really is.

What adds to the difficulty of a résumé is that we have been—as the name Indochina itself implies—confronted with two widely diverging civilizations: the Indian in Cambodia and Laos and the Chinese in the Annamite provinces, not to speak of the million or so “savage” Indonesian tribesmen in the Annamite Cordillera. Not only are the languages entirely different and their scripts, but also the religious and philosophical, social and political traditions and conditions we had to deal with.

To begin with, the fundamental framework on which all progress had to be built in a country in which over 70 per cent. of the population is accumulated in the deltas of the Mekong and Red rivers (and a few smaller ones along the Annamite coast), we had to tackle the problem of the extension and amelioration of rice cultivation. A few figures must suffice to show our achievements.

In Cochinchina the rice fields have passed from some 800,000 or 900,000 acres when we arrived to 5,150,000 acres in 1937, out of all parallel with the growth of the population. Proof is afforded by the double criterion of the great increase in canals (both for irrigation and navigation), which now reach (“main” canals only) some 800 miles, or nearly twice the distance between London and Edinburgh, in the sole delta of the Mekong, and by the increase of the export of rice in all its forms from 287,000 to an average of 1,500,000 tons for the last ten years. The total of *new* rice land put at the disposal of the natives in the whole colony is now up to some 4½ million acres. The dykes repaired, strengthened, or built by us in the Red River delta in Tonkin exceed 1,600 kilometres (twice the distance from Brighton to Cape Duncansby). The Indochina Rice Office has done some excellent work in the selection and distribution of the best strains of native and foreign *paddies* and for the amelioration of native methods of rice culture.

The same effort has been made by the general and provincial Agricultural Departments and their sixteen laboratories and experimental farms or plots towards the absolutely necessary introduction of new, or bettering of already existing, crops as a counterpart to rice monoculture: maize (466,000 tons exported), soya, peanuts, coconuts, oil palm, sugar, pepper, tropical fruits; cotton, kapok, wood-oil, lacquer, stick-lac, star-aniseed, gum-benjamin trees, tobacco, tea, coffee, and rubber (a great success of our French colonists; 325,000 acres planted, 600,000 tons exported in 1938), sericulture and stock raising (especially by the fight against rinderpest and other epidemics); the colony's forests (9 million acres put under reserve) have been attended to. The fishermen of the Annamite coast and the innumerable “land fishermen” in the great rivers (the Mekong, the greater part of which runs in the colony, ranks eighth among the world's longest rivers), lakes, marshes, and even rice fields have not been forgotten, and a special institute for pisciculture and oceanography has existed for years.

A great campaign was started nearly thirty years ago (1907) against the great social plague of the whole East—usury. After indifferent success, partly through the fault of the peasants we had tried to help by rural credit societies, it had been taken up again some years before the war. Co-operative societies, both for consumption and production, seem more promising. A special office has taken in hand the extension of the peasant proprietary class, and we have begun the enormous and extremely difficult task of the “decongestioning” of the Red River delta in Tonkin, where obtains one of the heaviest densities to the square mile in the world (more than 2,000 in certain districts).

Over 3,000 kilometres of railways and 26,000 kilometres of roads have been built; 15 aerodromes and 75 auxiliary landing-places were at the disposal of the five air

* Since 1858, the very same year (a fact generally lost sight of) in which the British Government took over India from the East India Company, whose activity, as is well known, had been exclusively on commercial lines.

companies which frequented Indochina just before the war. Several industries have been started. The value of the colony's commerce amounted to over 4 billion francs in 1938, 46.2 per cent. of which (43 per cent. as to imports), contrary to an oft-repeated error if not to wilful calumny, was with foreign countries and not one-sided with France. The total tonnage of the in- and out-going vessels (coasting navigation included) reached 21 million tons the same year.

This is a far too compressed compendium of our economic effort. Our social and cultural work has not been behindhand. Let us mention very briefly two of its aspects.

There existed 876 sanitary "formations" (hospitals, medical centres, infirmaries, dispensaries, maternity centres, leproseries (asylums, but specially "segregated villages," hospices) in 1938; 366,000 patients had been hospitalized; 6,261,000 natives had come to "consult," and the number of consultations had reached 14,818,000; and the different "vaccinations" (against smallpox, cholera, typhoid fever, plague, etc.) 13,000,000. Our five Pasteur institutes have for years been doing some splendid work, were it only the world-famed discovery of the remedy against bubonic human plague by Dr. Yersin at Nhatrang.

As to public instruction, the official figures of the school and college children give a false impression, because account is not taken of the fact that the multiplication of very cheap school manuals (most of them for the primary schools, at 5 cents) and their native counterfeits have enabled parents, especially among the Annamites, to keep up the indigenous custom of education *at home*. The spread of learning has been enormously facilitated by the invention by Catholic missionaries of the seventeenth century, greatly perfected by one of them (the Provençal Jesuit Father Alexandre de Rhodes) of a system of phonetic *Romanji* writing (*quve ngu*), adopted by us, and which enabled us to do away with the hieroglyphic Chinese (and Annamite) characters, the use of which (*each word* being represented by a different character) obliged one to spend *years* in learning only to *read*. A university with five "colleges" (Medicine and Pharmacy, Law, Fine Arts, Agriculture, Public Works) has existed at Hanoi since 1920.

Among the same intellectual and cultural realizations, mention at least must be made of our *École Française d'Extrême Orient*, an institution somewhat on the lines of the French and British Schools of Athens and Rome, a centre of studies founded nearly fifty years ago by Monsieur Doumer to which "specialists" are appointed by the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* of the Institute of France, with the approval of the colony's Governor-General; Sinologues, Annamitologues, Khmerologues, Japonologues, Sanscritists, students of Pati or other Far Eastern languages, or interested in the history, geography, laws, customs or religions of the whole Far East from India to Japan, including Malaya. The school's researches, discoveries, reconstitutions, decipherings, publications (especially concerning those *chefs d'œuvre* of Indian art, Angkor Thom, the capital and the pagoda of Angkor Wat, and over 700 other Cambodian temples) have earned for it a world reputation.

Space precludes me from giving any details about what we have done concerning the redress of certain indigenous laws and the administration of justice, or the gradual extension of political rights. In Cochinchina the local Colonial Council (founded sixty-five years ago) has now an indigenous majority. There is a People's Chamber in Tonkin and one in Annam, and Consultative Assemblies in Cambodia and Laos, besides local councils in each administrative province and in the big towns. The indigenous inhabitants have now a majority in the Superior Council of the colony.

A deep-rooted prejudice against us is that Indochina, like all our colonies, is a simple "fonctionnaire" preserve. As a matter of fact (excluding 11,000 army, navy, and airmen), out of the 25,100 French men, women, and children remaining (according to the 1936 census), the "fonctionnaires" totalled 4,167, a little over one-sixth of the French population. On the other hand, taking into account all the budgets (general, provincial, and local), our rule cost the natives 14 piastres (local dollars) 73 cents (147 francs 30) per head in 1938.

SILHOUETTES OF INDOCHINA

II. CAMBODIA AND LAOS, THE LINK WITH SIAM

By E. W. HUTCHINSON

OF the three principal races in French-Indo China, the Viêt (Annamese), as we have seen, reflect the influence of China along the whole eastern sea-board. The western area bordering the Mekong bears the impress no less clearly of a quite different civilization which came to the Tai, Môn, and Khmer inhabitants in the first millennium from India.*

Tongking, as the name implies, was once a Province of China, and the Viêt who inhabit it are believed to have Fukienese blood in their veins.† The long coastal strip to the south, now known as Annam, was indeed for a thousand years the home of Indian civilization among the Cham: after 1479, however, the Indian element was swamped out by the Viêt invaders, many of the survivors emigrating to Cambodia. The next three centuries witnessed a systematic extension of Viêt influence towards the south, and, when the French arrived 150 years ago, little evidence of Indian influence remained in the East other than a number of imposing brick ruins—at Mi-son (near Hué), at Po-nagar (near Nha-trang), and the Cham towers near Phan-thiêt.

In the Mekong valley, however, Indian culture is still alive today. The clothing worn by both sexes recalls the *dhōti* of India, an elongated loin-cloth, the long end rolled up and hitched between the legs into the belt at the back; in Cambodia it is called *sompot*. The *panung* of Siam is exactly similar. Then there is the script: in Cambodia, square characters and a phonetic alphabet, obviously derived from Sanskrit, the language of *The Greater Vehicle* in Buddhist India; in Laos, a similar but rounded form derived from Ceylon, the home of Pali and *The Lesser Vehicle*. This form of Buddhism ultimately replaced Mahayana everywhere from the Bay of Bengal to the Mekong. Hinayana is now accepted in Burma, Shan States, Laos, Siam and Cambodia, where it influences not only the architecture but also the life in those countries.

A characteristic of Buddhist architecture is the *Stupa* or pagoda, originally a reliquary for the bones of a revered person. It came from India in the form of a bell, inverted and tapering to a crown of small tinkling triangles encircling the cone at the end of the spire. The whole structure is generally overlaid with a coat of gold leaf, which it is a meritorious action to renew. We miss the brilliance of these glittering spires on entering Annam from the west. Another feature of these Indianized lands is a tapering, many-tiered tower erected upon the roof of a palace, or in miniature over a funeral pyre: they call it P'ra Meru in memory of Mount Kailasa, which in Indian mythology symbolizes ascent from this earth to the Unseen. Any natural hillock nearby is utilized to represent the sacred mountain:‡ the P'nom behind the palace at P'nom-penh is one; P'nom-bakheng, overshadowing Angkor-T'om is another. The vista from the summit of P'nom-bakheng is one of all-embracing forest, only broken on the south-east by the majestic ruins of Ankor-vat some distance away. The central pile of the great temple consists of superimposed platforms, carrying the masonry and constituting in themselves a superb model of a Kailasa. Like the ruins upon P'nom-bakheng, Angkor-vat appears to have been

* The aspirated form "Thai" (meaning "free") is used only by that branch of the Tai family which liberated the land now known as Siam (possibly a Tai version of Shan, the Chinese name for the Tai Yai). The Lao of the Mekong valley are near cousins of the northern Thai. The Khmer, their neighbours, coalesced with the Môn of Funan to form Cambodia.

† *Vide Le Tonkin ancien*, by Claude Madrolle, B.E.F.E.O., xxxvii.

‡ Cf. the artificial hills at Ayudhya and Bangkok (the Golden Mount) were erected when natural hillocks were not present.

intended originally for the worship of Viṣṇu, but by about the twelfth century it was being used as a Buddhist shrine.

Last September Londoners were privileged to see Angkor through lantern slides shown by Mr. Ph. Stern in the course of his lecture at the *Institute français*. This visit of the distinguished curator of the *Musée Guimet* in Paris was arranged as the result of contacts resumed by the Royal India Society after the war with *L'Association française des amis de l'Orient*, undeterred by countless difficulties. The fact that some of the slides were rather faded and that they included no picture of the P'nom-bakheng is itself a reminder of the long period that of necessity has elapsed since Paris and Angkor were last in touch. Both the lecture and the pictures provided those present with proof of the extent to which France, and in particular the French School (*L'École française d'extrême-Orient*), have contributed to the knowledge of Cambodian history.

The three successive periods of Cambodian art were discussed in turn. The first one came to an end before the ninth century and is represented by a large number of isolated brick vaults with a superstructure that terminates in a gabled roof. The vault serves as shrine for a *Lingam* (the royal, reproductive motif in Siva worship). These vaults have been compared by Parmentier to the *Gopuram* in Madras Province.* The sanctuary towers, *Sikhara* of Gupta India, are reproduced in the octagonal spire, characteristic of later Khmer art, surmounted by a trident. Examples of it are familiar in the *P'ra Prang* of the palace temples in Bangkok. The starting-point of the first Indian adventurers was undoubtedly the ports of Eastern India, from which they crossed the Bay of Bengal and the isthmus of Kra early in our era, intent upon reaching the colonies of Funan in the Peninsula, if not Funan (S. Cambodia) itself. In this connection Nagar-Junakonda, near the estuary of the Krisna River, contains some interesting relics which deserve further study.† Dr. Reginald S. le May traces three distinct influxes of Indians—the first, in Andhra times; the second, in the Gupta period, from Tamralipti (Calcutta); the third, bringing Pallava influences from Kanchi, around Madras.‡ The Indian blood of these pioneers is still discernible in the darker skin and other non-Mongolian features of the inhabitants of Cambodia. Indian statuary has also been found in the isthmus, which they must have crossed on their way. Although few in number, the colonists implanted their customs and religion among both Môn and Khmer. The Indian origin of the monarchy in both cases is proclaimed by the suffix “-varman” attached to the names of all their kings; by the worship of the Brahman Trinity and by the ritual supporting it.§

Change in material and design occurs in ruins dated later than 802 A.D., the year when Jayavarman II ascended the throne. He is reputed to have come from Java. In any case Java, Sumatra and Cambodia at this period all received a fresh influx of Indian influence, but from the Deccan in West-Central India. The agency responsible for introducing it in each case was the Sailendra, an off-shoot of the Ganga, who were conquered by the Chalukiya of the Deccan. The Buddhism of the *Greater Vehicle* which they introduced was responsible for the cult of the Sacred Mountain, the *Kailasa*. Sandstone and laterite as a medium of construction replaced the brick of earlier periods. Galleries connected the vaults. The superstructure, in place of a gabled roof, tapered to a pyramid in imitation of the Sacred Mountain.

The classical period which followed brought Cambodian art to the summit of its achievement. In this period Buddhist influence increased, and decorative art took on a certain national imprint, as scenes from legend and from daily life were depicted

* *Vide L'Art Khmer Primitif*, by Henri Parmentier (Hanoi, 1927).

† Nagar-junakonda is only some seventy miles from Amaravati; the Greco-Roman influences found in relics there are believed to have reached it by sea by way of Nagar-junakonda. *Vide Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 54. A. H. Longhurst.

‡ *Vide Buddhist Art in Siam*, pp. 18-19.

§ Ref. the following works by Quaritch Wales: *Towards Angkor* (London, 1937); *Archæological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya* (J.R.A.S., Malayan branch, Singapore, 1940); *State Ceremonies in Siam* (London, 1932).

in the most wonderful and life-like bas-reliefs. A similar progression from the copying of Indian models to the blossoming forth of a national Khmer art is to be seen in the statuary. In design and execution some of the masterpieces which Mr. Stern showed us on the screen will bear comparison with the finest work of ancient Greece.*

In November, London was again indebted to the Royal India Society, this time for arranging an exhibition at Netherlands House of coloured photographs reproducing the frescoes in the Ajanta caves. Scenes from daily life in the Deccan are depicted at a date even earlier than the Sailendra period. Those familiar with Cambodia could not fail to recognize kinship between the Indian and Cambodian dance, both in the frescoes and in the exhibition of dancing given by Rekha Ali. The same may be said of the dance and musical instruments of Siam and Laos.

A reason for the decline of this high achievement in Cambodia is to be found in the pressure of politics during the past six centuries. Prior to the Cham debacle in 1479 Cambodia (while yielding ground to Siam on the west) had tended to treat the Cham, according to circumstances, either as rivals to be mastered or as a buffer between themselves and Annam. After 1479 Cambodia herself became the buffer; she survived solely through the weaknesses of Annam and Siam respectively in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fact that she permitted Viêt to crush the Cham in 1479 was due solely to the fact that forty-eight years earlier she herself had been struck down by Siam when the Thai sacked and burnt Angkor in 1431.

The early nineteenth century saw both her neighbours ready to overwhelm Cambodia. The inevitable clash between Annam and Siam in Cambodia was avoided in 1809 by a partition—Viêt taking the eastern and the Thai the western frontier lands of Cambodia—the latter including the rich Province of Battambang, which Siam held for 98 years continuously until 1907. But for French intervention in the mid-century Siam would almost certainly have reduced Cambodia still further. In 1844 the young heir to the Cambodian throne, Ang Vodey, went to Bangkok at the age of ten for his education. Eighteen years later, upon his accession to the throne, he learnt that King Mongkut of Siam, who had custody of Cambodia's crown and sword of State, intended to confer them with his own hand at a coronation ceremony planned to take place at Bangkok. This prospect Ang Vodey regarded with distaste. The French by 1862 had tightened their hold upon the former Annamese lands on the Cambodian south frontier. Taking advantage of Ang Vodey's distaste for coronation in Bangkok, a French gunboat appeared off his capital (Udong) on the Great Lake. Doudard de Lagrée, the officer in command, not only gained the sympathies of the young prince, but succeeded in preparing the ground for an official visit from Admiral Lagrandière to Udong, during which a secret Franco-Cambodian convention was negotiated on August 11, 1863. The news soon reached King Mongkut, who immediately advanced new proposals the aim of which was to by-pass those of the Admiral before they could be ratified in Paris. Mongkut's offer was for the two Kings to meet at Kampot near their respective frontiers and for the coronation to be held there. The French attribute much credit to Lagrée for dissuading Ang Vodey from falling in with Mongkut's suggestion as he was ready to do in March, a month before Napoleon III's consent to a French Protectorate over Cambodia arrived. Thus, the Admiral and not King Mongkut presided over the coronation ceremony in Cambodia on June 3, 1864. The latter forwarded the insignia to the Admiral by a deputy, and Ang Vodey placed the crown on his head himself, taking the title of Norodom I.

Seventy-seven years later his descendant, the young Prince Sihanuk, was crowned at P'nom-penh by Admiral Decoux with the title Norodom II. The sketches which follow are taken from an account of the ceremony which Jean Sauveplan contributed to the weekly paper *Indochine* (of Hanoi) on November 20, 1941.

* *Vide* "Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l'art Khmer," by Ph. Stern, *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Paris, 1927). Reference is also invited (for the whole subject of Indian influence) to the work in which he collaborated with Masson-Cursel, *India and Indian Civilization* (London, 1934).

"October 28, 1941. Not a sound invades the gloom of the Great Hall. Still as a statue, robed in brilliants, the grandson of H.M. Sisowath Monivong is seated on the throne beneath the nine-tiered Parasol of State. Motionless, he awaits his sacring as King of Cambodia at the hands of the representative of France. . . . As the Governor-General takes the heavy crown from the hands of the Brahmins and places it upon the young ruler's head, the hall rocks to the muffled explosion of twenty-one minute guns.

It is now the turn of the Resident of Cambodia to officiate. Supporting the Sword of State between his two hands, he holds it aloft. The King grasps it in his right hand and the assembled Princes, Ministers, Governors, Magistrates with one accord place their hands together. Bowing low, they do homage to their new sovereign, whose resplendent figure, elevated priest-like above them, begins already to assume the majesty of his august ancestors. Of a sudden a raucous wall fills the air as the conches of the Brahmins sound forth. A clash of cymbals breaks the spell that held this moment of history in its thrall. . . .

The King has now come down from the throne: every eye turns towards him; Princes and Ministers rise to their feet and form a group encircling their Lord. The Head Brahmin gathers up handfuls of lighted candles and holds them out in front of the King. The tiny lights are then passed from hand to hand among the courtiers; each with a rapid turn of the wrist points a frail flame in the direction of his Sovereign in order thereby to divert the forces of evil from the King's sacred person. Until the wicks burn out the King is enclosed within a ring of lights, slowly wheeling."

The central incident in the second day's ceremonies is the ritual bathing with lustral water.

"October 29. Under the shadow of tapering spires the approach to the Mall beneath the Sacred Mount is now a solid, swaying mass of red and gold. The royal procession is heralded by lictors in red smocks. . . . Princes and Ministers in covered litters are followed by Mandarins in robes of rusty-gold. Bearers of banners, fans, or spears escort the images of tawny gold that tower aloft on palanquins.

The King, clad in a vesture of copper-gold and wearing a diminutive crown of many tiers, looks like some young prince in a fairy-tale. The Brahmins are waiting to receive him, and, when he has descended from the litter, they bring forward the lustral water and pour it over him. The Queen-Mother superintends in person the changes of insignia and of head-dress.

The royal progress is then resumed in a coach drawn by prancing ponies with bobbing plumes which seem to have come to life straight out of a relief at Angkor. . . . White-robed Brahmins in attendance spread themselves fan-like across the steps of the Residency in order to give the final blessing to the King as he passes.

For the last time the head-dress and insignia prescribed in the ritual have again been changed. The King is now weary but has a smile for all as, every inch a king, he gravely leads the way on to an improvised platform and there stands in readiness to mount the white elephant that is to carry him back to the Palace. . . ."

H.M. King Ananda Mahidol, the twenty-year-old King of Siam, went back to his country in December, 1945, by air from Switzerland, the country which has given him a home and education during the war years and those immediately preceding. The coronation ceremony, due before long to take place in Bangkok, will be of the same pattern as that described above, since the monarchy both in Cambodia and Siam rests upon tradition brought in of old from India. Both kings, though for quite different reasons, happen to have been brought up in French surroundings, and to King Ananda, at least, the French language must come very naturally. This circumstance, added to the share of Indian culture which each sovereign inherits from the past, may perhaps contribute to a much-needed softening of the political atmosphere in which the ancient quarrel between Cambodia and Siam has

developed. Recent events, affecting Laos also, are only too likely to have added fuel to the ancient fires.

Ever since Siam recovered from the final Burmese invasion Laos has represented a partial menace to Siam's north-east frontier. In 1828 there was reason to suppose that intrigues were on foot in the Burmese Court at Mandalay between the Kings of Burma and Laos. This, so it seemed in Bangkok, was likely to open Siam's back door to the next invasion from Burma. The suzerain of Laos, Annam, was busy at the time with her own troubles, leaving Laos a free hand. Siam therefore seized the opportunity to kill the menace at a single stroke. Thai troops crossed the frontier and invaded Central Laos after sacking the capital of Vieng Chan.* On their return they brought back with them the much prized figure of jade known as the Emerald Buddha. Fifty years on, in 1878, Siam again invaded Laos. On this occasion Hô pirates from Yunnan supplied the pretext, since Annam did nothing to protect the Lao from their depredations; but behind this lurked a suspicion that the King of Burma was intriguing with the French, now masters of Central as well as Southern Annam. After dispersing the Hô, Siam therefore retained troops in Laos to be at the disposal of a Thai Commissioner, Phra Yot. Annam meanwhile was too engaged in her quarrel with France to protest.

In 1885 France completed the conquest of Tongking, and assumed all Viêt's pretensions of suzerainty over Laos. In the same year Britain became master of Upper Burma and deposed King Thibaw, who sought asylum with the French. Siam would not seem to have appreciated the full significance of these events, since Phra Yot's force was still maintained in Laos. Early in 1893 the inevitable clash occurred when Phra Yot's men surprised a small French force in Laos under Groscurin, who died in resisting them. A French ultimatum was the immediate consequence, and it was supported by warships that forced the defences of Bangkok in June. Under the threat of their loaded guns, Siam gave way, but tension continued between Paris and London until Prince Devawongse in August had arranged terms acceptable to the French.† Siam renounced all claim to the islands in the Mekong and to its left bank territory. Among other concessions she agreed to demilitarize her Battambang and Angkor Provinces, also permitted a French force to occupy Chantabun pending punishment of Groscurin's assailants. The turn of the century saw the French still unsatisfied, and the frontiers of both Cambodia and Laos were further adjusted at Siam's expense. Delcassé's treaty of 1902 also gave France a footing on the right bank of Mekong and Lan Chang district was incorporated with Laos; at the same time the Bassac-Melouprey districts went to Cambodia‡.

Strained relations between France and Siam, having lasted for over two decades, were finally relaxed by the Franco-British Entente, in virtue of which Siam obtained all the benefits which a Buffer-State enjoys when guaranteed by two strong Powers, both equally interested in maintaining the buffer. In 1907 she liquidated her feud with France in a treaty which gave her possession of Krat and the islands nearby on the east coast of the gulf; in exchange she ceded the Battambang and Angkor Province to France, but French troops were withdrawn from Chantabun.§

From all this it is obvious that Cambodia and Laos both profited territorially by the French Protectorate; it follows therefore that they are now anxious that France should get back all territory that Japan took from her and awarded to Siam in 1942. The post-war Siamese Government has not condoned the 1940-41 "incident," and is prepared to accept the ruling of the United Nations in the matter of her frontiers with France. Without prejudice to the final issue it will be generally conceded that during the past forty years France, by reason of her superior equipment, has been able to confer great cultural benefits upon Indo-China. Not only has the Govern-

* Spelt by the French Vientiane.

† The terms were embodied in the treaty of October 3, 1893, signed in Bangkok by Prince Devawongse and Le Myre de Villars.

‡ The treaty of October 7, 1902, with convention of February 13, 1904, were signed in Paris by Delcassé and Phya Suriya.

§ The treaty of March 23, 1907, was signed by Prince Devawongse and Collin de Plancey.

ment encouraged antiquarian research, it has also applied it to the task of educating the Khmer in the history of their former greatness. Schools, such as that of Mr. Groslier at P'nom-penh, have been attached to the museums and the models exhibited in them are utilized for training the youth both to appreciate and to copy the masterpieces of their forefathers. Suzanne Karpelès has helped by introducing the youth of Laos and Cambodia to Western literature through the medium of translations which she has distributed.

Mr. Henri Marchal, in a brief survey of his stewardship, written October 17,* refers with emotion to the loss of Victor Goloubew, which occurred during the war. To Goloubew, well known for his study of the Bronze Age in Tongking,† also of the Ajanta frescoes in India, was due the credit for disclosing the full religious significance of the "Sacred Mountain" at Angkor, to which reference has been made above. All who had the privilege of meeting him will be shocked by the news of his death.

For the researches of Miss Colani in pre-history, for the brilliant work of its Sanskrit and Chinese scholars from Pelliot to Mus (the present "Directeur-Adjoint") grateful acknowledgment is due to the French Far-Eastern School at Hanoi. An outcome of the archaeological mission established by Doumer in 1898, the school has supplied both inspiration and personnel under the able guidance of Mr. Georges Cœdès, the organizer of the Bangkok Museum and Royal Library during the first war before his succession to Finot, as Principal of the Far-Eastern School at Hanoi.

THE STATES AND INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

BEFORE the publication of the next issue of THE ASIATIC REVIEW the discussions now in progress between British Cabinet Ministers and the accredited representatives of British India and the Indian States will have determined India's future form of government. For, by common agreement, a stage has been reached in this very prolonged debate when final decisions can no longer be deferred, however formidable the impedimenta may be. Internal divisions, it has been decreed, can no longer be allowed to postpone India's immediate advance to full and unfettered political freedom—alternatively as one powerful, completely autonomous Federation, or as the separate but equally autonomous States implied on the one hand by the Muslim League's campaign for Pakistan, and on the other by the unreadiness of a number of Indian States to join a Federal Union except on terms to which, hitherto, Congress Party leaders have refused to agree. The relative weight of, and the effective support sustaining, these conflicting and hitherto irreconcilable attitudes will soon be determined, and in any event no attempt will be made in this article either to reassess, or correlate, the arguments *pro* and *con* or to forecast the final outcome.

Nevertheless, it may well emerge, in the course of the new Round-Table Conference negotiations, that one factor, wholly unique in this context, may exert a more decisive influence than is at present realized. I refer, of course, to the threat of famine—a menace which can hardly fail to modify the purely political and communal approaches which so completely dominated all preceding conferences, thereby deferring that workable agreement among Indian leaders which the U.K. Government has steadily prescribed as the essential prerequisite to the complete transfer of power all parties sincerely desire. I stress the importance of the food problem for the conclusive and indisputable reason that, as the experience gained in handling the Bengal famine and the present food crisis has very clearly established, even the

* *Vide Indochine française*, No. 14. November, 1945.

† *Vide B.E.F.E.O.*, xxix.

minimum subsistence can only be guaranteed for the bulk of its population by the preservation of India as one economic and administrative unit, and that, for this overwhelming majority, while the programme of separatism may command a certain superficial appeal, political freedom in this form can be bought at too high a price if in practice it means, as it may literally do, freedom only to starve, or at best to suffer indefinitely a still lower standard of living than hitherto.

The rôle which will be adopted by the Indian States in this great issue remains to be clarified, but, as regards the food problem, the essential—one might almost say the inherent and ineradicable—economic interdependence of India is now receiving further illustration: a consideration which must be peculiarly vivid in the minds of those responsible for the immediate destinies of the South Indian States, notably Mysore, Travancore, Hyderabad and Baroda. That substantial external aid will be made available to India, as the outcome of her Food Delegation's visits to London and Washington, it is still reasonable to hope. Nevertheless, food shortage is not at this juncture a condition peculiar to India, and, for the most part, as the Government of India are fully conscious, salvation must come mainly from a full mobilization and equitable distribution of India's own production, and the recent all-round reduction in the *per capita* ration has been prompted by that conclusion.

Nor, it would be idle to state, is the Indian food shortage merely a one-year problem. After a long period broken only in 1943 the threat of famine has returned to India not only as a tragic by-product of war, or of immediate post-war conditions, but as the outcome of a maladjustment of population and production which can be rectified only by remedial measures, calling for the active and continuous co-operation of every State and Province over a very long period. Every food-production plan so far formulated presupposes such long and continuous co-operation, and only the shallowest optimism can make it possible to assume that recurring famines, in the next two or three decades, can be averted without it. Nor is an increase in India's food production, at a pace and on a scale proportionate to the five-million-a-year increase in her population a problem which can be handled except as a part of the still wider task of an all-round development of the entire range of India's economic resources. And that such development could or would occur as a sequel to any process of political Balkanisation it is wholly impossible to believe. During the war years India has become, on balance, a net exporter of manufactured goods: a position hardly likely to persist when production and trade in the world generally revert to more normal channels. In any event, for India to become dependent on imported foodstuffs, except on the relatively minor scale prevailing prior to 1939, would represent a step backward, not a step forward. The reason is fairly obvious. Having ceased to export food, except tea and coffee, India is also entering a period which will probably, in fact inevitably, witness a progressive contraction in shipments of many staple raw materials; in such cases as jute and cotton, owing to the diversion of the land hitherto allocated to these cash crops to rice and other foods, and, in the case of oilseeds, owing to the necessity of conserving such products for local processing and consumption.

It is true that post-war India enjoys the possession of an unexpected accession to her external resources in the form of large sterling balances, but these will not long rank as the asset they are now construed to be, in the event of a prolonged adverse balance of trade which, in any case, is already contemplated as an incidental accompaniment of the vast supplies of capital goods required to implement the "Bombay Plan," or even the more modest reconstruction projects sponsored by the Government of India. Let it also not be forgotten that, normally, India's primary need is for increased supplies of rice, and that the great surplus-food producing countries of the world are primarily producers of wheat which, moreover, would be available to her only at Western price-levels: probably necessitating subsidies from Indian revenues in order to bring them within the purchasing power of Indian consumers. The inescapable inference, as I see it, is that, unless a large section of her population are to become subject to recurring famines, food production and distribution present problems soluble only by an undivided India, and that if full weight is not given to this factor in the present discussions a factor vital to the economic welfare

and betterment of the Indian masses will have been overlooked. In the event, I have too high a regard for the patriotism and insight of Indian statesmen to apprehend any oversight so gravely inimical either to their own reputations or to the interests of their constituents.

That the leading States are devoting increasing attention and energy to developing agricultural, as well as industrial, productivity successive issues of *THE ASIATIC REVIEW* have attested in cumulative evidence. The recent visits to this country and the United States of an Industrial Delegation, led by the Prime Minister of Patiala, in order to secure capital equipment for projects involving an aggregate investment of £400 millions, supplied impressive proof of the vigour and variety of the programmes now in hand; and so far as British manufacturers are concerned, orders from these States deserve high priority. It is for the Indian States, on their part, to take steps to ensure that the contacts now established are maintained and developed on a scale and basis calculated to ensure an ever-increasing degree of co-operation in the years to come. The Chamber of Princes is, happily, showing increasing awareness of the importance of giving fuller publicity to the States' resources if such co-operation is to be assured: one publication to hand from that source containing, for example, interesting details of the mineral resources to be found in the States, ranging "from the most highly prized gold to the cheapest common clay." It is emphasized that: "The States, both big and small, have been able to develop their local industries by scientific exploitation of their mineral wealth. Authentic information on such deposits has been collected by the Geological Departments of the States by conducting geological and mineral surveys, mining and prospecting operations, and chemical analyses and assays." Among the minerals whose production has increased as the result of war conditions, coal, iron ore, manganese and mica stand out prominently.

India ranks as the second largest coal producer in the British Empire, but it is not perhaps generally realized that the Indian States make a significant contribution to this output, Hyderabad contributing over 6½ million tons, mainly steam coal used by railways and mills. In respect of manganese, of which India accounts for one-third of the world's output, in 1938 of a total production of 968,000 tons the States contributed over 200,000. Recently, output has expanded to nearly 2 million tons. Manganese mining started as early as 1906 in Mysore. In 1937 production there stood at 5,548 tons, while the highest production and export so far recorded were during 1907 when 69,725 tons of ore were exported. Hyderabad and parts of Travancore State also possess rich deposits of the ore. Indian States possess also rich deposits of iron ore, some of which are worked by the Tata Steel Company. In 1939 Mysore produced 46,373 tons of iron ore. Hyderabad has iron ore deposits in considerable quantity in the districts of Adilabad and Nizamabad.

Over 99 per cent. of the Indian output of gold comes from Mysore, which is the seventh biggest producer in the world. The total quantity of fine gold produced in Mysore from the commencement of mining operations in 1882 to the end of 1927 exceeded 15½ million ounces valued at over £67 millions. Large deposits of bauxite have been found in some States, and, it is expected, will be developed to the great advantage of the Indian hollow-ware industry. Mysore produces over 50 per cent. of India's annual output of chrome, the chrome contents of the ores varying from 42 to 53 per cent. In 1939 output exceeded 30,000 tons. Mica is extracted in some States, including Hyderabad, but still presents scope for fuller development. The monazite sands of Travancore owe their economic importance to the fact that they contain a percentage of thorium, from which thorium nitrate, used in the manufacture of incandescent mantles, is derived. Thorium is one of the radio-active elements, and is held by experts as next in importance to uranium. Among other minerals and metals found in Indian States are copper, lead, tin, zinc, wolfram, asbestos, kaolin, red and yellow ochres, graphite and galena. From the same source we learn that the Mysore State is to have a second gold mine in operation shortly as a result of geological excavations at Ballara, about sixty miles from Bangalore. It is estimated that the new mine will yield about 25,000 ounces, valued at about Rs. 40 lakhs. Extraction of gold is expected to start immediately on arrival of the crushing plant for which orders have been placed abroad.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

İNGİLİZ EDEBİYATI TARİHİ—ELISABETH DEVRI VE SHAKESPEARE : CİLT II. By Halide Edib-Adivar. İstanbul. 1943.

The study of English language and literature in Turkey is proceeding apace. Both İstanbul and Ankara Universities include energetic and ably staffed English departments in their Faculties of Letters, and the work under review, published by the former University, is from the pen of Turkey's most famous woman novelist, educationalist, and chronicler of the War of Independence—Professor Halide Edib-Adivar—now head of the English department.

The first volume of her work, published in 1940, covered the history of English literature up to the Elizabethan era. The present volume deals with the age of Elizabeth. The material is on normal lines, though with the special virtue, in a country where texts are hard to procure, of including extensive analyses, supported by quotation of a number of important works. It is perhaps a consequence of this concentration on certain authors that others receive less attention than they deserve—Spenser, for instance, is dealt with somewhat briefly, with no quotation at all. The author kindles, however, to her favourite subject of the drama, and to *Tamburlaine* in particular she devotes the attention which is fitting in the country which witnessed his overthrow of Sultan Bayazıt. Marlowe's choice of subject she suggests to have been prompted by his interest in the campaigns of Cæsar, which covered some of the same ground, and by the contemporary splendour of the Turkish Empire. To Shakespeare's life and works about half the book is devoted—no disproportionate amount in a country where enthusiasm for him runs high—and five plays (*Coriolanus*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Richard III*, *Antony and Cleopatra*) are studied exhaustively under the title Hayat Panayırı—the Fair of Life. There is no doubt that this is a valuable and timely contribution to literary studies in Turkey, and its value will be enhanced if, in any subsequent editions, the occasional misprints in the quotations can be corrected.

A. R. H.

A TREATY BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM. By Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, K.C.S.I., D.L., Barrister-at-Law. Indian Institute of International Affairs. New Delhi.

This little book by a distinguished Indian politician and man of letters approaches the well-worn Indian question from a fresh angle. Indians have been so absorbed in their struggle for independence that the external problems of the country, upon which their whole future depends, have been relegated to the background. Up to the outbreak of the present war India, sheltered by the impassable barrier of the Himalayas and her shores protected by the sure shield of the British Navy, was content to live in splendid isolation. A small professional army of 300,000 men was considered sufficient for the country's needs. Some critics of the policy of the Government even thought it excessive.

Now everything has been altered. Air power has put preconceived ideas on strategy into the melting-pot; the Himalayas have proved as vulnerable as the Maginot Line. The tragedy of Singapore has shown that the British Navy cannot be ubiquitous; for a time the Japanese fleet was actually in command of Indian waters. Japan is now out of the picture, but her place has been taken by two great Powers. Russia already dominates northern Asia and marches with Afghanistan. China, once the disputes between the Kuomintang and the Communists have been settled, will possess enormous strength. In contrast to this formidable military set-up, the southern portion of Asia will remain Balkanized, except for whatever unifying influence may be exercised by India. Asiatic countries are interdependent in the matter of defence. If India is to play her part, she must be united internally and ready to co-operate with

the United Kingdom, Australia, and South Africa. How, asks Sir Sultan Ahmed, can India fulfil her rôle if, rent by communal dissensions, she insists on breaking away from the British Commonwealth of Nations? On India's external problems there is general agreement but little interest; on her internal problems there is much interest but all too little agreement. Only when the balance of concentration on the internal and external is struck can both be successfully solved.

No one will disagree with Sir Sultan Ahmed's conclusions upon this important subject. The Treaty which India's Constitution-making body will make with the British Government must contain joint arrangements for defence. It will be a period of some years before India can stand on her own feet, and even then the security of south-east Asia must always be a co-operative affair. As regards the pressing problem of internal unity the author is on more debatable ground. He rightly disclaims the idea of Pakistan, so enthusiastically put forward by a section of his co-religionists. In India Hindus and Muslims are inextricably commingled; taking together the Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind, and the North-West Frontier Province the Muslim majority is about 62 per cent. In North-Eastern Pakistan it would only be in the region of 54 per cent. And what of the two great cities of Amritsar and Calcutta, the one Sikh and the other Hindu, in the heart of Pakistan? Economically, too, Pakistan would be unable to stand on its own feet. The plums would go to the Hindus, leaving to the Muslims "the stones and sand of Rawalpindi, Multan, and Baluchistan."

Sir Sultan Ahmed is, therefore, in favour of a Federation of Sovereign Indian States, with a Federal Assembly in which the ratio of representatives will be 40 per cent. each for Hindus and Muslims and 10 per cent. for the Depressed Classes and for the other minorities respectively. The Executive will reflect the same communal ratio as the Assembly, and the Prime Minister will be alternately a Muslim and a non-Muslim. Much the same methods will be followed in the Provincial Governments, and elaborate religious, social, and cultural safeguards are suggested.

Similar proposals have been elaborated in the past by Sir Reginald Coupland, Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, and others. On paper they are excellent, but the question to be faced is whether either side will agree to them and, if they do, whether the schemes would be found to work in practice. They postulate a spirit of mutual goodwill and unanimity which is, unfortunately, lacking at present. A coalition Cabinet cannot possibly function unless the members wholeheartedly agree to work together and sink their differences. Sir Sultan Ahmed thinks that the British Government must not hand over until it is satisfied that the Constitution is a workable one, in the sense that it is generally acceptable to those who are going to live under it, minorities included. Whether such a consummation will ever arrive, time alone will show. As matters stand under the Cripps offer, the forming of the new Constitution will be left to the constituent assembly, with the option of contracting out to those units who are unwilling to accede; but what will be the ultimate destiny of the dissentients has never been made clear.

H. G. RAWLINSON.

CORRESPONDENCE

SIR,

I have read with great interest Sir R. Burn's criticism of my article on Hindu numerals. He complains (1) that I did not mention the author of the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, (2) that I did not give the date of its publication.

The facts are that for many years I had been trying to ascertain how the ancient peoples contrived to do multiplication without a zero, especially the Romans with their complicated figures. The writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* talks vaguely about an abacus, but frankly admits his ignorance. No one in Oxford knew either. At last, when consul in Berne I came across the *Dictionnaire* in the great town public

library. It was a massive work of four huge volumes. There was no single author, but its contributors included all the learned classical scholars of France. So far as I can remember the date of the edition that I saw was 1920.

I do not propose to argue the various points raised by Sir R. Burn, a very distinguished member of my own service. The ideas are not mine; I can only refer him to the Dictionnaire. If, however, he believes that the Romans had some system of multiplication other than that of the Mensa Pythagorea—e.g. :

M	C	X	I	XXIV	XXV
	I	II		V by IV	
	IV	VIII		V by XX	
				XX by IV	
				XX by XX	
VI = DC (600)					

I should be very grateful, indeed, if he would let me know what it is either privately or through the medium of your widely read paper.

CHARLES A. KINCAID.

SIR,

May I make one small correction to the interesting and sympathetic article on Persia by Mr. Goulding ("War of Ideas in Iran") in the January issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*? Actually the Persians who figured in the incident when they were mistaken for members of the Russian Dynamo Team were not the Education Delegates, but members of the Persian Press Delegation who visited this country last autumn as guests of the M.O.I. The incident took place at Cardiff, and they had gone there, not in fact to see a football match at all, but to visit the city under the auspices of the British Council. Otherwise this amusing little story is quite correct. And the member of the Delegation who claimed that while Russia was pre-eminent at football, Iran was at poetry, is himself a notable modern poet in their country, Mr. Sadeq Sarmad, editor of *Sadaye Iran*.

H. D. GRAVES LAW,
Middle East Division, Ministry of Information.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1946

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY ASHWIN CHOUDREE, B.A.

(South African Indian Congress Delegation to Great Britain)

At the outset let me wholeheartedly express my profound sense of gratitude to the East India Association for this opportunity it has accorded me on behalf of the South African Indian Congress Delegation to deal with proposals, which not only affect the rights of my people in South Africa, but also threaten to create antagonism between India and South Africa, and which will sow seeds of discord and ill-will between the Asiatic and European peoples of the world.

South Africa cannot and must not be allowed to disregard the great lesson which mankind has learnt from the huge conflagration and chaos from which the world is beginning to emerge. Though her own sacrifices have not been inconsiderable, situated as she has been geographically distant from the actual theatres of war, she may not have sufficiently realized how near extinction were the freedoms we hold dear. The destruction of Nazism and its concomitant evils will not be complete so long as mankind allows the root ideas that gave birth to its doctrines to remain alive anywhere in the world, no matter how dimly their flames appear to burn at the moment.

Could all be well in South Africa, as she would like to believe, when barely a month ago her Deputy Prime Minister, the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, speaking as Chancellor of the Witwatersrand University, at the graduation ceremony, found it necessary to observe: "The plain truth, whether we like it or not, is that the dominant mentality is a *Herrenvolk* mentality—the essential feature of our problems is to be found in that fact; the true solution of those problems must be sought in the changing of that mentality"? Referring to the material loss and the loss of international goodwill and esteem that South Africa as a consequence suffered, he stated: "We cannot hide our prejudices in a cupboard from inspection by others; our chief loss is a moral loss, as long as we continue to apply a dual standard in South Africa, to determine our attitudes towards, and our relationships with, European and non-European, on different ethical bases; to assign to Christian doctrine a significance which varies with the colour of men's skins; we suffer as a nation from what Plato would have called the lie in the soul, and the curse of the Iscariot may yet be our fate for our betrayal of the Christian doctrine, which we profess." It was a mockery, he said, to talk of themselves as a free people while they were a nation to so large an extent the slaves of prejudice; "while we allow our sense of dislike of colour of some of our fellow-South Africans to stand in the way of dealing fairly with them, and while we let ourselves become victims of the anti-Semitic doctrines which were a most important part of the Nazi ideology we fought to destroy."

In such an atmosphere and with such an attitude of mind dominating the scene

the South African Government has introduced a measure in Parliament known as the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill. This legislation has been totally condemned by the Indian community of South Africa, and has met with the strongest opposition from the people and Government of India. It is being imposed arbitrarily upon a substantial minority of the population, who are voteless and without any representation whatsoever; yet there are people who try and read into it benefits for the Indians.

INDIAN IMMIGRATION

Before dealing with the present crisis, I wish to trace our historical background in the country. Eighty-five per cent. of the present Indian population is South African born. We know no other home. We form a permanent part of the population. The vast majority of us, like myself, are descendants of indentured Indian immigrants who were first invited to South Africa in the year 1860. We are not an alien people, nor foreigners who imposed themselves upon the country; nor are we intruders. Our forefathers were induced to come by the prospects that the country held out to them. When their term of indenture expired they were even given free grants of Crown lands as an encouragement to remain and not to return to India. By their labours and the sweat of their brow they contributed in no small measure to make Natal the Garden Colony of South Africa, which she so proudly claims to be. Two hundred and ten thousand of us reside in Natal, and comprise some nine-tenths of the whole Indian population of South Africa.

Sir Liege Hulett, whose firm today is the backbone of the sugar industry of South Africa, speaking in the Old Legislative Assembly of Natal in 1906, said of our forebears: "The condition of the colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom, it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country, and it was only by the Government assisting the importation of labour that the country began at once to thrive. The coast had been turned into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa. They could not find in the whole of the Cape and Transvaal what could be found in the coast of Natal—10,000 acres of land in one plot and in one crop—and that was entirely due to the importation of Indians. Durban was absolutely built on the Indian population."

Indians continued to enjoy the franchise as long as Natal was a Crown Colony under the jurisdiction of the British Government. The Natal Colonial Government tried to deprive us of this right, but the Home Government would not agree, and the exclusion of the Indians from the voters' roll was not carried through until 1896, after Natal had achieved responsible government. Restrictive immigration based on educational qualifications continued until 1913, when, to allay European fears of being outnumbered by Indians and with the consent of the Indians in South Africa, further immigration from India was prohibited by the passage of the Immigration Restriction Act, 1913. Our community reasonably assumed that the passage of this legislation would allay the fears of the British in Natal. That General Smuts was of the same opinion is shown by his statement at the Imperial Conference in 1917: "I feel sure—I have always felt sure—that once the whole community in South Africa was rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary and become easily and perfectly soluble." It is tragic to find that instead of treating us as fellow-citizens who still could contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the country, Europeans agitated against our existing trading rights and raised the question of our land ownership, with the result that in 1920 the Government appointed a Commission of Enquiry, presided over by Justice J. H. Lange. This Commission recommended that "there shall be no compulsory segregation of Indians." It also incidentally said: "We found ourselves wholly unable to support the policy of repression which was advocated by some witnesses. Indiscriminate segregation of Indians in localities and similar restrictive measures would result, and eventually lead to a state of helotry. Such measures, apart from their injustice and cruelty, would degrade the Asiatic and react upon the Europeans."

THE CAPETOWN AGREEMENT

In 1925 yet another attempt to impose compulsory segregation upon the Indian was made. Dr. Malan, the then Minister of the Interior, introduced the Areas Reservation Bill. Strenuous opposition from the Indians in South Africa and the Government and people of India led to a Round-Table Conference between the representatives of the two Governments. As a result, a gentlemen's agreement, known as the Capetown Agreement, was reached, and the Bill was withdrawn. The salient features of the agreement were:

(1) The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilized Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people.

(2) Indians should conform to Western standards of living.

(3) The principle of equal pay for equal work was accepted.

(4) The voluntary scheme of repatriation to India was improved upon. Bonuses were increased as an inducement to leave.

The late Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., came out to South Africa as the first Agent-General of the Government of India to assist in the working of the agreement. The Indians in South Africa looked upon this agreement as their Magna Carta. Though it fell short of their complete rights it did set the trend for harmony and goodwill, and gave them security of tenure and encouragement to better their social and economic position. The irony of the situation becomes obvious when you consider that since 1927 the Indian has continued to fulfil his part of the Capetown Agreement and by self-help has improved his economic standards of life so much that the Europeans of Natal who formerly complained of the danger of our low standard of living now object to our buying of residences. Previously the Indian was accused of living on the smell of an oil rag, residing on top of his shop, and sending his money to India; now when he does buy a house in a decent locality and invests his money in South Africa he is accused of penetration and becoming an economic danger. The European is trying to have it both ways. He stands self-condemned.

INDIAN EDUCATION

With a deep sense of responsibility in the duty cast upon us to live up to Western standards, we made a concerted attempt to raise our standard of education. Mr. Sastri launched an appeal for funds for the erection of a large secondary school in Durban. The Indian community responded by raising £13,000 for the Sastri College, which was built and handed over to Government control. Indian education made appreciable strides, and soon large numbers of matriculated students sought university education.

Whilst the Capetown and the Witwatersrand Universities admit a small percentage of non-Europeans, the Natal University College continues to bar the admission of Indians and other non-Europeans to the college. As a result of the great demand for university education by the Indian and other non-Europeans in Natal, and through the able efforts of Mrs. Mabel Palmer, the Natal College authorities have since 1936 carried on separate non-European classes, which are conducted at the Sastri College, on a part-time basis. The students today number nearly 200, including students who pursue studies in arts, economics and other subjects. The Indian community today has a growing number of professionals, both medical and legal, some having qualified in London or Edinburgh. Over fifty Indians are engaged in medical courses at the Cape and Witwatersrand Universities. This, despite the restrictions placed in his way, is indicative of the general desire of the Indian to better his position and conform to Western standards. Yet the colour bar continues to exercise its vicious influence, and even holds sway in seats of learning. Could there be any more glaring contradiction in the sense of human values? The Indian

student struggles along, overcoming as best he can these formidable obstacles that beset his path and reaches out, yearning for higher fields in intellectual pursuits, battling his way in what I may rightly describe as *the backyard of the university*.

As for primary education there are still nearly 30,000 Indian children in Natal without schooling for want of accommodation. There is no compulsory education for Indians. By a graded system recently introduced Indian children up to Standard VI will by 1949 receive free education, but no free books. The majority of the schools have been built by Indians. They are known as State-aided. Up to a few months ago Indians have had to find two-thirds of the money for the buildings and equipment, the balance of one-third being provided by the Natal Provincial Government, which now provides 50 per cent. The salaries of teachers are paid by the Provincial Government.

FRANCHISE ANOMALIES

Indians who number 15,000 in the Cape Province enjoy voting rights—parliamentary, provincial and municipal—and are on the same roll as the Europeans. Here the old British liberal tradition still prevails in some measure, and those who have rights there are allowed to live in full freedom. There are two Indian municipal councillors, one at Capetown and one at Port Elizabeth. In the Transvaal Indians have never at any time enjoyed the vote. In Natal the parliamentary franchise was taken away in 1896 and the municipal franchise in 1924. In the Free State, where there are only thirty Indians, our people never obtained voting rights. The franchise provisions of the present Bill are no compensation whatsoever for the deprivation of the voting rights that the Indian community have enjoyed on the common roll. It is communal, a form of representation that the Indians have always opposed, and is humiliating in the extreme when you find that three Europeans will have to be chosen by the Indians to speak for them in Parliament. This is only adding insult to injury.

Some of those who are unacquainted with our difficulties may ask why there is such disparity of numbers of Indians in the four respective Provinces of South Africa? All I can say is that South Africa is full of inconsistencies. Provincial barriers have been erected against the free movement of Indians from one Province to another for residential and trading purposes. Not only is our population concentrated in this fixed and peculiar way by compulsion, but it has different laws in different Provinces. As you will have observed, the Indian living in Capetown has the vote; an Indian living in Johannesburg or in Durban or in the Free State has no vote. An Indian living in Capetown can travel in a bus and take any seat he likes; an Indian in Durban can travel in a bus but is limited to the three rear seats. In none of the Provinces is he admitted to any of the cinemas or cafés run by Europeans.

THE TRENDS OF POLICY

Agitation against the Indian flares up periodically. We are especially subject to these visitations during election times. There is a steady unchecked anti-Indian attitude among the two European peoples in South Africa, which rises at times to fever heat. When some abatement is visible and a better atmosphere prevails, some political aspirants put fuel on the smouldering fire and relentlessly arouse the passions that had seemed to be disappearing. It occurs in good as well as in bad times. Political aspirants to Parliament or to local councils invariably place the segregation of the Indian high on their programmes. To be an anti-Indian is almost a qualification for success in any election. I regret to say that the most virulent anti-Indians are to be found in the Dominion Party, led by Colonel Stallard, who presumably stands in South Africa for all that is best in the British way of life.

There are two fixed points which have persisted in the last forty years in South African policy towards Indians. The one is to repatriate the Indian; the other is to segregate him politically, socially and economically. The policy of repatriation has been found to be mechanically impossible and economically undesirable from the European point of view. The economy of South Africa is such that were the Indian repatriated to India, forcibly such an action would precipitate the bankruptcy of hundreds of Europeans. Its inhumanity and its possibility of achievement is another

matter. Against the findings of their own commission, successive Governments have pursued a policy of segregation, restriction and repression. All told, there are approximately in South Africa sixty-three laws which limit the movement of Indians, residentially and socially; restrict their professional opportunities and curb their legitimate trading rights throughout the country. Some of these are stupid and petty, but all of them are based on an unreasonable and unfounded fear of Indian competition in labour, commerce and the professions.

PEGGING ACT, 1943

1943 witnessed yet another wave of agitation against the Indian, chiefly in Durban, directed against his inherent right to ownership and occupation of property. Parts of the city which Indians voluntarily inhabited suffered wanton neglect, lacked amenities and became overcrowded and congested. Exhaustive reports of eminent Government commissions of enquiry commented upon these deplorable and appalling conditions. The Municipality of Durban made scarcely any of its unalienated lands available for Indian purchase and residence. The outlook of the middle-class Indian family improved in great measure and conformed to Western standards. His children married and sought new homes. The municipality turned a deaf ear, and when they did put up land for public auction they inserted restrictive anti-Asiatic clauses. For Europeans, select areas were developed and offered; lighting in streets and other amenities were readily available. These new areas attracted Europeans who lived in close proximity to Indian parts of the city. They readily sold their properties at high prices to Indians in these contiguous parts and migrated to better areas. These purchases by Indians of thirty- and forty-year-old houses, some in a dilapidated state, gave European politicians an opportunity to start the bogey and the hue and cry of Indian penetration. The convenient word "penetration" was played upon ingenuously.

The result was the Pegging Act, 1943, the first major inroad into the fundamental rights of ownership and occupation anywhere he pleases, which the Indian hitherto enjoyed. It prohibited property transactions between Asiatics and Europeans, and occupation of houses by the respective groups unless previously occupied by a member of a similar race. Only a permit from the Minister could legalize such a transaction or occupation. How rigid its application was can be illustrated by the fact that my colleague, Mr. P. R. Pather, was arrested and charged in respect of the occupation of his own property, in the title deeds of which there were no such restrictions. He was sentenced to pay a fine or serve two months' imprisonment with hard labour. He chose the latter course and went to jail to expose the iniquity of this obnoxious law against our people. Whilst Mr. Pather was in gaol his wife and children were forcibly ejected from their own home and put on the streets. The Indian was now completely pegged. Though the law was applicable to the whole of Natal it was made operative in Durban only.

THE LAND TENURE AND REPRESENTATION BILL

The Pegging Act lapsed by effluxion of time on March 31, 1946. It is now being replaced by the present legislation, which applies to the whole of the Provinces of the Transvaal and Natal. A cursory glance at its provisions reveals that it is nothing less than compulsory segregation of Indians on a wider and more comprehensive basis. Henceforth the Indian for the first time in his eighty-six years of residence in South Africa will be permanently confined to defined, demarcated and segregated areas. The rest of Natal and the Transvaal, even its wide open spaces, become the special preserve of the European—not of the English and Dutch only but of its German, Italian and other European sections. The Jew, the Syrian and the Cape Malay are excluded from the definition of the term Asiatic. It applies mainly to the Indian and the small Chinese population. What a tribute is thus paid by South Africa to India and China for the heroic part they played in the defence of human liberty and freedom! Of the other human indignities that this law heaps upon my people I have not the time to speak in detail. In respect to them I will quote the words of the eminent Indian statesman who died last month, Mr. Sastri: "This problem must be made known to the United Nations Organization and its interven-

tion in the question invoked. The effect of this new legislation before the Union Government will be to segregate Indians as to location, purchase and residence, leading to their ruination. Indians there would rather prefer honourable suicide than an ignominious surrender." I take this opportunity on behalf of the South African Indian community to pay tribute to a great son of India, who had devoted almost his whole life to the cause of India's freedom and the betterment of her children overseas.

Mahatma Gandhi has described the measure as containing the seeds of war in the future. The very existence of the United Nations assumes that no nation member can have the exclusive right to dictate a policy within its own borders which jeopardizes and threatens the peace of any association of members as a whole.

By its actions now and its actions in the past South Africa has placed itself in an extremely unenviable position. Its policy is persuading India to consider the possibility of contracting out of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is not unreasonable to ask whether South Africa can rightly and properly claim the incorporation of the mandated territory of South-West Africa in the light of its treatment of minorities.

I rejoice to know that here in London there are men who have concern for the way in which small communities under the Commonwealth flag live and have their being. This city, Mr. Churchill said in its darkest days of the war, is the great repository of freedom enshrining the title deeds of human progress. It is the greatest city of the Commonwealth, and to it the smaller peoples of the Commonwealth look for encouragement and hope. I believe that, having heard of the grievances of Indians in South Africa, you will sympathize and bear with my people, a dispossessed community, even as you have borne with my inadequate presentation of their case. What we ask is that we shall not be the victims of legislative compulsions without a voice.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W., on Friday, May 10, Mr. ASHWIN CHOUDREE, B.A., leader of the South African Indian Congress Delegation to Great Britain, read a paper on "The Indian Problem in South Africa." Sir STANLEY REED, K.B.E., M.P., presided.

After the reading of the paper,

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK said he had listened with very great appreciation to what he regarded, from his forty years' experience of the South African-Indian situation, as a very moderate statement. He spent a number of his earlier years in South Africa dealing with that question, and later, when he returned to England, had passed a great deal of his active career in keeping the facts before the British public. When he first went to India in 1909 on that very South African question Sir Stanley Reed was one of the people who gave him a great deal of encouragement, and apparently he still encouraged those who represented that point of view.

He had emphasized the moderation with which Mr. Choudree had spoken. It was necessary to be moderate, but it was also necessary to be frank. The history of the Indian community in South Africa had been the very unhappy one of a long series of breaches of faith, breaches of pledges, breaches of understandings. The Transvaal Indian disabilities were regarded by the British Government in 1899 as one of the causes of the Boer War, and he recalled that Mr. Gandhi had asked him to join in the efforts to get those disabilities removed after the Boer War. They were left on the Statute Book, however, instead of being removed before complete self-government was given to the Transvaal.

He recalled, too, how the passive resistance struggle with which Gandhi's name was so closely associated from 1907 to 1914 was brought about by another breach

of a pledge given by Lord Milner shortly after the end of that war. When the struggle was renewed in 1908 it was as a result of another broken pledge made in the course of a "gentlemen's agreement." Moreover, after the visit to South Africa of the late Mr. Gokhale, when he obtained a promise that the £3 tax upon ex-indentured Indians in Natal should be abolished, that pledge was also broken, and it brought about a further resumption of the passive resistance struggle. Many things of that kind had happened since.

General Smuts, at the Imperial War Conference of 1917, the first occasion when India was directly represented at an Imperial Conference, said :

"That is the position in which we now are: that the fear which formerly obsessed the settlers there has been removed. The great principle of restricting immigration for which they have contended is on our Statute Book, with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the Indian authorities in India; and, that being so, I think that the door is open now to a peaceful and statesman-like solution of all the minor administrative troubles which occur, and will occur, from time to time. Of course, the main improvement has been the calling of India to the Council Chamber of the Empire. Each year if any question proves difficult of treatment we can discuss it in a friendly way and try to find in consultation a solution, and I am sure we shall ever find it. I, for one, do not consider that amongst the multitudinous problems that confront us in our country the question of India will trouble us much in the future."

Every statement there had been contradicted by events, and when Field-Marshal Smuts was invited recently to agree to a Round-Table Conference to deal with those matters, he refused. Mr. Choudree had related how first of all the political franchise in Natal was taken away in 1896, and how later on the Natal municipal franchise was taken away in 1924. Sir George Napier, the then Governor of the Cape Colony, in a Proclamation dated May, 1843, issued as a preliminary to the annexation of Natal, said: "There shall not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction or disqualification whatever founded on the mere distinction of colour . . . but the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, shall be extended impartially to all alike." Look how that had *not* been done!

From the very beginning the Government of India, under whichever Viceroy it was, had strongly supported Indian opinion in South Africa and India on that question. When the Transvaal wanted to have more—not fewer—Indians in the country in the early nineteen-hundreds, after the Boer War, in order to run the Transvaal gold-mines, and applied to the Government of India to agree to send some more out under indenture, Lord Curzon said, "No, unless you are willing to give them equal rights." As that was not agreed to they were not sent. Again, it was Lord Minto who refused to allow further indentured labour to go to Natal in 1910 unless the Government agreed that the Indians were to get equal rights and equal treatment. As they would not the matter ended, and indentured labour generally throughout the British territories was put an end to ten years later. Again and again and again it would be found that the Government of India and the Indian leaders and people had been at one on this question.

Great Britain could not afford that that kind of thing should go on. Those present in the audience were voters in this country, and had something to say to their Members of Parliament and Ministers. It was not that those Ministers could directly interfere constitutionally, but there were things that could and must be said, things that could and must be done, if necessary behind the scenes, in responsible quarters, in private conversations and in many other ways. The Press should not close their columns to what had been going on in that matter. It had been going on much too long. Letter after letter had been sent to prominent papers in this country, but had been left out with priority for other things: The attitude of 400 millions in India and 450 millions more in China was not considered important enough. Those present must protest against that attitude. The time had come for them to say what they really felt and what they really thought.

REV. PITT BONARJEE paid a tribute to the moderation and clarity with which Mr. Choudree had presented his case, and said that though he had not been to South

Africa he had, for many years, been striving to get India to understand Britain and Britain to understand India. Within the last three years he wrote a little pamphlet called *The Indian Problem in South Africa*, in which he dealt with the question as fairly as he could, and he did not think Mr. Choudree would disagree with anything said there.

No politicians could get rid of race prejudices. He had sent dozens of his pamphlets to churches in South Africa, and the Secretary of the Congregational Union in South Africa had written back and said that the churches there would take the matter up. If race prejudices were to be removed in South Africa the Christian churches must take the lead. Mere political squabbling on the matter would not get them very far. If the Christian churches in Great Britain would deal with the matter, as he had been assured they were trying to deal with it, then something would have been done towards the elimination of race prejudices.

There had been some correspondence. Bishop Ferguson-Davie had written to one of the Durban papers about the matter, and this showed that there was something being done by the churches for the elimination of race prejudices. A chaplain to the South African troops had assured him (Mr. Bonarjee) that there were hundreds of English people who really disapproved of the attitude of many other Europeans in that regard. It would not be right to say that every European in South Africa was biased by colour. There were quite a number of English people, and maybe even of Dutch people, who had real sympathy with Indian aspirations.

The question was, how to achieve those aspirations. Field-Marshal Smuts was right when he said that patience was needed. Patience was a virtue, and a very difficult one; but if they kept on steadily and patiently presenting the right view and the Christian view here and in South Africa race prejudices would ultimately disappear. There had been very substantial progress in the Indian community since they went to South Africa in 1860. The condition of the Indian population in Natal today was very much higher than it was in 1860, and, with patience and perseverance, further advances would be made and the undoubted wrongs set right.

But there needed to be, on all sides, goodwill and mutual understanding, the desire to see one another's point of view, the desire to make concessions and not to be intolerant. Rights were all right sometimes; but duties were nobler things than rights. There were rights which the Indian in South Africa ought to have and, please God, would have; but meanwhile there were certain duties, and they were simply that, with patience, tolerance and goodwill, we should try to get to understand each other. When they looked at it not merely as a matter of right but as a matter of duty, they found that their duty was something far greater than their right. Their duty was to do all they could to bring about mutual goodwill and understanding, and that was what he, for one, had been striving to do in India as well as in South Africa.

Mr. P. R. PATHER expressed his own and Mr. Choudree's gratitude for the speech made by Mr. Polak, who had been for a considerable number of years in South Africa, fighting, with Mr. Gandhi, the cause of the Indian community. Mr. Polak's statement that the question was one of a series of broken promises, pledges and guarantees was the truth.

With regard to anti-Indian legislation, the British Government was just as much culpable as Field-Marshal Smuts and his Government. He said that advisedly, because in 1910, when the Convention was being held at Durban, a fear obsessed the minds of the Indian community in Natal, who thought that the introduction of the laws of the Transvaal and Orange Free State into the Indian statutes would add fuel to the fire. With a view to allaying that fear, Section 147 was introduced into the statute. This gave them a sort of strength to say that the rights of the Indian community in Natal and other Provinces would be maintained and not disturbed. But in actual operation Section 147 of the Act was without benefit to that community. One would have expected that the British Government at that time would have seen to it that Indian rights were protected to the fullest extent.

Prior to 1910, whenever there was a crisis in Natal it was the British Government who took up the cudgels on behalf of the Indian community. In 1909 there

was a law which attempted to deprive the Indian community of their rights. The law stated that in ten years' time every licence held by Indians was to be cancelled and compensation given, and that from 1909 onwards no licence was to be issued to an Indian. The Colonial Secretary wrote to the responsible Government of Natal at that time :

"Your Ministers will recognize that even if, for the moment, account is not taken of questions of relations between H.M. Government and the Indian Empire, the position of H.M. Government with regard to Indians in Natal is one of peculiar responsibility. The grant of self-government to the Colony was not made until 1893, and many of the Indians now within its borders were introduced before that date, whilst the Colony was still administered under the direct authority of the Crown. The principle followed by H.M. Government in dealing with the recent Asiatic legislation in the Transvaal has been to defer with reluctance to the feeling in favour of excluding further Asiatic immigrants, but at the same time to aim at securing fair and proper treatment for Asiatics already in the country. H.M. Government are under an especial obligation to ensure that this principle should be upheld in Natal."

That was the attitude adopted by the British Government right up to the time of the Union. It was all very well for the British Government to say now, "We cannot interfere with the internal affairs of South Africa." Everybody agreed. At the same time, the British Government must understand that the Indian settlers were introduced into Natal. They did not go on their own initiative but at the specific request of the British and Indian Governments. Therefore it was a particular responsibility of the British Government at the time of the Union in South Africa to see that the rights were not interfered with in any shape or form.

Since 1910 there had been a series of repressive laws legislating against the Indian community in order to curb not only their economic advancement but also their political, social and other progress. Now the present legislation introduced in Natal for the first time the segregation of Indians, a principle which had always been resolutely resisted. There were certain fears which obsessed the minds of the Europeans in South Africa. The first was that the Indian community, by their numbers, would swamp the country. That fear was taken away in 1896, when immigration to Natal was restricted, and in 1913 it was totally prohibited. Therefore the question of the Indian community swamping the Europeans did not arise.

The second fear was that the Indians, because of their cheap labour, were undercutting the European artisan class. Even that fear was removed in 1926, when to their own detriment Indians agreed to the principle of equal pay for equal work. Now every industry in which Indians were employed had a registered trade union under the industrial laws of the country. Therefore the question of undercutting did not arise.

The third fear that obsessed the Europeans was that the Indian community were not in a position to assimilate themselves into the life of the Europeans. Even that fear had been removed, because in 1926 Indians were obliged to conform to Western standards of living. So far as the Indian community today was concerned there was absolutely no difference in their living and that of the Europeans, taken class for class. A European earning £50 a month and an Indian earning the same amount were living on the same standard of life. Therefore the question of assimilation did not arise.

Those three fears accordingly had no justification at the present time, and therefore Field-Marshal Smuts had no right to introduce legislation just to maintain his position as Premier of South Africa. After all, he claimed to be a world leader. He was one of the great architects of the League of Nations, and now of the United Nations Organization. One would expect him to see that the principles he had expounded outside were observed, word for word, in South Africa. It seemed, however, that to maintain his position as Premier, the sacrifice of the Indian community, numbering 250,000, did not matter, so long as the rights of the Europeans were safeguarded and entrenched.

Mr. Choudree and he had come to the meeting to enlist the support and sympathy of those present. They knew it was not proper, under the Statute of West-

minster, for the British Government to interfere, but the British Government had a special responsibility to see that the rights of the Indians in Natal were protected. They did not want to live with Europeans, but they wanted to be treated as good and decent South Africans. Their forefathers had played a noble part in the development of the country. The railways were built by the sweat of their labour, and the forests were cut down. They had spent their lives in developing Natal into a garden Colony. The descendants of those people who made Natal what it was today were deprived of the fundamental rights which every human being, whatever his colour, ought to enjoy. Now, in 1946, after one of the worst conflagrations the world had seen, whereafter eternal peace was to reign on the earth, those Indians had lost the last vestige of rights. He appealed to those present for support and sympathy, and knew that that appeal would not be in vain.

The CHAIRMAN said it had been a great privilege to be present and to hear Mr. Choudree state the case for the Indians in South Africa with such fairness and lucidity. His own connection with the problem went back many years. As a member of the Committee of the Indian Citizenship Association in India he was active in it in the days when Mr. Gokhale returned, after his mission to South Africa, and against the very strongly expressed views of his colleagues in India agreed to the cessation of immigration, in the hope that that would remove the greatest stumbling block to complete settlement in South Africa.

The late Mr. Sastri, one of the greatest patriots in India, by his personal force and his high character did a great work in South Africa, which went a little way towards effecting a settlement. All hopes had been disappointed, however, and the position had been reached which Mr. Choudree had unfolded today. He had hoped Mr. Choudree would have been able to solve his own problem and that of others by showing the way out. Mr. Choudree, however, had said with great frankness that at the moment he could see no straight way. That was the problem for all present. However strong their sympathies, however full their knowledge, they could not be insensible of the sweeping terms of the Statute of Westminster and of the fact that 85 per cent. of the Indians in South Africa were born in that country.

Mr. Hofmeyr was wholly right in saying that what was needed was a change of mentality, but he (the Chairman) thought that a little more was required—namely, a quickening of the evolution of the economic, social and educational standards of the Indian community in South Africa. That would lead the way to a solution. The only cheering news he could find in the paper read that afternoon was of the progress, perhaps a little limited but still progress, in the spread of education in Natal. On that and other forces their hopes must be pinned. He assured Mr. Choudree that those present would use such influence as they possessed to help him and their fellow-subjects in South Africa to secure a status in that country comparable with their services and their sacrifices for the Commonwealth and Empire.

Mr. CHOUDREE, replying to the discussion, said he did not want to give the impression that when he and his friends spoke of fundamental human rights and their case being raised at the U.N.O., they expected to be given what they wanted overnight. It was a long-range plan to which all must subscribe. About the year 1917 a Smuts-Gandhi agreement was evolved which established one landmark in the position of Indians in South Africa. The Cape Town Agreement in 1926 established another landmark. Today the time was overdue when some great leader of British thought should unofficially intervene and see if by some means another agreement could be reached which would at least stabilize the position of Indians in South Africa and maintain for them that which they enjoyed in that country. For the process at present was one of deterioration. Some stability must be reached, because one could not go on living daily with one's fellow-citizens in a state of bitterness.

The question was so important that he did not wish his audience to go away and wait, like Micawber, for something to turn up to solve it. They must apply their minds to it, and if they sent letters to their friends in South Africa and strengthened liberal opinion there it would be going a long way. The Rev. Mr. Bonarjee had referred to the substantial progress made. But any progress made by the Indians in

South Africa was just part of the general progress of the country. It was unavoidable. It was something in which the British settlers and others shared. If the lot of the Indian in South Africa was better than the lot of the Indian in India, then equally the lot of the English, the Dutch and the Germans was better than it would have been in their respective countries. It was the cumulative development of South Africa in which they shared. Indians in South Africa might have some measure of progress, but the mass of them were on a low level economically, and if people were kept on a low economic level one could not expect them to aspire to higher standards.

Sir ALFRED WATSON, proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer and the Chairman, said that perhaps there had been more warmth in the meeting than usual. He thought, however, that the case of the Indians in South Africa had been expressed with very great restraint. The situation in South Africa was charged with feeling. The British people might deplore that it was not within their capacity to aid the Indians in South Africa except by their sympathy, but it was no longer a British question. Mr. Choudree had said that South Africa must not be allowed to do this, or to do that. But what, except public opinion, was to prevent her doing it? What form of pressure could be brought to bear?

One difficulty was that the Indians in South Africa were constantly appealing to the Indian Government and to Indian people to wield the big stick, to impose restrictions upon South Africans and to place extra tariffs upon South African produce. What must be the retort of the South African Government? It must be, "If your loyalty is to India and the Indian Government, if you turn to India whenever there is controversy in this country, then you cannot be good citizens of South Africa."

He had touched on one or two controversial points, but could say, on behalf of the audience, how grateful they were for the contributions of the lecturer and for the presence of Sir Stanley Reed.

BROADCASTING IN INDIA: BASED ON PERSONAL EXPERIENCES THERE

BY WINIFRED HOLMES

Late B.B.C. (Talks) Producer

I RECALL a brilliant day in Bombay last November—the monsoon over, the sky blue and cloudless, the sun blazing down on hot pavements and busy streets, on white-clad crowds pouring out from the suburban stations; the sea calm and smooth, with the distant sails of the country craft moving along the horizon like a slow immemorial frieze. That day, wherever I went, I heard an Indian voice speaking in English—an unmistakably Indian voice in quality and texture for all its so-called "Oxford accent," a manly and virile and excitable voice.

The stream of talk poured out from flats and houses and offices, from shops in the Hornby Road and booths in the bazaar. You couldn't get away from the voice wherever you went. But apparently nobody *wanted* to get away from it. Round every available radio groups clustered to listen—mixed groups of Hindus, Muslims, merchants, clerks, school children, students, even coolies, who stood or crouched on the ground, listening, applauding, making gestures of despair.

What was the voice talking about to rouse such universal interest and emotion? Politics? Nationalism? No—cricket! India was playing Australia, and All-India Radio, Bombay, had swept aside all other programmes for five days and put on a running commentary, to which the whole town was listening. Yes, cricket means all that to India today; even we in England have never broadcast an entire match from first to last ball!

But the significant thing about this was that by listening together and sharing the same emotions of national pride when India did well or of desolation when the Australians bowled their best batsman, the people were displaying a unity and a community of interest which augured well for the future. And here was broadcasting acting as handmaid to this community of interest. It was saying, as plainly as Nazim Rahim proclaimed the score, that India is, after all, one country.

Of course, under this wide coverage of one country there are all the complex differences and divisions we know so well. All-India Radio (A.I.R.) caters for them as far as it can under its present limitations. But this wide coverage, this pride in Indian achievement, in being Indian, is very marked today. It reveals itself everywhere—in conversation, in writing, in films, in the theatre—and it is a positive and powerful part of the great surge of Nationalist feeling which contains the people.

ALL INDIAN

There is an infectious spirit of confidence and of eager enthusiasm abroad, too, especially among the young generation. Take this Test Match commentary, for instance. To give a running commentary is a skilled job. It requires keen observation, a clear mind and a ready tongue. And it is exhausting. But to keep it up for five and a half hours on five consecutive days in a foreign language would make even Howard Marshall blench! And yet, when its regular sports commentator fell out and A.I.R. asked the Indian News Parade commentator—a young Muslim who had never given a running commentary in his life—to take his place, Nazim Rahim didn't hesitate for a moment. He was sure he could do it; and he did, remarkably well, which was something of an achievement. Yes, young India believes in itself.

It might have been easier to find an English commentator, but the Bombay Station Director, Mr. Z. A. Bokhari, whom we knew here in London, was absolutely right to give the assignment to an Indian, who could share the emotions of his audience for all his objective and impartial reporting. And that enables me to say something I want to say early in my talk, which is that All-India Radio is becoming more and more *All Indian* every day. And this is just as it should be; though it would be a pity if a natural development led to a rigid policy of excluding foreign artists or experts who could join the staff temporarily to develop certain techniques of engineering or programme work in which A.I.R. is still backward. Personally, I found a most liberal and generous attitude prevailing both in Delhi and Bombay (I had no direct experience of the other stations) and a desire to collaborate with someone from the B.B.C.

A.I.R. readily acknowledges its B.B.C. parentage. It still feels it can learn from our longer experience, although it has fully grown up into an original and progressive young adult, learning all the time by trial and error how best to fit itself for its vast responsibilities.

FEW LICENCE HOLDERS

Unfortunately at present its influence is very limited. The war retarded its material development, though not its creative or technical advance. There are still only nine short and medium wave stations in the whole of British India, serving only the big cities and their suburbs and a small radius of rural districts where there are special schemes for communal listening. Two of the largest Indian States, Hyderabad and Mysore, have their own stations.

The number of licence holders at the end of 1945 was only approximately 250,000. Given an average of ten to twelve people who listen regularly to each set—those figures were given me by the Director-General of A.I.R., Professor A. S. Bokhari—it means that out of a population of some 400,000,000 only a little over 2½ million people have the benefits of broadcasting. And these are drawn chiefly from the middle and upper class income groups and not from the masses who need it most.

The reasons for these low figures are simple. More than 80 per cent. of the population live in villages on the slenderest of incomes. Radio sets are imported and expensive—Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 each—far beyond their means, even for the combined resources of the whole village. Rural India is not electrified and battery sets must

be charged regularly. Maintenance must be done, too, by skilled radio engineers, of whom India is short. So that is the position today. A.I.R. is a potent force in Bombay, Delhi, Lahore, Calcutta, Madras and other cities, and unheard of in the majority of villages where the majority of the people live.

But Indians, with their new confidence, enthusiasm and belief in their own future, do not doubt for a moment that these practical and mechanical obstacles will be overcome, so that radio will play the great rôle it can and should play in raising the standard of living of the rural and industrial masses, not to speak of their *josh*, their sense of civic pride, understanding and co-operation.

The officers of A.I.R. are sure of this too. I found them to have a real sense of vocation and public service, which made them content to work at high pressure and low salaries—compared with those of the B.B.C. The low salaries paid I feel are a mistake, and so are the miserable fees paid to performers, speakers, musicians and actors. In spite of this, A.I.R. has attracted a fine type of young men and women who believe in the potentialities of the medium. They come for the most part from distinguished families, have a background of sound scholastic training and, more important, are imaginative, keen and liberal-minded. Meeting them and working with them, as I was privileged to do on several occasions, was most stimulating. We discussed with enthusiasm, and often with heat, such topics as the art of broadcasting, the value of certain types of programme, and the relative merits of monopoly and commercial systems—monopoly exemplified by the B.B.C. and A.I.R. as opposed to the free commercial networks of the United States. We read, planned, wrote and produced radio dramas and features together; we worried the contentious bone of propaganda; and we discussed endlessly, but never reached a unanimous conclusion (as radio people never will anywhere in the world), whether broadcasting should give the people what they want or what they ought to have! It was exciting to meet one's opposite numbers in another continent and find them concerned with the same problems and arguments which buzz all round the canteens and offices and conference rooms of Broadcasting House.

THE PROGRAMMES

Now, what does A.I.R. actually give its public as regular fare? On all stations Indian vocal music has pride of place, with by far the greatest number of broadcasting hours devoted to it. Much of this vocal music is film music—songs from current film successes—though I'm glad to say that classical and folk music also have a place in the programmes. Personally, I like the average Indian film song about as much as I like crooning! And I rate its æsthetic value as high! Perhaps my Indian listeners will disagree with me here. The Indian cinema industry has evolved a kind of bastardized Indian-cum-Western music, using rumba rhythms and with all the beautiful traditional modes hammered out of it. The accompaniments to the songs are played on mixed orchestras: the Calcutta A.I.R. orchestra, for instance, is composed of sitar, flute, clarinet, sarod, viola and tabla. The violin is used considerably now in Indian orchestras too. But, good or bad, this modern film music has a great hold on the people, and radio as well as film producers cannot afford to ignore its appeal.

Long after songs, in popularity and programme space, come instrumental music Indian and European, plays, features, discussions, talks and news. In addition, each station puts out programmes for specialized audiences—rural programmes, schools programmes, women's programmes and children's programmes. Calcutta has the first programme specially designed for industrial workers, chiefly entertainment. There are also programmes for tribal and special language group listeners, an Assamese programme, an Oriya programme, a Persian-Afghan programme, and so on.

Each station has to design and broadcast programmes in English and the vernaculars of the region—Marathi and Gujarati in Bombay; Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada in Madras; Hindustani and Pushtu in Peshawar. English is a useful *lingua franca*, and yet there's no doubt that it is in their own native languages that a people's artistic genius flows. I am sure that the art of Indian radio drama and fine speech will be developed in the Indian languages and not in English.

Every day news is transmitted from the Central News Organization of A.I.R.,

Delhi, in nine languages, excluding foreign languages. These are English, Hindustani, Punjabi, Bengali, Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Marathi and Gujarati.

During the war Delhi was one of the world's chief Towers of Babel, broadcasting news and propaganda all over Asia and the Near and Far East. Today India is looking outward and is very interested in her neighbours. She is not likely to drop these foreign services, especially to such countries as China and Japan, Iran and the Arab countries, and her neighbours to the east—Burma, Malay, Siam and Indo-China. In 1940 the voice of Delhi was the only Allied voice left in that hemisphere, and A.I.R. cannot be praised too highly for the great services it rendered then and up to the end of the war in the East to the Allied cause.

But by far the most interesting side of broadcasting in India is, I consider, its regional development and the growth of purely Indian techniques and programmes, which have their roots deep in the traditional art and culture of the country.

There are four main regions—or let us call them cultural groups—into which the services of A.I.R. fall: the North—Delhi, Lahore, Lucknow, Peshawar; the East—Calcutta and Dacca; the South—Madras and Trichy; the West—Bombay. I will try to analyse briefly the chief characteristics of each group.

THE NORTH

Delhi and the other northern stations are concerned chiefly with Hindustani, although they broadcast also in Punjabi, Pushtu and Afghan-Persian. As might be expected in that cultural area, where the spoken word still holds its ancient magic and recitation, debate and symposium are a vital part of the people's lives, there is a high proportion of poetry, literature and drama in the programmes. I am not, unfortunately, versed in Indian languages, and therefore I cannot judge of the quality of these programmes. Purists have told me that the language used is not the fine flower of the great literary tradition, and that broadcasting is missing its great opportunities of bringing some of its beauty and grace to the people. Perhaps there is someone in my audience who can say whether this criticism is well or ill founded.

The flourishing Urdu literature of the North is discussed and reviewed regularly, and there are daily readings by local *maulvis* from the Quran: an important point, as it means that orthodox Muslim opinion sets its seal of approval on radio.

Lahore and Lucknow have a lively dramatic tradition, which is reflected to some extent in radio. The trouble is that there are not enough script writers and producers anywhere in India at present who understand this new medium. The experimental stage in radio drama and feature technique which we went through in the B.B.C. is just beginning in India. As we ourselves have discovered, it is not good radio to present a play as it is; plays must be adapted to this purely aural medium, which gives far more freedom in time and space than the set formula of the stage. Then, too, the broader technique of theatrical acting must be toned down and subtilized. All this has to be learned by experiment, and unfortunately A.I.R. cannot pay attractive enough fees to entice playwrights, actors and producers of standing away from the cinema and to a lesser extent from the theatre. All this will come, and A.I.R. is fully aware of the need to build up a drama department in every station and attract to it live and creative spirits to work on the staff or from outside.

Music from Delhi, Lahore and Lucknow is of course of the Northern School, with the sitar as the chief instrument. There is far less European music from these northern stations than from Calcutta or Bombay. And fewer programmes in English also.

WOMEN'S AND RURAL PROGRAMMES

Women's programmes in this area present more problems than elsewhere, as there are so many different religious and cultural groups. At first the producer tried to please everybody, but ended up by pleasing no one—a common broadcasting experience!—so now she is designing different programmes for different groups of women, to be broadcast on different days, and is having more success.

Every station has its own rural programme, which varies according to the region. Perhaps the most valuable aspect of these programmes is the weather news. By

hearing when the monsoon is likely to start or end the cultivator knows more precisely when he should start ploughing, manuring, sowing and reaping than if he relies purely on his own intuition. These rural programmes have a very limited scope at present, but they have been started on the right lines.

Delhi's rural scheme is of special interest. Between 100 and 200 medium-wave sets have been presented to villages within a radius of 50 to 100 miles round the city. Programmes in dialect of simple entertainment, folk-lore, folk-song and talks of practical value are put on for an hour each evening at sunset. All the village gathers round to hear, as it once gathered round the story-teller or the wandering singer—and still does, for that matter, when one turns up!

At first the women listened from the flat rooftops and extra loud-speakers had to be installed, but now they have abandoned segregation and come down and sit with the rest of the village. An alarm device is attached to the radio which automatically goes off when the programme is over, so that the village can't indulge in "tap" listening and run the batteries down too soon. A mobile servicing unit charges the batteries once a fortnight. The most popular item in the programmes is a comic dialogue between Wit and Nitwit—and a deal of useful instruction and propaganda can be introduced in this way by means of entertainment. Professor Bokhari was very emphatic in telling me that they were careful to avoid what he called "obvious uplift" in these rural programmes. Because the people are illiterate does not mean that they are fools or children—far from it—and they do not like being lectured to any more than anyone else. (I hope you don't feel the same at this moment!)

Another excellent feature is getting village performers to come to the studio at Delhi and give an item. When this world-making event takes place the village elder is invited by A.I.R. to be its guest for the night.

THE WEST

So much for the North and its four stations as a cultural or regional group. Now for the West. Bombay puts on a higher proportion of European instrumental music than any other station. This may be due to the cosmopolitan nature of the city, or the fact that the Parsees, as discriminating patrons of Western music, have helped to develop a taste for it; or it may be due to the last station director, Victor Paranjoti, now Deputy Director-General, who is a sensitive and ardent musician, with a special penchant for Bach.

Schools programmes transmitted from Bombay show imagination in their conception. The credit for them lies with Mrs. Saphia Natarajan, programme executive, who has creative ability and drive and really understands the medium she works in. I am proud to say that I did some producing and writing for her and enjoyed our collaboration tremendously. She is responsible for talks to teachers—a feature unique to Bombay, I believe—and also for the Bombay women's programme.

A number of Marathi and Gujerati plays are broadcast, and many talks in these languages. The rural programmes are direct and outspoken. In one fortnight last year they covered the following subjects—rat-bite, dog-bite, sheep and poultry breeding, improvement of livestock, protection from wild animals, and health talks on leprosy and diarrhoea.

A special programme worth mentioning, which is unique to Bombay Station, is the Saturday night programme for the Universities in English, in which Romesh Thaper, a young Punjabi on the staff of the *Times of India*, interviews distinguished people on topics of current interest. These programmes are unscripted, and their success rests largely on Mr. Thaper's intelligent questioning.

THE SOUTH

Music and modern life might be called the keynotes of broadcasting in the South, in Madras and Trichy. Here vocal music is even more popular than in the rest of India—if that is possible! The most famous film-star in Madras is no beauty, but a fine singer. Look down the pages of the *Indian Listener* and you will see that "*veena* and vocal" items take up almost as much space as the rest of the Madras and Trichy programmes put together.

The people of the South are particularly film-minded, and Madras puts on the

only film talks and reviews. Madras has led the way, too, in giving commercial news in Tamil and English. Tamil and Telegu plays are lively and plentiful, and comedy figures largely in the rural programmes of the region. The producers of these southern rural programmes are going back into deep-rooted Indian traditions for their ideas. Trichy has a "radio *panchayat*" which stages disputes and discussions over such ubiquitous village problems as the supply of irrigation water or village credit societies.

It is good also to find radio playwrights in the South using modern social themes for many of their plays. A feud between the two leading families of a village, which casts a gloom over the whole community, is the theme of a recent Kannada play, while a Telegu one portrays a modern Shylock and his dilemma when he falls in love with his beautiful debtor. Radio here is gradually becoming a living force in the people's lives.

Madras has the highest proportion of educational programmes in the whole of Air, with two schools programmes. The 3 p.m. one for high schools in English and Tamil has been running a forward-looking series called "India Tomorrow," which deals with scientific production and industrial development.

THE EAST

But the region which has developed most on really Indian lines is Bengal. This might be expected, as Bengal has such a rich, ancient and yet living cultural life, and a strong dramatic tradition. The influence of Tagore is marked: where else in the world would you find a schools talk entitled, "I'd like to be a poet"?

Bengali writers and composers are well represented in Calcutta's programmes. At first, plays lasted anything from two to three hours. Gradually, in spite of opposition, they have been reduced to one to two hours in length. They may be on any subjects—modern problems such as the social degradation of widows, or else religious, classical or mythological.

Drama and poetry, European vocal music, and Bengali and Santhal folk-music all receive their share of programme space. Bengal is rich in folk-music, and it is good that the rhythm and action songs of the river boatmen and the peasants should not be neglected by the intellectuals.

Here in the East A.I.R. produces programmes for special groups, such as Peshawar does for the tribal areas in Pushtu and Afghan-Persian. Here in Bengal broadcasting is done to Assamese listeners, and also to Oriyas. The Oriya women's programme tells listeners "how to plan food on eight annas to spend."

But among the most interesting and truly Indian developments of radio in Calcutta are the weekly *kirtans*, composite programmes based on the lives and works of Vaishnava poets, with discourses, illustrations and recitations of the poets' work.

It is these *kirtans*, these programmes of regional folk-music, this living and lively tradition of Bengali, Tamil, Marathi and Hindustani drama, these village *panchayats* of Radio Trichy, these bands of village performers in Delhi, these *mushairas* of the North, which convince me that before long India will develop her own techniques of broadcasting and programme-building; not copies of Western models, but a natural growth out of indigenous traditions and cultures. We have given India broadcasting: now India must use and develop the medium in her own way and out of her own genius.

In one respect broadcasting is alien to Indian traditions. The tyranny of the red second hand—the tyranny and limitations of precise timing—may suit us in the West, but must be utterly constricting to a people whose genius it is to extemporize, to embroider and to make endless variations on a theme, a story, a pattern, a *rāg*. How that difficulty can be overcome, how a wide margin of time can be allowed in which the creative spirit can have free play without getting the programmes tangled up in a timeless chaos, is beyond me to solve. I leave it to my friends in A.I.R. to find a way.

RECONSTRUCTION PLANS

Last, the future. A.I.R. is controlled and sponsored by Government. Is that a good thing on the whole? For myself, I consider that the charter of the B.B.C. and

its standing as a public corporation give broadcasting more autonomy and freedom from administrative and financial checks, red tape and lack of understanding of its special requirements. But within the limitations of Government control—and that means a rigid control of every detail of expenditure—the personality of the Director-General has gone far to win for A.I.R. a high status and measure of freedom. Government control has also attracted a good type of young men and women to join the staff, and not the get-rich-quick type to be found in every country. A.I.R. stations are beautifully designed, air-conditioned and with some of the finest equipment to be found anywhere. Competition is good for the quality of any programme work anywhere, but it does not look as though commercial broadcasting, which provides that healthy competition with the Government network in Canada and Australia, is likely to be set up in India. I hazard that it will not be allowed to be set up, even with a change of Government. Broadcasting is far too vital an instrument of public education and propaganda to be easily let go by any Government, especially in a country with such a vast backward population. But we shall see.

Experiments which have been carried on for some years at scientific research stations into the possibility of producing a cheap set, suitable for the difficult climatic conditions prevailing in India, especially the monsoon, may soon lead to the development of a major industry in home-produced radios within the reach of far more people than at present.

So that one day—one brilliant, sunny day—not only the whole of Bombay but the whole of India will be listening to Nazim Rahim's running commentary. It will be relayed all over the network of medium-wave stations which will cover the sub-continent. And the whole of India will follow the fortunes of the Indian team in their Test Match with Australia, or perhaps with England. And then, indeed, India will be one country.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, April 2, 1946, at 2.30 p.m., when a paper by Mrs. Winifred Holmes, entitled "Broadcasting in India: Based on Personal Experiences There," was read and discussed. Mr. M. K. Vellodi, C.I.E., I.C.S., Deputy High Commissioner for India, occupied the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was always interesting, if not always salutary, to see ourselves as others see us, and those in India were sensitive to the opinion of the outside world. They were very anxious to know what others thought of them, and the only comment he sometimes felt inclined to make was that in some cases those who took upon themselves the duty of interpreting India did not possess the necessary knowledge for doing so.

Mrs. Holmes, however, did not fall into that category. She had had considerable experience of broadcasting in England in association with the B.B.C. and during some months in India had assisted the Indian Broadcasting Department very considerably. He felt sure that they would all be most interested in what Mrs. Holmes had to say.

After the reading of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN described it as the most interesting and informative talk on the subject of broadcasting in India to which he had ever listened. Mrs. Holmes had contrived, within the limits of a short paper, to give a very accurate and comprehensive account of the activities of the Broadcasting and Informative Departments in India. Broadcasting in the popular sense had been taking place in India during the last ten years, and during that time it had gained considerable popularity, and he thought that even the villager, who was ordinarily denied the amenities of civilization, had begun to appreciate the convenience of listening to broadcasts. He knew that in

certain parts of Southern India those broadcasts had been very much appreciated. He believed, in fact, that the villager was really more aware of broadcasting than Mrs. Holmes thought. The people in the broadcasting stations received quite a number of letters from people who had listened-in in the villages.

He agreed with Mrs. Holmes that the programmes put over on the Indian radio contained music which was not in keeping with the tastes of the majority of Indians. It was, as she had said, "bastard" music, which had nothing very Indian about it. The most useful work done by the Broadcasting Department was, he thought, the rural broadcasts. He attached great importance to that work, and he believed it had been very popular indeed.

With regard to the future of broadcasting in India he supposed that that would depend upon what the future Government of India was. There was no reason to suppose, however, that any National Government would be averse to utilizing the Information Department. This was an age of reconstruction in India, and there was no doubt that the developments and planning department would make considerable use of the Indian Radio and Broadcasting Department generally in furthering its objects.

Mrs. Holmes had referred to criticisms of the language used in the broadcasts. For his own part he had never been able to understand the language which was used! It had a considerable elegance which he had never been able to appreciate!

Mr. HILTON BROWN said that it seemed to him, as it probably did to many others present, that radio and India did not go together, and a picture of his Indian friends switching on the radio was rather like trying to visualize a picture of Cicero speaking under a blaze of electric light!

He had been delighted to hear that one fear which had sometimes haunted him had proved to be groundless. He had often thought, from what he had heard, that broadcasting in India was getting into the hands of the wrong people. He was glad to hear that that was not the case because he felt that in India it was important to get the right people into any undertaking from the beginning. In England, if the B.B.C. asked someone to broadcast they almost felt that an honour was being conferred upon them but, from what he gathered from his American friends, it was the other way round in America. He thought, with all deference to America, that the English method was better.

One point brought out in the paper was the fact that there seemed to be a necessity for a first-class listening research branch in A.I.R. A.I.R., like any other monopoly, was bound to be faced with the problem of whether to give their listeners what they wanted to hear or what it was thought they ought to have. There must be some middle course between those two extremes.

He was very glad to hear that Professor Bokari, who impressed him very much indeed, had decided to avoid "uplift." The B.B.C. had been trying to do the same thing. It was all very well to say that the majority of India's population was illiterate, but they still knew very well what they wanted. They were quite capable of informing a research department about the kind of programmes they would like to have. He felt strongly that the Chairman was the kind of person who should be consulted by such a department.

Mr. A. H. BYRT thought that after hearing such an interesting review of broadcasting in India it would perhaps be appropriate to pay a tribute to those who had laid the foundations of the service. Broadcasting in India was begun by private enterprise in Bombay and prospered up to a certain point. It was extended to Calcutta. Financial difficulties made the Bombay Broadcasting Corporation and its Calcutta offshoot appeal for Government assistance. This they failed to receive. Broadcasting was constitutionally a provincial subject, and the Provincial Governments, except one, saw nothing of value in it. In the absence of Government help the enterprise failed. At that point the late Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, then member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for Industries and Labour, stepped in and bought both the Bombay Broadcasting Company and its Calcutta offshoot for a song. He then persuaded the Indian Legislative Assembly to vote the small sum spent. That is how Indian broadcasting came into the hands of the Government of India.

The next step was to place in control someone who knew how to organize and run an efficient service, and Government secured from the B.B.C. Mr. Lionel Fielden, whom they appointed Controller of Broadcasting in India. He put a great deal of energy and shrewd thought into his task. The new title, All-India Radio, was his invention, and was an apt illustration of the originality of his constructive ideas. A fine building erected in New Delhi as broadcasting headquarters was directly attributable to his persistent demand and to the support given to it by Sir James Grigg, as Finance Member of the Government of India.

Mr. Byrt said he also thought that tribute should be paid to the young men and women who participated in broadcasting programmes in India. They had had very great social difficulties to face.

He was aware of the extraordinary popularity of village broadcasting in the North of India, and he would like to ask whether there was any expectation that popular opinion would cause village broadcasting to spread in India. He wondered whether Mrs. Holmes had found that the townspeople were so content with the programmes they were getting that they were not interested in getting broadcasting extended outwards into the villages.

With regard to the material put over, he remembered about twelve years ago that a questionnaire had been sent out to all kinds of listeners with a view to finding out what people liked best and one of the features of the replies was the extraordinary popularity of the talks relayed from England. Some three years ago Professor Ogilvie, Director of the B.B.C., in a lecture to the Royal Empire Society, showed that B.B.C. talks were relayed to a considerable extent in many countries but least of all in India. In 1938 he had been to the B.B.C. to discuss the kind of talks relayed to India, and he had protested against some of the material which was being sent over. He had been told that the material must be made representative of all aspects of English life. He did not agree. He thought that the material sent over should be what was welcomed by India and, as far as possible, what was edifying. He would like to ask Mrs. Holmes whether the B.B.C. were now sending over matter which was worth hearing or whether they were including the trash which they used to send, and, if so, what was the reaction in India.

Mr. ROY HAWKINS said that he wished to raise three small points, the first of which was connected with the position of monopoly which broadcasting held in India and the tendency towards censorship which that seemed to bring in its train. He himself had once given a talk from the Bombay station and he had mentioned the word "Pakistan." The station director had blue-pencilled that word, the point being that as A.I.R. was owned by the Government of India any approval or disapproval of anything was automatically the opinion of the Government of India. That seemed to him a foolish attitude because the average listener was capable of distinguishing between an individual expression of opinion and an official pronouncement. He would like to see not only the present Government of India but future Governments of India take the view that freedom to broadcast should be at least as great as freedom to write in the Press.

His second point was also connected with the question of monopolistic versus competitive broadcasting. The view had been expressed that there must be a clear-cut choice between either the British or Indian systems of Government-controlled monopoly or a free commercial system of radio such as existed in America. He believed that during the war a weekly programme had been broadcast from Calcutta which had been sponsored by the Indian Red Cross. The I.R.C. was responsible for the programmes put out each week, and it seemed to him that that was possibly a halfway house in the matter. Although the stations and the network remained Government property he saw no reason why hours of time should not be leased to advertisers who were prepared to pay for that time.

As far as the language used in broadcasts in India was concerned he thought it was only necessary to remember that probably the most popular broadcast programme in England was that of Tommy Handley.

Mr. EDWIN HAWARD wished to make one small correction in Mrs. Holmes's dates. She had said that in 1940 A.I.R. was the only system broadcasting for the Allies east

of Suez. He himself had been broadcasting from Shanghai and Hongkong in 1940 and from Singapore in 1940-41. He thought Mrs. Holmes's date should be 1942. The gallant little station from which he had broadcast had gone down in the Far East debacle, but they had broadcast news right up to the time of the fall. They had kept in close touch with the All-India Radio and there had been an Indian Committee in Malaya who chose programmes.

He thought that the enormous advance which broadcasting had made in India, and particularly in Indian hands, should give them a certain amount of encouragement with regard to the days which lay ahead. He did not think, however, that the desire to relinquish censorship would be any stronger than it was today. His prophecy was that censorship would not be any less strong in the India of the future and his Indian friends were inclined to agree with him on that point.

Colonel TROTTER said that probably everyone would remember when broadcasting first started in India. He remembered very well seeing a notice in the Press that Mr. Fielden had resigned from the position of the head of broadcasting in India, and he had written to him suggesting that he should stick to the job because there was a good time coming. He was very glad to hear now that broadcasting had taken such a firm stand in India.

Mrs. WINIFRED HOLMES said that she was very glad to hear from the Chairman that in his opinion the rural broadcasts were among the most important programmes given and that they had been started on the right lines and were popular. She hoped that any new Government would try to carry on those programmes and increase and improve them.

She agreed with Mr. Hilton Brown that a listener research department was very much needed. The B.B.C. had such a department, and it was on the results of enquiries made by it that future programmes were based. As far as she knew India had as yet no such listener research department, and she hoped that A.I.R. would in the future have enough money to start one.

As far as broadcasting in the villages was concerned she thought that any extension of those broadcasts would depend largely upon the number of sets which were presented to the villages. The special Delhi rural programmes had been based on a gift of 1,000 wireless sets to 1,000 villages. Mobile vans equipped with radio loud-speakers and lecturers and so on were already going round many of the villages; and that scheme was going to be added to under the present Government, but the recent enormous cut in revenue was killing it for the time being. Whether the new Government would restore the scheme she did not know.

One speaker had asked whether the towns were interested in getting rural programmes relayed to the outlying rural districts. She would say that they were not. She thought that the towns were interested in themselves. That was not exactly a criticism because the life of a town was a busy one, and on the whole the people had not the time to be interested in broadcasts to rural districts. She had no doubt that the Provincial Governments would be interested because they would want to educate the villagers in their Provinces.

With regard to censorship, Government control of radio in India meant not only rigid control of its finances but it also meant that there was not complete freedom of speech. The B.B.C.'s charter was that of a public corporation, and therefore the Government did not really control the B.B.C. During the war the B.B.C. was controlled directly by the Government, but in peacetime the B.B.C. fought for its privilege of free speech, and in the programmes relayed today there was a good deal of personal matter. But in India, where broadcasting was completely Government controlled, that could not be done. She hoped that the next Government would not want to control it so rigidly, but she agreed that it might not want to give up such a powerful weapon of propaganda.

With regard to the question of buying time on the air, she knew about the Red Cross broadcasts, but she did not know whether they had bought their time on the air or whether it was given to them. A.I.R. did not broadcast all through the day, but closed down at certain hours, and those hours might perhaps be bought by outside interests, but she thought that that might be rather difficult with a Government-

owned network. She thought that there should be some other commercially sponsored networks because competition did tend to improve the quality of programmes.

She was very grateful to Mr. Haward for his correction. All-India Radio, Delhi, had been the biggest radio voice in 1940, and in 1942 it had been the only one.

On the motion of Professor H. G. RAWLINSON a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer for her interesting paper and to the Chairman for presiding.

INDIA'S ROLE IN ASIA IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

BY AYANA DEVA, B.A.

(Author of *Japan's Kampf*)

THE study of any country's future should be profitable, provided it is a dispassionate study, free from fancy theories or wishful thinking; but duly weighing probabilities of India's role in Asia, in an increasingly interdependent world, is conditioned like that of any other country in the world by the effect of socio-economic realities shaping the aspirations and activities of her people.

India's good in the future depends primarily not on the whims and vagaries of individuals however influential, nor on the principles or prejudices of pressure-groups and power-politicians. In the last analysis it will be reached (a) by her own relative position in Asia and in the world, and (b) by Asia's relative position in the rest of the world. If such a finding puts inconvenient limits on incipient Indian "*Sturm und Drang zeit*," it should also banish the fears and forebodings of faint-hearted sceptics and alarmists. By virtue of her geographical, economic, political and cultural status, India is assured of a great role in the future.

On adequate realization of this basic consideration policies must be fashioned and various trends scrutinized. Thus viewed, India's future in Asia affords little scope either for starry-eyed idealists and Indian irredentists (if there be any), on the one hand, or for political Podsnaps and Philistines on the other. Their existence will be duly allowed in any study of India's role, but they are not necessary for its fulfilment. What is required is capacity for an objective and dispassionate consideration of vital issues, large doses of charity and even humility, and, above all, a good deal of sympathy—for not to sympathize is not to understand.

India's role in Asia depends in no small degree on certain historical determinants which have gone into the consciousness of her people and been translated into their ideas, ideals and inspirations. True, not every Indian peasant is conscious of these historical factors, nor indeed is every educated Asiatic fully aware of them. In the same way such uniformity is unknown in Nature.

It is undeniable that amongst the few features common to the otherwise heterogeneous peoples of Asia there stand out conspicuously the historical past, the heritage of racial and political subordination and the degrading poverty of the masses. These factors, in varying degrees, will naturally provide at least a partial motive-force of India's role in the near future.

ASIA AND THE WEST

Four hundred and fifty years ago, in the era of the great explorers, "Westerners," to use a convenient term, controlled only 9 per cent. of the earth's land surface, whereas in 1936 they controlled 84.6 per cent. of it and nearly 70 per cent. of the world's population. This fact may be outside the scope of all the academic historians of the West, but it is seldom lost sight of by the political leaders of the East. On this particular aspect of the history of East and West relations the best course is to adopt the attitude once recommended in respect of the history of Anglo-Irish relations: Anglo-Irish history is something that every Irishman should forget and every Englishman should remember.

Nevertheless, no one should be surprised if India's leaders think that her role in

Asia should include the redemption of Asia; that such ideas, however nebulous at present, may be shared by many other leaders of that continent, and that later they may be given concrete form by means of both independent and collective action. The general realities and particular experiences of the problem of racial subordination, with all its prejudices and unfortunate consequences, will provide, for some time at any rate, a common ground for Indians and other Asiatic peoples. I state this not necessarily to approve it but to indicate how unwise it is to adopt an ostrich-like attitude, as many do for a variety of reasons.

INDIA'S LEADERSHIP

There is little justification either for the elaborate theories of racialism or for the assumption of superiority by individuals and groups. Outside a few aboriginal types no one race is inherently superior to others. Yet if in some relations racial sentiments are potent enough to do violence to our ideas of ethics, culture and good breeding, we must not forget that it is the economic and political domination that really engenders the prejudices of racial superiority. Even in Japan, where the anti-foreign (meaning anti-Western Powers) sentiments crystallized into the "*Sonno-joi*" movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the popular slogan, "Honour the Emperor and expel the barbarians," had an economic ring about it. And, things going as they are, there may be revival of such a movement. For all these reasons India may seek co-operation and take joint action with other Asiatic countries. She was once the cultural metropolis of Asia, and may even give a lead in this field, thereby fulfilling one of India's many legitimate tasks.

Such common experiences, aspirations and tasks would seem to call for some definite association of the Asiatic peoples. But this does not mean Pan-Asianism in the full sense of the word. Such notions and schemes are neither desirable nor practicable in this more than ever interdependent world. In the transitional programme of India there is no room for a full-fledged federation of Asiatic States. The present social and political structures of Asiatic countries do not permit it, and as yet there is no economic basis for it.

Also, I see no wisdom in India promoting any *ad hoc* military and semi-political alliances with a few countries, based, as such groupings often are, on a general obsession with war, or founded on the fears and jealousies of another group of countries. Yet India may be forced by circumstances to seek such temporary *ententes*.

I do not share the Spenglerian conception of cycles and seasons for cultures and civilizations. There is a good deal of strange or wishful thinking, not confined to the East, that darkness has now descended on the West, and that the new sun will appear "from out the fiery portal of the East." Any structures built on such day-dreams will be shattered by the atom bomb of economic and technological realities.

What India's achievements in the international realm may be in the near future must, in a sense, depend upon the nature and extent of the solution of her immediate political problems. Whatever that solution may be, I have no doubt that with the sympathy and active support of millions of enlightened peoples of the West, India will sooner or later play an effective part in making the much-needed racial and political adjustments in Asia. I am confident—to use a well-known phrase—that India thus will save herself by her exertions and Asia by her example.

THE POVERTY PROBLEM

One of the most pressing and the most fundamental of India's problems, as in the rest of Asia, is that of the economic poverty of the people of that continent, who number over 60 per cent. of the world's total population. The gorgeous East, whose wealth and splendour the traveller praised and the poet sang in olden days, contains most of the poorest peoples of the world today. The abject poverty and the "pathetic contentment" of these peoples do not arise mainly from any voluntary renunciation or other-worldliness of their outlook as is sometimes alleged, nor even from well-known anti-social, wasteful and abhorrent habits and customs. These have a contributory effect, no doubt, and therefore would be reformed or eliminated.

Most of the social and religious and even political problems of India, as of the rest of Asia, can only be thoroughly solved side by side with her basic economic problems.

This is not realized any more than the pitch of poverty, which is the keynote of those problems. Even when due allowances are made for different price levels, money values, etc., the average income in Asia is about ten times lower than that in Western Europe. About two-thirds of the population of Asia do not, even in normal times, secure bare requirements of food and clothing. For centuries their lot has been worse than the present-day condition of peoples in some liberated countries of Europe.

A common error made in this connection needs to be pointed out. It is that the rapid growth of population in India has been the main cause of dire poverty and recurrent famines. It is true that certain regions of India (*e.g.*, some areas in Bengal and in the Gangetic Valley generally) are very densely populated, and that during the last generation or so there has been an alarming rate of increase of population. This rate is bound to rise further before it becomes steady, for a few years after a higher and more reasonable standard of living is achieved. For all these reasons various well-known deterrents have to be adopted by the leaders of independent India. But it is not in conformity with facts that the inordinate expansion of population has been the main cause of India's poverty or of that of Asia generally. The average density of India today is lower than that of many European countries. Between 1650 and 1936 the population of Asia as a whole increased by three and a half times only compared with the five and a third times increase in Europe. So the main causes of India's poverty should be looked for elsewhere, even as the right palliatives and not quack remedies should be resorted to. False scents, like false gods, should be sedulously avoided.

INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE

Chief among the many events bringing the blight of poverty to "India's coral shores" have been (1) the destruction of what was once the basis of her renowned prosperity, to wit, the union of agricultural and handicraft industries; (2) the inharmonious economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and (3) retardation of industrial development in the twentieth century.

The disabilities that hinder the people of India from playing a full and significant role in the political and cultural affairs of the world arise from her economic backwardness, and, in particular, her low industrial productivity. A fairly accurate idea of this backwardness is provided by the figures given by Professor Megh Nad Saha for the energy-index. The units of energy, both from thermal and hydro-electric sources and from coal and other fuel, are 29 for India as compared with 1,950 for the United Kingdom.

However, India and Asia have certain advantages, not only from their historical and cultural heritages, but also from their more than adequate natural resources—untapped reserves of energy and indispensable raw materials. The synthetic production elsewhere of some of these raw materials might in the distant future alter the relative value and indispensability, and consequently affect the economic life of Asia. Hence a few safety valves will have to be introduced in the planned machinery of the future.

The first and most vital task of India and of Asia is the speedy reconstruction of the social and economic systems. I know that the poet wrote, "A fool lies here who tried to hustle the East," and that there are economic Philistines and political Cassandras coming out with their warnings. I am aware of the false analogies drawn between the Western and the Eastern nations, and of false comparisons made between the tempos of industrial development in the older and newer countries. Yet such is the force of the historical law of combined development that I think, given an even chance, it is possible to transform India within two or three generations from being one of the poorest countries in the world into one of the richest.

The war against poverty in India will be fought mainly on two broad fronts—agricultural and industrial—by mechanization of tillage and by building large-scale industries within a planned and harmonious economy. This stupendous task is not without its difficulties. India's innumerable internal problems of social and religious differences will have to be tackled. There will be pitfalls here, setbacks there, and teething troubles almost everywhere. But then, who ever thought that great national revolutions are made with rose-water?

While she is engaged in this task, India needs the just and sympathetic consideration of the people of the rest of Asia and of the Western world. Whatever role India is destined to play in the future she will be helped or hindered in her tasks by the new relations she may establish with her co-members of the United Nations. In what way, we may ask, might her new role be affected, in particular, by her future relations with Britain and Russia?

FUTURE INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS

The close and unique connection that history forged between India and Britain will have to be continued through a new political association between Britain and the free India. That this would undoubtedly be to the common good of the peoples of India and Britain, and of the world in general, is being realized by more and more people. I have had the privilege and exceptional opportunities to address lectures to, in the aggregate, many thousands of British people—teachers and students in schools, universities and youth clubs, workers, business people and ordinary men and women in all walks of life. I know there is an increasing demand, based on enlightened goodwill, that Britain should help India to attain an independent status as soon as possible. If this should come about in the right manner and right spirit, the new political association between Britain and India that will probably follow will at last put an end to the long period of mistrust, frustration and bickerings.

Under the new free and more natural conditions of equality and friendship, India would need and welcome the services, not of just a few as at present, but of hundreds, indeed thousands, of gifted British men and women from many walks of life. One already notices in Britain encouraging signs of the desire to help India in this way.

May I make one earnest plea in this connection? Much of the estrangement that often mars the friendship of British and Indian is predominantly due to misunderstanding. Now a certain amount of the vital work of removing this misunderstanding is being done in this country by a few individuals and organizations. Tact, tolerance, charity, fair play and sense of justice are a few essential requirements of this work, which is carried along the lines of the best traditions of Britain. However, the larger part of the ground remains uncovered. Is it not possible to make accessible for such work the larger avenues, and to harness the services of other important organs such as the great national newspapers, the B.B.C. broadcasts, and so on? If the work is worth doing, it is certainly worth doing well and thoroughly on a large scale.

There is another aspect of this matter. If such of the misunderstanding about India as exists in Britain needs to be removed, and if India's role needs to be explained to British people, what about the other part of this work? When will a beginning be made—and who should make it—to remove the colossal misunderstanding among Indians about the British people and British culture? It should not be difficult to find out what needs to be done in this connection.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S DECLARATION

An objective and sympathetic understanding by British people of India's role in Asia would certainly help her in attaining her much-desired economic revival, social rejuvenation and political status and stability. It is generally admitted that the recent statement in Parliament of the Prime Minister marked a new stage and facilitated the political discussions with the Cabinet mission in New Delhi. This does not mean that we are out of the wood, and we all know the innumerable pitfalls and cul-de-sacs to be avoided. But at least a good beginning has been made.

It strikes me, however, that there was substantially little to prevent such an unequivocal declaration as that of Mr. Attlee's from being made any time during the last twenty-five years. If such a declaration of complete independence (if India wishes) had been made, say, in 1926 instead of 1946, what an amount of time, temper and energy would have been saved, and what avoidance there would have been of mistrust and bitterness and of trials, tribulations and suffering of thousands of people!

What great links of permanent and binding association of Britain and India would have been forged!

The peoples of India and Britain would do well to remember this and many other things and learn appropriate lessons. Many great results and benefits have been undeniably produced in the course of Indo-British relations, but unfortunately many tragedies too have occurred. Our duty, following the precept of Spinoza, lies in sedulously endeavouring "not to laugh at human actions, not to lament them, nor even to detest them, but to understand them."

India's role in Asia consists, as we have seen, mainly of winning political freedom and national independence for herself and contributing to a like goal for the rest of Asia with which she has certain historical affinities, and of reconstructing on a planned and harmonious basis her economic life, in order thus to instil into her peoples new dignity, self-respect and, above all, the capacity to set about solving their various social and religious problems.

RUSSIA AND INDIA

In carrying out these great tasks many Indians will undoubtedly be influenced by the example of Russia, and many more will be inspired by certain achievements of that country. Still more will be nervous of what the new trends in Russia may bring to the Asiatic world. Such diverse sentiments towards the new emergent Russia arise from the significant changes that have been taking place in that vast land during the last twenty-five years in the social economy, and consequently in the political and foreign policies of Russia. The original principles and practices of international socialism advocated by Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders are now being abandoned one by one for various reasons of both a national and an international character. The net result is that today, though several of the basic achievements of the October Revolution still exist, a new caste of people has appeared conspicuously in the governing circles of Russia. It is chiefly this phenomenon which accounts for the various perplexities as well as for the aggressive manifestations of Russian foreign policy.

Many Indians, including sections of workers and youth, are among the millions of people all over Asia and the rest of the world who unquestionably look up to Russia today. There is bound to be disillusionment when the new significant changes in Russia dawn upon them and the varied implications are realized. That does by no means lead to the complete elimination of the ideas of the Russian Revolution, but it would certainly mean turning away from the leadership of the new Nationalist Russia. She will then cease to be a problem of special or exclusive consideration for India.

Such, then, are the probable features of India's role in Asia in the post-war world, as far as one can safely judge from matters which are still in the melting-pot. All those interested in India's future, especially the British people—all those interested in the problems of peace in Asia and in the rest of the world should be assured that India too desires peace above everything else. But India would remind them of the saying: "Many there are who desire peace, but few there are who desire things that make for peace." India's role in Asia should consist mainly of creating those necessary things in that great continent that alone could guarantee peace for all of us.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, April 17, 1946, with Sir ALFRED WATSON in the Chair. An address was given by Mr. AYANA DEVA, B.A., on "India's Role in Asia in the Post-War World."

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the speaker, said that no subject could be of more interest at present than the part which a new and independent India was to play in

world affairs, no subject more vital to the economy of the future. They might ask themselves, Would India rise to the height of the opportunity which was offered her? There, he was afraid, they were in the region of pure speculation with an ample field for the prophets, whether of success or disaster. Mr. Ayana Deva was to give them his ideas on the subject. He had the advantage that, with a wide experience of lecturing in this country and with the background of India, he had become acquainted with English opinion upon Indian affairs. *Japan's Kampf*, of which Mr. Deva was the author, did not suggest that he would see in federation of the East the solution of India's difficulties. The Jap would prove an uneasy bed-fellow. The answer to the question he left to Mr. Deva.

After the reading of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN said they were all indebted to Mr. Deva for his endeavour to throw light on the future of Asia. If his predictions had not been very precise they could understand the difficulties and the limitations that beset the man who would see into the future. Mr. Deva had told them from his experience of British audiences that there was an abundant sympathy in this country in the new developments of India. He was perfectly sure that that was true. It was not his part that afternoon in the Chair to be critical of what Mr. Deva had said, but he should doubt some of his statistics, especially those of the population and area of the world controlled by the Western Powers. His (the speaker's) geography might not be very precise, but he saw Japan, China, Nepal, Tibet, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, all those countries free from the domination of the Western Powers and having a very much greater proportion of the population of the world than Mr. Deva assigned to them.

Some two years ago he undertook the task which Mr. Deva had essayed that afternoon of endeavouring to foresee what would be the future of India in the world that was to be, and lectured at London University on that subject. He was less confident today than he was then. Recent events had done nothing to justify his belief that India could achieve unity among the diversity of her peoples. That unity, he believed, was an essential to her political and industrial growth. They might all hope that the Cabinet mission now in India might achieve its purpose, that purpose being to help India to find a Government that would give the land future peace and wider opportunities of prosperity. Unless that could be done it would be futile to discuss the role of India in the future. India would become nothing but a plague spot in the East.

Fortunately they were not that day contemplating the internal political problems of India. Mr. Deva had for the most part ignored them or passed lightly over them. Let them assume, as in *The Pantomime Rehearsal*, that "all will be right on the night," whatever discordance there might be in the preliminaries. Then the first task of Indian statesmanship, when such independence had been achieved as was possible to any country in the present condition of the world, would be to give the Indian people a higher standard of life. Without that no major development was attainable. Here it seemed to him that Mr. Deva brushed aside the difficulties of a rapidly growing population and an agriculture that failed to respond to the demands made upon it. The analogy he drew from conditions in Europe did not hold good. It ignored the fact that Europe as a whole did not feed itself, and imported a great amount of the raw materials upon which its industries were founded.

It might be true, as Mr. Deva said, that, judging by European standards, India was not over-populated, but even on European standards Europe had a lesser population over a wider area and had very much higher standards of agriculture. If the present rate of growth of the population of India was continued, no plan that he had seen would give the Indian people a higher standard of life. The deficiency in India's supplies must be met in the future from her own resources if a major tragedy in world history was to be avoided.

He offered one warning: there was not absent from what Mr. Deva had said that afternoon an assumption that he found running through much Indian speech and literature, a conviction that everywhere throughout the East, if not throughout the world, Indian goods and Indian culture would be welcomed. Indians for their

part might call upon those not of their own race to "quit" the country. Mr. Gandhi in his generosity might offer those who remained or came a place as servants of India. There was a demand that the goods of the world should be shut out of India by high tariffs. In return the other nations were to turn the other cheek to the smiter.

It was in no spirit of bitterness that he said that that was not the way that things worked out in an imperfect world. India was not the only country in the East in which an ardent nationalism was alive. Experience of the reaction to Indian penetration in Burma and Malaya, in Ceylon and elsewhere, not to speak of South Africa and Kenya, afforded no basis for the belief that India would be welcomed as a competitor. Indian culture, it was true, as in the past, had an enormous influence in various areas of the East, but in any further attempt to spread its boundaries it comes against civilizations as old as its own, as tenacious of their beliefs, and with as proud a tradition. Hinduism, he believed, had no message, except possibly that of toleration, for minds that were feeling *democratic stirrings*.

The new Indian manufactures would everywhere have to overcome resistance in the markets of countries that had their own projects for development and for new employment for their people. In the era now dawning he, therefore, welcomed Mr. Deva's belief that relations between India and the British people would undergo improvement. For India it was essential that they should, since the whole balance of finance between the two peoples had changed. If India was to receive the payment that was her due there must be both an enormous expansion of trade between the two peoples and an extension of service from Britain.

But he was not sure that it was realized in India what enormous exertions and what aid from outside were involved in the transformation of a country to modern industrial production. He would end on a less critical note. We could not stay India's development if we would, and we would not if we could. In her new plans India had full British sympathy, and she could have British aid if she sought it; both would be vital to her. Personally he was a profound believer in the future greatness of India in the sphere of world economy. She had open to her the leadership of the whole East. Her industrial development—and here again he differed from Mr. Deva—might be limited by the fact that she had no great supply of raw materials. She had ample variety but in no great quantity. Industrial India must look to imports from abroad for much of the raw material for her manufactures. Mr. Deva said that those raw materials were "more than adequate," but he would recommend him to look at the statistics.

But for any great development in the agricultural, educational or industrial fields India must cease her present obsession with politics. The two things did not run together. India must have peace within her own borders if she was to grow. She must have peace before she could take up the mission which Mr. Deva had assigned to her of spreading peace throughout a Continent. Given peace, she might do that. He would set no limits whatever to the possibilities before a nation of 400,000,000 people, many of them ingenious craftsmen, many of them thinkers on a high level. India could if she would occupy a position in the world of the future greater than she has ever achieved in the past.

SIR JEREMY RAISMAN said that after the Chairman's masterly survey of the whole field covered by Mr. Deva's paper he must admit there was very little he could find to say. Mr. Deva had touched in rather wide terms on many aspects of the problem which India's present situation provided, but he did not perhaps go into those aspects with that precision which would enable one to take up points of difference and develop them.

It was, of course, clear and could not be reiterated too often that until India had solved the problem of her own political future, of her political integration, or, alternatively, of the federation of separate States within her frontiers, until that process had been achieved, the major economic tasks which lay before her were bound to be impeded. That was not merely a generalization; it was the experience of all of them who had been engaged in the administration of India in the last few years. Actually, during those years, the overriding interests of a world war enabled one for a time to overlook the immediate differences and compelled co-operation in

a common task to meet a common peril, and so for the time being during the war there was created something of the atmosphere and of the conditions which were necessary to the complete development of India.

During the war India had begun to assume something of that place in Asia which must fall to a country of her enormous size and resources, resources in manpower especially. But once the compulsions of a world war had been removed the fissiparous tendencies seemed to reassert themselves, and until a concrete solution of these had been achieved everything must be pure speculation. He sympathized with the lecturer in the necessity he must have found to touch somewhat lightly on the controversial aspects of his theme.

Unity or some agreed division within India, some peaceful solution permitting of economic development and the raising of the standard of living were the pre-requisites of a great destiny for India in Asia.

He disagreed with the lecturer about the importance to be attached to population trends in India. That was a matter to which he had given a great deal of thought, and he never failed to be dismayed and disheartened by the obvious effects of the continual increase in the number of mouths to share in what was not a rapidly increasing cake in India. At the present moment, of course, they were faced with a most appalling immediate prospect, and one could only hope that things would not turn out as disastrously as they appeared to be liable to do. But how could one possibly say that the increase in population was a matter which should not be over-emphasized? It was their experience over the last fifty years that every increase in India's total production had been accompanied by such an increase of her population as to leave the resources available for individual consumption no higher than they were before. They were in a vicious circle in which the standard of living was continually depressed, in which every attempt to raise it was defeated by that continual increase.

He could not say that one could confidently put forward a solution of that problem, although he believed that if the leaders of India had the courage to tackle it boldly and to put it to the people that a mere increase in population was capable of defeating all their hopes, if this were continually brought home to the common man, it must have some effect. He thought that if the knowledge provided by science in Western countries was available and was widely spread and placed at the disposal of the ordinary man in India it might help. He certainly thought it should be tried, although obviously there were great difficulties to be faced, but until some solution was provided to that problem he could not see how one could ensure a rising standard of life in India, and without a rise in the standard of life it seemed to him to be futile to talk about India's role in the future.

They had next door to India the example of China. He was not familiar with the population trends in China, but there was a country which was perhaps in a more advanced stage of nationhood, although she also had not yet attained a satisfactory standard of life. China had a degree of independence which India did not yet enjoy, but clearly she also was unlikely to fulfil her destiny until she could solve the problems of political integration and devote herself to her economic problems.

He was afraid he had merely repeated a good deal of what the Chairman had said, but the subject had been covered in such a masterly style by him that it was impossible to avoid repetition.

Mr. POLAK said that they were really under a very considerable debt to the lecturer if only for the fact that he had given them an Indian point of view which it was very desirable that people in this country should have; whether they agreed with it or not was hardly to the point. The real essential was that they should know that point of view even where they found it necessary to put it in a somewhat different perspective. He thought that one of the difficulties they had had during the last six years or so was that there had been so little of that mutual contact or understanding. Mr. Deva was right in saying that understanding was of the essence of the situation, and he, fortunately, was in a position to put a point of view which was relatively moderate because he had had the opportunity of living in this country and getting to know what British feeling towards India was and

making it a part of himself. He thought that some of their people in India might very well be in a similar position from another point of view, and if they could rely upon co-ordination of those two elements, it would be very valuable indeed in building up this common understanding between India and Britain.

He noticed that Mr. Deva emphasized the necessity for mechanized agriculture and wider industrialization. Quite obviously those were two very great interests in a reorganized economy in India; but he did not think they could have a mechanized agriculture on any large scale until after the entire reorganization of a great part of the agricultural holdings in India, which were not economic to work as they were, and the small owners of which would not be able to afford mechanized agriculture. Therefore it might mean in wide areas some form of migration of the people, perhaps of integration of small land-holdings and community holdings; but however it might be done it would have to be on an intelligent and widely planned scale.

At the beginning of the war India was already regarded by the International Labour Organization as the eighth great industrial country in the world. A considerable amount of work had been done during and on account of the war, but very much more would have to be done in the future, and that again meant wise planning and long planning. Quite obviously it seemed to him that what was required to achieve all this was a single central Government with sufficient powers vested in it to exercise control over the units or the federation, as the case might be, for all-India development purposes.

Then there must be much better means of communication. Over there were enormous numbers of villages without any means of communication at all. Also there must be very much closer contact between the people in the villages and the outside world, much wider education, which, he thought, could be effected more rapidly by broadcasting intelligently, by travelling cinemas, and things of that kind, so that the people could learn by the eye and by the ear, and not only by the study of letters, important as that was. That would be the more rapid way of spreading education in India of a practical kind.

As regarded India's role in Asia, apart from the question of internal stability, one must always remember that no country had ever had anything to fear from Indian aggression. The whole history of India, so far as countries outside were concerned, had been one of non-aggression and, indeed, centuries before the present era it was recorded by the Emperor Asoka, who himself had been a great conqueror in India; that the greatest conquest of which India was capable was the conquest of the spirit, the conquest of the law, which he endeavoured to achieve by sending his cultural and religious missionaries outside India. The real influence of India was a peaceful and cultural influence, not one for military gain.

Those were just a few of the thoughts that occurred to him on hearing that paper. He did not agree with many statements in it, but he felt that they ought to understand a little better something of the spirit that was moving in India and the East; because if they did not try to understand it and if India and the other Asiatic countries felt that the Western countries were not making a sufficient attempt to understand, he feared there was going to be an alignment of these peoples which would have very dangerous consequences. So there again he wished to underline Mr. Deva's insistence on the need for understanding.

SIR FRANK NOYCE said he found himself in complete agreement with Sir Jeremy Raisman regarding the difficulty of following the Chairman, because he did not think he had left a single "i" that needed dotting or a "t" that needed crossing. There were, however, one or two disjointed reflections that had occurred to him on reading Mr. Deva's paper.

He found himself in the same difficulty as the Chairman in regard to Mr. Deva's geography and statistics. When Mr. Deva talked of "Westerners" controlling in 1936 84.6 per cent. of the earth's land surface and nearly 70 per cent. of the world's population he (the speaker) could not help wondering in which category he placed Russia. Did he consider Russia a Western or an Eastern Power? Of course, the answer was that it was both. When one looked at the map of Russia and Asia and

saw the vast extent of Russia in Asia, the way in which it sprawled over the whole continent, and when one considered its unbounded potentialities to which the natural resources of India were but small in comparison, it would be realized that Russia was bound to be the dominating Power in Asia in the years to come.

Then, again, what did the Indian leaders mean by talking about the "redemption of Asia"? The redemption of Asia that had been called for was redemption from one of its own nations—Japan. He could not, therefore, see what part there was for India to play in the future in "much-needed racial and political adjustments," except in a few minor respects. He did not deny the very strong lead that India had given and could give in other matters such, for instance, as social legislation and the settlement of problems of that kind. Indian labour legislation had been recognized by such a competent observer as Mr. Harold Butler, the late Director of the International Labour Office, as much in advance of that of any other Asiatic country.

If time permitted he would have liked to break a lance with Mr. Deva in regard to his description of the chief events which had brought the blight of poverty to "India's coral strand." He had said they were three in number—namely, the destruction of what was once the basis of her renowned prosperity, to wit, the union of agricultural and handicraft industries; the inharmonious economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and the retardation of industrial development in the twentieth century. He (the speaker) could not help wondering whether Mr. Deva shared the illusion that there was a time when India was really a prosperous country, and had not merely the seeming prosperity thrown over it by the Mogul Court. The poverty of India in Mogul days was certainly much worse than it is at the present day, as could be discovered by reading the records of European travellers of that time.

As regards the inharmonious economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he found it difficult to follow Mr. Deva there, certainly as to the eighteenth century, when the British were not responsible for more than a comparatively small fraction of India.

Regarding the retardation of industrial development in the twentieth century, we were now about halfway through that century and the last great war, which gave an immense impulse to India's development, started in 1914. He did not think there had been any retardation in India's industrial development in the last thirty years. Though development might not have been as fast as one would have liked, everyone must agree that there had been a great deal of progress.

He was going to be frank, perhaps more than was customary at the meetings of the East India Association. Mr. Deva had told them that all those interested in the problems of peace in Asia and the rest of the world could be assured that India desired peace above everything else. He could not help wishing that there was a little more tangible evidence of that, but, in fact, during the last fortnight he had been appalled by the bloodthirsty utterances of one of India's political leaders rendered all the more striking because in private life he was one of the kindest of individuals. According to him unless the party to which he belongs get what they want, what the hordes of Jenghis Khan did will be nothing to what they will do! He (the speaker) had to admit, however, that this Indian leader had been provoked by similar utterances on the other side.

But could it be true that India desired peace above everything else if India's leaders, or even a few of them, could contemplate civil war if they did not achieve their aims with such equanimity? He did not wish to end on a note of discord, however, and, although he agreed with previous speakers that Mr. Deva's paper was somewhat lacking in concreteness, as might be expected from the difficulties of the problems with which it dealt, it did breathe a spirit of goodwill with which he was sure they were all in the most cordial sympathy as they were in his desire for a great improvement in the relations between India and this country. Mr. Deva mentioned that he had been preaching this doctrine up and down the country during the war years, and the speaker was quite sure that the good seed thus sown could not have failed to yield results which he hoped would have a cumulative effect and bring forth fruit ten, twenty and a hundredfold in due season.

Mr. AYANA DEVA, in reply, said that his paper had been intended deliberately not to make any concrete forecasts—an unwise thing to do—and then to speculate on them, but to deal only broadly with a few general principles based on historical facts. He thought that the only controversial point he had made concerned Mr. Attlee's recent statement in Parliament, which, but for the consistent misunderstanding of Indian problems, could have been made at any time during the last twenty-five years. Yet none of his critics took this point on for comments!

The fact that both Sir Jeremy Raisman and Sir Frank Noyce so heartily agreed with the Chairman, in a way simplified his own task. They all called in question his facts and statistics. There were, however, no errors in the statistics given, which could be easily verified any time, and the misinterpretation or distortion of which, in the usual history books, had largely produced great misunderstanding. Incidentally, the word "Westerners" was used not only by him, but by many statisticians in writing about the expansion that began four centuries ago.

Sir Frank Noyce doubted his statement about the former prosperity of India. Yet historical records left by foreign travellers and several early British administrators corroborated that statement. Let them look at the *relative* position—not just the spiritual, on which there seemed to be no great differences of opinion, but the material—of India and Western Europe, now and three hundred years ago. There were, of course, both rich and poor in India, as indeed elsewhere, at that time, but India, judged by the total national wealth, was by far the richest country in the world, its "golden dust" and material prosperity attracting Western traders. But such had been the historical transformation in the relative wealths of India and the Western world, that today India and other parts of Asia were the poorest countries in the world.

The Chairman seemed to think that he (Mr. Deva) assumed that all Indian things (was Indian hegemony meant?) would be welcomed by other Asiatic countries, and that he was wrong in such an assumption. But there was no hint or assumption in the paper of imposing Indian things on other people. Mr. Deva said that his point was that India, having saved herself by her own exertions, would certainly help other Asiatic countries in reconstruction in social, political and cultural fields. There were certain reasons for such joint actions.

As to the opinions expressed about the internal politics and unity of India, he did not share the diagnosis or the forebodings of his critics. In any case his subject was India's role in Asia in the post-war world, and he would have been guilty of an unpardonable digression had he brought into discussion the internal, political problems of India, which would need a separate paper altogether. He did not personally take the pessimistic view which had been expressed by two speakers. He thought that his own optimism as to the future role of India did not rest on any illusion, but on an objective consideration of the historical position of India.

He believed that the British and Indian peoples could in future get on a thousand times better than in the past when once the light of real understanding shone forth and the cloudy political situation was cleared. Politics in this narrow sense of the word was a nuisance and an interference with the vast constructive and co-operative work that lay ahead. Hundreds of thousands of British technicians, doctors, nurses, educationists and artists would be welcomed in independent India, and their services would no doubt be invaluable to Indians in playing their legitimate role in Asia in the post-war period. Our task now in this country was to do our utmost in spreading the knowledge and understanding of India to wider circles of British people, and he was glad to note that all the speakers agreed with him in this.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON voiced the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer, who had given a stimulating address which had provoked an interesting discussion. He regretted that we had never tried to explain our position to the masses of India; we had left the field to other people, and it was time that an effort was made to dissipate misunderstanding.

INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS IN THE FUTURE

By DR. PERCIVAL SPEAR

(Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge, and late of Delhi University)

ATTENTION has so long been concentrated upon the immediate problem of transferring power in India that the problems which will arise thereafter have hardly received their due. Perhaps this is because for a long time we have been prepared to hand over power without really expecting to do so. Today we expect to hand it over and no one is prepared to receive it. But it would be a great mistake to imagine that with the handing over of power to India an iron curtain will ring down in the East, that the British departure will be as clean cut and severance of relations as complete as was the Roman exodus from Britain. There were British in India before we had political power and important relations with Indian Governments, and it is safe to prophesy that there will be British in India long after the last official and the last soldier have left. The position of India in a still shrinking world makes it certain that there will be important relations with her—political, economic, intellectual, cultural—whatever the nature of her internal régime. The present crisis, therefore, should not mark the end of the British connection with India, but the completion of one phase and the opening of another in the history of Indo-British relations. The British came as traders, stayed to rule and afterwards took upon themselves to plan and to educate; ceasing to rule should not mean renouncing influence and control any more than it need mean abandoning trade. It is urgently necessary, therefore, that we should be planning for the future on the widest lines.

The political nature of the connection with India has tended to obscure other forms which are in the long run even more important though less obvious. It is so much easier to think in concrete terms of red patches on the map, Imperial diadems and administrations which can be looked up in Whitaker's than in terms of ideas, principles and influences, that the disappearance of the red patch or the diadem is apt to be regarded as the end of all things. It is an axiom of British Indian history that British rule was not established for its own sake. Primarily it was to enable trade to be carried on and profits to be made; gradually there entered the idea of the welfare of the people and later still the modernization of the country. For nearly a hundred years the real function of the British Dominion in India has been to act as a pipeline for Western influence to flow in and as a frame for the great social and intellectual transformation which is the logical consequence of this process. Foreign dominion is incompatible with the ideas conveyed along this pipeline, and the time has now come for it to go, but this does not mean that the pipeline will be cut off; on the contrary, it is likely to flow more strongly than ever. The question for us is, Shall these ideas be as they have mainly been in the past, British ideas, or shall we sit back and allow American and Russian ideas to have a free field instead? For ideas there will be, of that we may be sure.

Enough has already been said to indicate that Indian independence has been assumed. This seems to me a necessary assumption, whatever the outcome of the present discussions. If India elects for Dominion Status it will only be because she has convinced herself that it really contains the substance of independence and there would be no more British control over the country than there is over South Africa. If two Indias emerge they will both be independent; the problem will be complicated, not altered. If a period of confusion develops it will only be the prelude to some form of independence; the problem would then be delayed rather than altered. Whatever immediate developments may be, the old Indian problem, which centred round the British power in India, its strength, nature, modification or extinction, has gone and the new Indian problem has arrived. The new situation envisages an autonomous India, able to regulate its internal affairs and external relations, with whom one does business on equal terms. All ideas of power or compulsion are removed, and what one wants one must get by persuasion and free will, because the other side, for his own reasons freely considered, likes to have it so. This new

India will certainly have rivals for her favours, for it cannot be expected that either Russia or America will disinterest themselves altogether from so large and important a part of the world. If British influence is to survive it will have to do so on its own merits after examination and comparison and not by Hobson's choice of monopoly and exclusion.

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

Before considering the lines on which our relations can be developed, it is worth noting for a moment the assets and liabilities with which we shall start our work. Taking first the liabilities, there is, of course, a large legacy of distrust and suspicion. Prison walls, even British ones, and residence in the Aga Khan's palace, do not make for friendly feelings. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, and Congressmen have suffered severely from this malady in the past twenty-five years. Memories of commercial, political and social discrimination take time to fade, and we must remember that it is easier for the victimizer to forget than the victim. Hurt pride and thoughts of personal slights, even if largely imaginary, are important in a sensitive race. Downright envy of British achievement is an important ingredient. And there is the frustration felt for "the things that I would but do not," for all of which Britain has had to take the blame hitherto. Britain has, in fact, been the convenient whipping-post for discontents and grievances of every kind, and it is not the least advantage of Indian independence that she will now be freed from this incubus.

But if these things may produce much anti-British feeling and cause anti-British action at the outset, they are, I feel convinced, like our similar though much heavier liabilities in Ireland, diminishing burdens, which time will steadily remove. They constitute a psychological hangover from foreign alcoholism. Against them there are very real assets to place. First there are a mass of familiar institutions and customs, commercial, administrative, political and social. Indians are still intensely conservative by nature, and in the absence of an emotional upsurge, such as a violent and embittered break might engender, these institutions are likely to create goodwill by providing ready-made models for thought and action. Next there is the English language, too well established and too convenient to be easily dispensed with. Then there are all the ideas of which that language has been the vehicle. There is the body of English literature itself, from Shakespeare and Wordsworth downwards. There is the mass of democratic ideas which have come mainly through English political writers like Macaulay and Mill, and there are the moral and philanthropic ideas which have come partly from the humanitarian Liberals but much more largely through the agency of Christian missionaries. Last and greatest asset of all is the respect (and admiration) for the British character at its best. This feeling, despite all that may be printed and spoken about Britons individually or in groups, is deep and widespread throughout the sub-continent, and it far outweighs all the harm done by individual instances of inconsiderateness and racial pride or examples of corporate exploitation and selfishness.

This admiration is given not merely to white wearers of dhoties or pinko-grey admirers of Hinduism, as sentimentalists are apt to think. Indians are quite as shrewd as other people in seeing through appearances and getting to the root of the matter. Their praise is reserved for all types of Englishmen so long as they exhibit what they consider to be the best type of British character. They do not demand very profound understanding or fulsome sympathy, or the mental attitude that the British are always wrong; they expect high standards of conduct, devotion to duty, public spirit, personal incorruptibility, justice, kindness and courtesy. The whole picture is summed up in Cardinal Newman's ideal of a gentleman, and in one word it is comprehended by the word integrity. They consider that the British have developed a way of life and outlook admirable in many respects and from which they have much to learn, and they are conscious of these things in direct proportion to their freedom from interference and restraint by foreign persons. The character of an Englishman is the rock on which the future relations of Britain and India can and should be built.

POLITICS

With these considerations in mind it is possible to view some aspects of Indo-British relations in the future. First come political relations, about which I propose to say very little. Should there be any relations at all apart from the minimum of formality, as with, say, a Central American republic? On this point it is sufficient to say that Britain, with all the ramifications of her commercial and strategical interests, cannot disinterest herself completely from the affairs of a whole sub-continent. From both the strategical and commercial points of view Britain must continue to be concerned with developments in India, just as she is with those in the Mediterranean, Western Europe or the Far East. Relations will be diplomatic rather than administrative, but in that sphere they will be active.

Trade is an obvious concern of both parties. India covers the northern flank of the route to the British Far East and the Antipodes; Britain cannot fail to be interested in the independence of a state adjacent to Burma on one side and the explosive Muslim East on the other. India on her side could not be indifferent to a power which could give her political security in the north-west and the Indian Ocean and economic security against world competition. The rôle of Britain will be that of the helpful friend. The one thing needful is to abstain from interference or even suggestion of interference, for on this point Indian opinion will be understandably sensitive for some time to come. But if there will be few opportunities for control, there are likely to be considerable openings for collaboration, for the work of experts in various fields—soldiers, engineers and technicians of all kinds, men serving for fixed periods with specific jobs. Here it is of the greatest importance that such men should be chosen with the utmost care, not merely for their technical skill, but also for their general qualities. On such men, together with the representatives of British commerce, will mainly depend the good name of the British in India. On the one hand, any suggestion of interference by these men would be as warmly resented as in pre-war Russia, and, on the other, more will be expected of them in the way of contact with the people and understanding of the country than formerly. The aloofness of the official of former days had its justification and was, at any rate in part, understood. But that justification will lapse with the passing of governmental authority.

TRADE RELATIONS

We now come to economic relations. British business has already declared itself in favour of fair competition and no privilege, but in the circumstances this is only a graceful acceptance of the inevitable. It has yet to adjust itself to the changed conditions which will inevitably exist. Granted that there will be no deliberate discrimination against British goods or firms, the fact must be faced that British business will also be without its numerous friends and clients all through the administration. Everyone knows how much can be effected by administrative action as distinct from legislation. Hitherto this has told in favour of British commerce; a talk with a friend in the Secretariat, a drink at the club, a conversation at a dinner party, all help to oil the wheels of commerce. In the new régime things will be very different, and the difference will be between dealing with friends informally and by official routine. The British merchant will lack the prestige of the governing caste, and will become one foreign trader among many. In short, the personal connection with the administration will vanish. He will have to buy and sell on his own merits, and, if anything, be handicapped by memories of his former connection with government. His prestige account will be completely written off, and he will have to compensate by adding to the balance of his goodwill.

In this condition of psychologically free competition the British trader will depend to a much larger degree than hitherto on the goodwill of the Indian buyer. This is the market he must first explore if he is to retain and enlarge his present market for consumer and capital goods. In his favour he has got the admitted worth of British goods, whose reputation in the East stands higher than ever. He has the reputation of British business methods; an Englishman's word is still his bond, a British sample is still a true indication of the goods to follow, orders are fulfilled punctually and payments made promptly. British business character is still respected, not only for

its moral reliability, but for its breadth and ability to see broader issues than the greatest possible profit in the shortest possible time. Against this must be set political prejudice coming down from the past, the anxiety of trade rivals to take advantage of the present situation for their own profit, and personal soreness arising from past aloofness. The second of these is the greatest danger, because it can use the first and third as means to attain its end. British business interests in India should realize that, short of monopolistic conditions which will not exist in the coming years, there is a point of dislike beyond which consumers will not buy goods, however attractive and excellent they may be, and that this point is reached much sooner in an independent country than in one with only a slight degree of dependence. Further, that modern powers of publicity make it necessary not merely to have a clear conscience and clean record, but to seem to the public to have one. There are plenty of people in India who would like to take our trade into their own hands, and who might regard it as shrewd business to stir up opinion against British traders. Therefore we must not only provide the best goods as at present, we must be liked as well. Granted these conditions, and an absence of political bitterness, there should be very great prospects for Indian trade in what shows every sign of being a rapidly expanding market.

TWO TYPES OF BUSINESS MEN

What, then, is the recipe for being liked and respected as well as thought clever? The answer, I think, will depend on the type of business man who goes out. Broadly speaking, there will be two main types. There will be the individual adventurer, who will take service with Indian firms hoping to make his fortune rather in the style of John Company days, and there will be the young man who goes out as today as the servant of big corporations, whether it be a bank, a tea garden, an oil company, an engineering project or an agency office. The former type are likely to be offered glittering rewards at the price of great insecurity; the chance of maintaining British standards in the unstable conditions in which they will find themselves is not very great. For the sake of the British name (remembering their prototypes in the eighteenth century) we may hope they will be few. As far as possible men should only be encouraged to take service with Indian firms or states of established reputation and upon legal contractual terms.

The latter type is the more important for our purpose. It goes without saying, of course, that they should be as competent as ever in the technical business sense. But there is now something else which should be regarded not merely as a useful accessory if it happens to develop, but as a necessary corollary to that business competence. This is some knowledge of the country, the people and their language, some sympathy with its aspirations and outlook, some personal relations other than those of subordination, and contacts other than those of pure business. Many men up-country and some in the Presidency towns do these things already, but many more do not, and it is possible to live out a whole business life in Calcutta without serious knowledge of or contact with Indian life above the servant levels. I am not suggesting adoption of Indian manners or customs; on the contrary the more truly British a man is in the best sense the more respected he is likely to be. What I am suggesting is something of the same kind of reciprocation to another culture as a British business man would make as a matter of course in Paris, Rome or Moscow.

In these places he is helped by his educational upbringing and European background; in India he is not, carrying with him to the East little more than the words "Black Hole" and "Mutiny" and a vague notion of Oriental craft. We cannot expect men already in the grip of habit to change overnight, or younger men to be spared from Calcutta houses for educational courses. But much could be done by careful planning on the part of business houses before the young men go out. At the present time many young men will be taken direct from the Army and others from the Universities. Before sending them out much good would be done by simple courses, of from six months to at most a year, which would be organized by arrangement with one or other of the larger Universities. These courses would deal with the nature of the country and its recent history, political, social and economic; it would include a grounding in the relevant local language, for a know-

ledge of an Indian language will in the future be an immense asset to a business man. Its aim would be to give the business novice some picture of the land he was going to, its peoples, their outlook and their problems. Special stress would be laid upon the nature and course of the transformation of the country under Western influence. Once arrived, it would be for the local business heads both to encourage the novice to build on the foundation laid, and to insist on the maintenance of the highest standards of British business life.

CULTURAL FIELDS

No less important for British influence in the larger sense is the intellectual and cultural field. Here we have the assets of language, of admired and partly assimilated literary, political and economic ideas, and very little in the way of serious liabilities. Indian educational and cultural institutions are largely Indianized already. There is a great mass of Indian goodwill which only needs cultivation to bring forth good fruit. The visit of Professor Hill of the Royal Society in India in 1943 and of Mr. E. M. Forster last year showed the response awaiting real cultural contacts, and the stream of Indian students to England shows every sign of increasing. Here I suggest that what is needed is a deliberate cultivation of a most fruitful and promising garden. Provided the salt of politics is kept out of the soil the harvest will be plentiful and the fruit luscious. In this field, perhaps even more than in the business world, India will be open to all comers in the years to come, and it is therefore just as necessary to plan for cultural as for economic markets.

India has got her model public school at Dehra Dun, and is developing her model University at Delhi; what she will need in the future is a British Institute which will form a focus for British cultural activity and interests. Such an institute might be set up in Delhi or Calcutta, or indeed profitably have more than one centre. Its function would be in a word to arrange cultural contacts. These would include lectures, tours and courses by British men of letters, artists and scientists, exchange of Chairs and organization of schools for particular subjects, arrangement of conferences, exhibitions and general liaison between Indian and British scholars. Besides bringing British authorities to India, it would be able, we may hope, to bring senior Indian scholars (as distinct from students) to England.

Oxford and Cambridge could make a most valuable contribution in this connection by giving research fellowships (say one per college per year for two years) to Indian scholars. Many Indians know college life from the undergraduate angle, but practically none from the high table, and such an experience carried back to India could not but be productive of great good. In some such ways as these British culture, not as a classical literature or a passport to the status of a gentleman, but as a living body of ideas for the solution of current problems, will leaven and influence the whole Indian development. Without some such planned effort it would not be cast aside, indeed, but would be likely, like other cultures before it, slowly to fossilize, so that in fifty years' time an "English-knowing man" would be as remote from current realities a "Persian-knowing" or "Sanskrit-knowing" man of today. The mechanics of such a proposal can only be hinted at here. It may be suggested that any organization should be *sui generis*; that it should be confined to India and its particular purpose; and that it should be clearly unconnected with politics. As possible models may be mentioned the University China Committee, the Rhodes Trust and the Leverhulme Fellowships.

THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS FIELD

There remains the moral and religious field. This is not a Government field, but it is certainly a British field of activity, and as such its future must be considered. It involves the third large British group in India, a group in its own way as significant in the development of the country as the officials and the business men—the missionaries. Apart from building up a Christian community of nearly eight millions, the missionaries are responsible for much pioneer educational, medical and social work. They have imparted a moral urge to the country which all thinking Indians would admit, and by their learning and devotion as well as by their practical activities they have added lustre to the British name. There are, of course,

many other missionaries besides the British, but here we can only consider the latter. They are likely to experience increasing nationalist pressure, and in some quarters are already meeting it.

The obvious cry is for Indian control of Indian churches, and this demand is one which in the long run will have to be met. There will be complications, for to hand over going concerns, and keep them going, to groups which have not the staff to man them or the money to maintain them is not so easy in practice as the enunciation of a principle on paper. Nevertheless, this is clearly the direction in which we are moving. Indian churches want to manage their own affairs; they want foreign helpers, if at all, as temporary assistants or subordinate agents rather than as controllers or directors of policy. What, then, should missionaries do? Should they withdraw betimes and so avoid being turned out, as they were in Japan, and hope to be called back later? Should they wash their hands of the whole Christian enterprise in India, leaving the Indian churches to bear the burden, or should they be content to do just such work as Indian leaders will assign to them?

The answer to this question is to be found by referring back to the original incentive for missionary endeavour in India. This, not always obvious in the bungalows of the latter-day missionary bureaucrat, was to preach the Gospel. Now I believe that the Gospel needs preaching in India more than ever. It is the moral and spiritual core of that Western civilization which is now flooding into India with ever-increasing force. Without the moral idealism which is its fruit all our machines and institutions and devices will be so many offerings to the Moloch of power, hurtling India forward to the horror of a Nazi power-patterned life. By all means let missionaries withdraw from churches which do not want them (if I am right there will not be much choice in the matter). But do not let them rest there. We have, as much as in Lord Ellenborough's time, a great moral duty to perform. Indeed, it is an obligation—the obligation of the maker of a powerful and dangerous machine to provide instructions for use. British churches should say to the Indian churches, "You wish us to withdraw. Very well, we wish you well and we will do so. We will help you when you desire it. But we cannot withdraw from our obligations, and we will accordingly carry on our own work in our own way with our own money and our own people."

In this spirit model colleges, schools, hospitals and social centres would be run, and I am certain they would be run with acceptance to non-Christian India, because they would be additions to the Indian national structure, not a part of it or rivals to it. There would also be a place for religious centres of the Brotherhood type to contact the educated classes. The essential point is that these institutions would be British institutions run in our own way. They would be there for example, imitation or criticism. But they would be genuinely British and would be known by their fruits. They would avoid the imitative quality of the Indian institution which tries to be British and the meretricious note of the British institution which pretends to be Indian.

To him who thinks purely in political terms, the present moment must have the appearance of the Great Renunciation. But to think in purely political terms is to miss the inwardness of the present situation. Britain is no longer the greatest of the powers, but the least of three. Her future depends not on her power of world compelling but on her charm in world persuasion. She has saved herself by her own exertions and must now save others by her example. That example will be a moral example, an exemplification of a way of life and democratic world view for which she possesses the best fitting key. In that mission and with that gospel the policy here suggested for our future relations with India fits in. If that policy be steadily and intelligently pursued it may well be found that an independent India without the Empire, but friendly and allied, is of greater value to the British Commonwealth than a Dominion of India within the Empire, but suspicious, hesitant, sensitive and morose. We live by admiration, hope and love, and the cultivation of these qualities is the true path of development for the British in India. Let Englishmen but to themselves be true and they have nothing to fear from the changes in Time's whirligig.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association on Friday, May 31, 1946, in the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, Dr. PERCIVAL SPEAR read the foregoing paper on "Indo-British Relations in the Future." Sir FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I., presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said that the subject of the paper was one peculiarly appropriate at the present moment. He had had the advantage of seeing the paper in advance, and the manner of approach was singularly apt in putting into its right perspective the future of British-Indian relations. Dr. Spear was a prominent member of the teaching staff of the Delhi University and was now a Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge.

Dr. SPEAR then read his paper.

Lord ERSKINE said that his own experience had been gained purely in South India, and he was well aware that the problems of the north were very different from those of Madras. He would, however, congratulate the speaker on his very able paper. He had always looked forward to the time when India would be able to govern herself and that time seemed to be approaching. He did not look forward with any pleasure to the fact that there might be some "period of confusion" before that happened. Nor did he think that such a situation should be allowed to arise. He hoped it would not, because the people in whom he was most interested in India were the ryots, of whom there were some 350 millions, and they would certainly not be helped by anarchy. No British Government could allow a "period of confusion" to arise in India before appropriate arrangements were made for an Indian Government to take over peacefully; nor did it seem, from any of the proposals put forward by the Cabinet Committee, that such a situation was envisaged by that body.

In general the speaker was in agreement with the lecturer that the British position in India in the future would be different from that existing in the past. On the other hand, old East India Company servants, such as Sir Thomas Monro, always said that when Indians demanded a form of democratic self-government it would be the greatest tribute possible to the British race. The time for action had now arrived, and we had to see how we could hand over the administration of the sub-continent without leaving a vacuum behind us. He believed that British views and British ideas would for generations to come permeate India; certainly in the south, where we had been for so long, our language was far too universal for any other result.

He hoped that India would elect to remain a Dominion and had little doubt that eventually she would do so. There was only one form of Dominion status, that of the Westminster Statute variety, by which any Dominion could secede from the Empire if it wished, and there was, therefore, in his view, little difference between the words "independence" and "Dominion status." He hoped most sincerely that, when the political troubles were over and matters had settled down, India would decide to remain within the Empire and would continue those systems of law, justice and order which were Britain's chief gifts to India.

In conclusion, Lord Erskine hoped that the Cabinet Mission would succeed and that the Indian political parties would be able to agree on the form of government they desired, and, when they had done so, that India would choose to remain within the Empire.

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM said that the more experience one had of India the less could one speak with any confidence. If anyone could speak with confidence about the future of India it was those who had been most intimately concerned with student life, and for that reason it would be wise to ponder very deeply, and be very grate-

ful for, the address given by Dr. Spear. The speaker had had some contact with Delhi University and realized the great work which had been carried out in St. Stephen's College. He was convinced that if anyone could speak with authority it was the person who spent a life of devotion there. For those in official positions it was not so easy to get inside the mind of the student, and his own special contacts had been with politicians in the Legislative Assembly under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution and thereafter. The Chairman would agree with him that the Indian politician was in many ways a very likeable and attractive person, but he started with a profound distrust. When that distrust had gone there would be an affectionate recollection of those who worked to frame the Constitution.

He did not think there was a place for the British administrator in Indian India. People spoke of British India as distinct from the India of the States, and that was a distinction which would soon pass altogether and there would not be any British India, but he thought that the British tradition in many forms would survive. The main idea for the Constitution was for federation, and whether there was one India or two, the idea was always based on federation. The British had not the monopoly in federation, possibly it was learnt from America, but it was a Western idea, and the people of India were convinced that in Western ideas lay the best prospects of the development of good government. We must not blame the Indians for being suspicious of the gifts we brought, but, when the extent of those gifts was realized, gifts which they had themselves to translate into reality, the old feelings of dislike and suspicion would die out.

Mr. CHINNA DURAI did not think Indo-British relations would be any different in the future from what they had been in the past, except perhaps politically. The late Mr. Motilal Nehru, while actually advocating the boycott of British goods for political reasons, found that he himself could not do without a West End tailored suit. There was not a more anti-British politician in India today than his son Jawaharlal Nehru, but nothing short of Harrow and Cambridge and Inner Temple would do for him. The closest friend of Mr. Gandhi at one time was an Englishman—the late Rev. C. F. Andrews—and Mr. Gandhi's confidential secretary had been for many years an Englishwoman. When it was a case of operation for appendicitis, he desired that it should be by an English doctor. As for Mr. Jinnah, when he felt some years ago that his political life was nearly over, the country in which he chose to settle down was England, where he was Mr. Durai's contemporary at the Bar of His Majesty's Privy Council. So amongst all the outbursts of outward hatred against the British there was a strong undercurrent of good feeling and friendship towards Britain running all the time in the minds and hearts of most Indians. This indeed accounted for the fact that thousands of Indian students, on the eve of India's independence, were flocking to Britain; it also accounted for the visit here of the Indian cricket team.

He could give countless examples of the existing good feeling for Britain in India, but was afraid of exceeding the time limit prescribed by the Chairman. The students—past and present—boys and girls in Indian Universities who had studied English literature and English history with a fervour that could not be imagined in England, could not easily divorce themselves from Shakespeare and Milton and the Renaissance and the Reformation. When the heat of present-day politics was over and India recovered from her sense of frustration as a result of British goodwill, the Hindus and the Moslems were sure to think kindly of the people who held the balance between them so tactfully. It was the British, by the way, who befriended the sixty million "Untouchables" in more ways than one. The Indian Christians who were the product of British missionary effort and had been taught to sing English hymns to English music would naturally have a soft spot for Britain. Britain, it must also be remembered, gave India lawn tennis and cricket, justice, peace and law, and a hundred other good things. The future relations between India and Britain must be based on mutual respect and admiration for each other, and there was indeed much that each nation could admire in the other. India's admiration for Britain's lone stand against aggression and tyranny in 1940-41 was no less than that of Britain for the magnificent achievements of the Indian cricket team now touring

these islands. In these circumstances he, for one, certainly did not see the possibility of any other country usurping Britain's place in the Indian heart either now or in the future.

SIR HENRY SHARP said he was interested to hear the views of one whose Indian experience had been gathered at a university, the Bill for the constitution of which he himself, as the Chairman knew to his cost, had had to pilot through the Assembly. He would like to add something on the subject of adventure. Dr. Spear had spoken of the adventurer as one encouraged to engage, under certain conditions, in business in India, and trained for that purpose. That was a picture of a well-behaved and rather pale-blooded adventure. He himself envisaged a tougher kind of guy. He didn't recommend the example of Walter Reinhardt. But in a change so radical as that impending in India there was bound to be some rough and tumble—let's hope the rough will not be too violent and that bones will not be broken in the tumble. The adventurer would play an important part not only in the commercial, but also in the political, military and social spheres in India, just as he did in the eighteenth century. Adventurers would crowd in from all sorts of places—Moscow, the Middle West States and from other and queerer countries. "There are our own barbarians all at play." And our own would be second to none in those virtues which Dr. Spear had summed up in the word "integrity." They would acquit themselves well as adventurers, and it would be wise to let them loose.

SIR HUBERT CARR said that the lecturer had spoken of the position which business men were likely to occupy in India after the change, and he agreed with much of what he said. There were a few points on which he disagreed. The lecturer had not followed the British community's movement to adjust itself to changing views, and there would not be very much adjustment to be made with regard to business when the changeover took place, because business had rested very much on the general goodwill. There was goodwill in business circles, and any difficulties had come from the antagonism of political circles. When the connection with Whitehall was cut it would probably be found that there was a great accession of goodwill to the British business man in India.

The lecturer made a point with regard to fitting ourselves for Indian careers. The great bulk of business people would agree with him. At the present time a course was being held in the School of Oriental Studies in which students learnt a certain amount of the cultural background of the country to which they were going. It was obvious that they would not learn very much of the language in three months, but they would get a background which would enable them to take a stronger place amongst the people in India than had been possible in the past.

He would not enter upon the question of whether the business man had been able to mix socially with Indians as much as was desirable. All those who had lived in India knew the difficulties. In Calcutta continual efforts were made to bring the two communities collectively together, but they were never very successful. It was useless to try to force the mixing of Englishmen and Indians; there must be common interests, and the mixing would follow in due course. In business there was a common interest, and there was individual goodwill right the way through. It was hoped that a future arrangement could be come to, that there should not be any discrimination on grounds of race, and, given a fair field, he had no doubt that English business would prosper in India to the benefit of both races.

DR. RUTH YOUNG was grateful to the Chairman for recognizing that half the population of India was of the female sex, but she did not feel that she had a great deal to say at present. She was very interested in Dr. Spear's lecture and was proud that he was an old colleague of herself and her husband. The women of India showed just as much of the perfervid nationalism as the men, sometimes they were even more perfervid, but when freedom was attained they would calm down.

She felt a certain amount of apprehension as to what would happen to these women. Up to the moment every woman who had entered a profession in India

had had a scarcity value, but when education increased and women began to compete with men she wondered whether their privileged position would continue. It might be that women in India would have to go to British women to learn how to struggle for their rights and privileges.

Another reflection was with regard to the position of missionaries. Although not a missionary herself, she was the wife of a missionary and always in very close touch with them, and she agreed with everything Dr. Spear had said. She was sure that there was a future for missionaries in India, but their position would be different from what it had been in the past. Dr. Spear was correct in saying that they might not be able to stay in any position where they were not wanted, but that did not mean that there was not a great need for them and a great desire for them. It would be a long time before India could do without our help in medical work, but we must be prepared to go as friends and, if necessary, as subordinates and be content to work in the background.

Sir Frederick Whyte had spoken of her work in a big institution in Delhi. When she left the Lady Hardinge Medical College at least half of the senior staff were Indian women doctors and all the house surgeons and assistants were Indians, so it had set a good example.

Miss CATON said that the word "sacrifice" had not been mentioned, but nothing was so important as our willingness to accept any sacrifice which might be necessary both now and in the long-term aspect. It was the most important thing at the moment with famine threatening, and she would have been glad to have heard rather more of that side.

Sir LIONEL HAWORTH said that the lecturer had presupposed a quiet and calm India, but there might not be such a quiet India. There had been occasions when expeditions had had to be sent to deal with the Frontier tribes, and surely there would be such situations again. In talking of Anglo-Indian relations the possibility that India would be a mass of civil wars must be borne in mind. Within the last few days there had been Hindu-Muslim clashes, and, without British control, would that not spread? What effect would it have?

The CHAIRMAN said that the discussion had been well balanced, and, although he agreed with Sir Lionel's remarks, he thought these difficulties would be gradually overcome, although the process might be long and difficult. The lecturer had not ignored the matter, but it was not part of the subject assigned to him by the Association. He had passed over the immediate political difficulty and had considered the matter in other regards than politics. The more permanent links did not lie in the political field, and the strongest links in the future would be outside that field.

It was inevitable at the present moment that attention should be confined to the constitutional and political fields. Being successful practitioners of the art of self-government, the British carried with them the infection of the doctrine of liberation which laid at the root of the British Constitution; we had inoculated our Indian friends with it and we were now confronted with the consequences.

There were too many people in England today who spoke of the present phase of British policy in India as abdication. Lord Macaulay, who made certain predictions about India which had not stood the test of time, said in one passage that after a generation of instruction in the English language there would not be one idolater left in Bengal—so little did he know the strength of the Hindu religion. He made another prediction, that in the field of public affairs one of the results of the influence on India of the English language and English ideas would be to instil into the mind of India the ambition for liberation and self-government. When that happened "it would be the proudest day in English history." Dr. Spear's lecture had been given at the point when Lord Macaulay's prophecy was being fulfilled. Those who agreed with Dr. Spear in this matter might regret the disappearance of what Lloyd George called the "steel frame" of British administration, but now that India stood on the threshold of her own fulfilment we could not but rejoice with her. The more cautious might say that it was a little too early to rejoice, for it might be said that

India had not shown the capacity, perhaps not even the will, to grasp the nettle of responsibility and to tackle the problem for themselves.

Dr. Spear laid some emphasis on the Christian example and Christian ethics in the solution of India's problem. While India was passing through a difficult transition from historic subordination to historic independence, if he were an Indian he would be a little uneasy about the essential foundation of moral principle on which India would stand in the future. There seemed to be a tug of war going on in the Indian mind, and one wondered which force would ultimately be victorious. Mr. K. T. Paul, one of the shrewdest of Indian Christians, once said that he was not afraid the British would not give India what she desired; the thing that teased him was that the influences brought to bear on India during the past hundred years would undermine the essential stable foundation of the Indian tradition *before* there was time to put something in its place. This problem went far beyond the immediate political problems, and it would materially influence the future of British-Indian relations. Because they were encouraged to believe that it was outside the political field that India had felt the magnitude of British influence he thought they might believe that the essential foundation of Indian tradition would not be destroyed before the Indian people had been able to make a new amalgam for the social, philosophical and cultural life of the new dispensation.

The links that had been established in the past would not be broken. At the heat of the first attack of the Swaraj Party (now the Congress Party), after the national movement had decided to attack the Government, a question came up of the legal and judiciary future of India, and in the course of the discussion a demand was made for a new Supreme Court. Pandit Nehru listened to the debate, and when he spoke he agreed that it was necessary that India should have a fully fledged legal and judiciary institution, but, he said to his own friends, his experience showed him that the British had established certain peculiar institutions of their own which had a peculiar merit at their heart, and he did not want to forfeit the advantage of such institutions for India. He spoke particularly of the Committee of the Privy Council, and added that he had taken acute and difficult questions to that committee, who had considered them with minds unclouded by prejudice. He wanted that for his country.

Dr. SPEAR, in reply, agreed with Sir Lionel Haworth as to the possibility of civil war and anarchy developing. One must envisage the possibility of India going the way of China for some years, but his paper had been written on the long-term principle, and he had endeavoured to see what should be our attitude to India when the possible period of confusion was over. He hoped that there would not be such a period, but he would not be bold enough to say that it might not happen. But even if it did there would eventually be an organized India, whether it be one India, two or more. It was unthinkable that anarchy should continue in such a large and important part of the world for more than a few years; there was bound to be some restoration of authority, and the question became one of our relations with that new entity. It was possible that India might elect to be a dominion, and he hoped that she might do so, although his hope was without a great deal of expectation.

Sir Hubert Carr had made some remarks about the attitude of business men to the new era, and it was encouraging to hear that some of the measures suggested had already been put into force. He was glad to agree that many English business men in India were fully alive to the new circumstances and had already done what they could to increase contacts and understanding. But he was not sure that everybody was equally alive to that position, and he would suggest that in the future much more would be expected of the British business man than in the past. There would be a new mental world to which he would have to adjust himself. He had to think not only of the men in business circles, the buyers and the dealers, but also of the retail customers. If these came to believe that the British were wicked, and their political bosses then told them not to buy British goods, they would not do so; it would then be useless to concentrate on good relations with the business heads. The political factor would come into prominence more and more, and it must be taken into account.

Dr. Ruth Young had emphasized the importance of the women of India. He was inclined to agree that the women were a most vital part of the population from our point of view in the next generation. The educated women seemed more inclined to be anti-British than the men; women's education was rapidly extending, and upon our influence on this new educated class might depend much of the relations of Great Britain and India in the future. If large masses of people were left without British influence the result might be very serious indeed.

In making suggestions he had stressed the importance of a new attitude in the business world, and suggested the setting up of some sort of institute in order to focus British cultural activities. Those engaged in missionary and philanthropic enterprise should not give up their work because they found that the organizations with which they were connected no longer wished to have foreigners working with them.

He thought he might sum up what seemed to be the essence of the question in this way. The one thing necessary was that we should not despair in any way of our relations with India and decide to have nothing more to do with her. We had to adjust our perspective and to think in cultural and moral terms rather than in political terms. Britain must have faith in herself just as America had faith in herself. He thought it was Bertrand Russell who said of American missionaries in China that every one was really an apostle of Americanism, and he believed that the British in India should be apostles of the English view of life. The war had helped us to realize that we had a view of life, that we had something precious in our heritage, something special which we could contribute, which others admired and would like to learn from us. We should not be bashful in passing on these things and expressing our belief in them in the years which lay ahead. The British mission in India today was a moral one, but it was a real mission, a mission the successful fulfilment of which might possibly affect the whole future of the world.

Mr. R. A. WILSON, in proposing a vote of thanks, said that his sister had stressed the importance of the continuance of Christian missions in India, and the Chairman had also referred to that subject. He had wondered if there was not a substratum of truth in what Macaulay said about there not being an idolater left in India. When he returned to India on a visit eight years ago he was immensely struck by the complete lack of religious background which seemed to exist amongst the younger people, both Hindus and Muslims. This was very serious; in fact, it was the most serious feature of Indian life today that these young men were drifting rudderless morally in the world. That, he imagined, was what Mr. K. T. Paul had in mind when he spoke to the Chairman as he had related, and the speaker felt that Dr. Spear had every justification for saying that we had a great moral duty to perform. There was a vacuum, or a tendency for there to be a vacuum, and it was for us to do our best to fill it. The colleges, schools, hospitals and social centres to which Dr. Spear referred would have a very great part to play in the future life of India. The influence in the past of men like Dr. Miller in Madras, Dr. Ewing in Lahore and many other missionaries had been immense and their names were still held in reverence by their former students. Men of that stature were not to be found every day, but there were many men who could carry on and there always would be.

He proposed a most hearty vote of thanks to Sir Frederick Whyte for his chairmanship and to Dr. Spear for his admirable lecture.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association.)

A DISTINGUISHED INDIAN BATTALION CELEBRATES ITS CENTENARY

THE 1ST (KING GEORGE V's OWN) BN. THE SIKH REGIMENT

BY BRIGADIER J. G. SMYTH, V.C., M.C.

WHILST the war in Burma was at its height in the summer of 1944 certain unflattering remarks appeared in an American newspaper regarding Indian troops, describing them as "hired mercenaries." These remarks had obviously been written by someone who had very little idea of how the Indian Army was recruited and officered, or of the very close spirit of comradeship which existed throughout the war between Indian ranks and their British officers, and between Indian units and British units serving alongside them. This comradeship has never been so close as it was during the past war. But to disprove the criticism I selected one Indian Army battalion and published a letter in the *Sunday Times* of October 1, 1944, recording their wonderful record in three months' fighting in Arakan and Manipur. During this short period the battalion gained one V.C., one D.S.O., five I.O.M.s, three M.C.s, six I.D.S.M.s, and six M.M.s. Of their small number of officers, never numbering more than six or eight at a time, one died of typhus, one died of small-pox, three were killed in action and four were wounded. In six months' fighting in 1944 in Burma they had killed 700 Japs in close combat—quite apart from those which may have been killed at longer range and whose bodies were taken away—and captured large numbers of machine guns and a mass of other equipment.

The battalion in question was the 1st Battalion of the Sikh Regiment, or, to call them by their old name—the famous 14th Sikhs. They were not my own battalion, though I had spent all my regimental service in the Sikh Regiment, having belonged to the 15th Sikhs (the 2nd/11th) and commanded the 45th (the 3rd/11th).

There are other Indian Army battalions with equally fine records in the past war, and with longer honours lists, but the reason I selected the 14th as an example to quote to America was the tremendously high opinion I had heard of them from a very distinguished British battalion which fought alongside them—and I think that is the praise any unit would prize more than any other and which is most likely to be well deserved. A flashy battalion with an accomplished commanding officer may sometimes deceive superior officers, but never the battalions who have fought alongside it in battle, just as the true worth of an individual in action is always more correctly assessed by his comrades than by anyone else.

On May 4 of this year the 14th Sikhs have been celebrating their centenary whilst serving in Malaya in the 7th Indian Division, and here is a short précis of their history.

The battalion was raised in 1846 at Ferozepore (Punjab), as the 14th Bengal Infantry Battalion, by Major Mackeson, Captain Watt and Captain Tebbs. All the men were originally a part of the army of the Khalsa, which until a short time previously had been engaged in bitter fighting against the British.

Many thought that the Sikhs, so recently recruited into the Indian Army, would revolt during the Indian Mutiny, but the men begged to go into action. They defended the fort at Allahabad, a most important town at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges rivers and the last of our outposts in Eastern India.

The battalion took part in the reliefs of Cawnpore and of Lucknow and played such an outstanding part in the campaign that it was granted the unique dual battle honour "Lucknow—Defence and Capture." In addition, every man received a step up in rank, while Subedars received the Indian Order of Merit. The battalion was also granted the privilege of wearing a "red turban," which is still worn on ceremonial parades today.

It was at Lucknow that the standard bearing the regimental colour was damaged

in the fighting, and that standard, repaired at the time with a plain brass ring, still carries the regimental colour.

After the Mutiny the battalion was in action regularly in the main campaigns on the North-West Frontier—namely :

Umbeyla	...	...	...	...	1863
Jawaki	...	...	...	...	1874
Afghanistan	...	...	...	...	1878
Waziristan	...	...	...	...	1881
Black Mountains	...	...	...	...	1888

In 1894 the battalion took part in the Chitral Campaign, when the tribesmen revolted and besieged the British in several outposts. One company stubbornly defended the fort at Chitral against overwhelming odds for forty-six days before the relief. Although only one company had been engaged in the defence of Chitral the battalion was granted another unique honour—the inscription of “Defence of Chitral” on its colours.

The battalion was in China from 1900-1902 and participated in the Boxer Rebellion, where it took part in the capture of Taku Fort.

In 1903 H.H. Raja Sir Hira Singh Malwindra Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., of Nabha State (Punjab), became the honorary colonel of the regiment.

H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was appointed Colonel in Chief of the battalion in 1908, which was now called 14th Prince of Wales's Ferozepore Sikhs.

THE WAR OF 1914-18

The battalion sailed in 1914 for Egypt, but was diverted en route to Sheikh Said, an island in the Red Sea, where, in a very successful operation against the Turks, the fort was captured.

Early in 1915 the battalion was engaged in action against the Turks east of the Suez Canal. It was here that a patrol surprised a large Turkish force which was mining the Suez Canal, and prevented, in a very gallant action, what might have been a very serious situation.

In May they sailed for Gallipoli, and took part in the sanguinary operations at Suvla, Helles, Krithi and Sari Bair. On June 4 the battalion was decimated in the savage and gallant battle of Gully Ravine, when in thirty-six hours' continuous fighting it lost 181 killed and 213 wounded. Only three officers, Colonel Palin the Commandant, Lieut. Savory (now Lieut.-General R. A. Savory) and the Medical Officer, Lieut. Cursetjee (now Major-General Cursetjee), survived.

General Sir Ian Hamilton, writing to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, paid a noble tribute to the battalion in these words :

“In the highest sense of the word, extreme gallantry has been shown by this fine battalion. In spite of the tremendous losses there was not a sign of wavering all day. Not an inch of ground gained was given up and not a single straggler came back. The ends of the enemy's trenches were found to be blocked with the bodies of Sikhs and the enemy who died fighting at close quarters, and the glaxis slope is thickly dotted with the bodies of these fine soldiers all lying on their faces as they fell in their steady advance on the enemy. The history of the Sikhs affords many instances of their value as soldiers, but it may be safely asserted that nothing finer than the grim valour and steady discipline displayed by them on June 4 has ever been done by soldiers of the ‘Khalsa.’ Their devotion to duty and their splendid loyalty to their orders and to their leaders make a record that their nation should look back upon with pride for many generations.”

This tribute was later read in the House of Commons.

The battalion fought in Mesopotamia from 1916 to 1918 and played an important part in that campaign.

In 1922 the 11th Sikh Regiment of five battalions was formed from the 14th,

246 *A Distinguished Indian Battalion Celebrates its Centenary*

15th, 36th, 45th and 47th Sikhs. The 14th Sikhs then became the 1st Battalion (King George's Own), 11th Sikh Regiment.

In 1938 Lieut.-General Sir L. M. Heath, K.B.E., C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.C., was appointed colonel of the battalion.

The battalion was engaged in the interminable troubles on the borders of India :

Afghanistan	...	...	...	...	1919
Kurdistan	...	...	...	...	1923
Relief of Chitral	...	...	...	...	1932
Mohmand Operations	...	...	...	...	1933
Waziristan	...	...	...	...	1937
Ahmedzai	...	...	...	...	1940

THE WAR OF 1939-45

The beginning of the war found the battalion once more on the North-West Frontier, but early in 1942, after many false alarms and disappointments, it moved to Jhansi to join the 63rd Indian Infantry Brigade and then sailed to Rangoon early in March.

On arrival in Rangoon the 63rd Brigade came under command of the 17th Indian Division and was thrown immediately into action.

The battalion was unfortunate to lose its commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel McLaren, who was killed in an ambush before it went into action. Lieut.-Colonel Windsor-Aubrey then took over command.

The battalion fought all the way back to the Chindwin River with General Alexander's army. It took part in the attacks to clear the Japanese road block at Taukkyan cross-roads, where the whole Burma army was cut off thirty miles north of Rangoon, and fought a very gallant action against a strong Japanese position at Monywa on the Chindwin River.

Having crossed the Chindwin the battalion was withdrawn to Kohima in Assam, and later was moved to Ranchi in India for re-equipping and reorganization.

There it trained as a reconnaissance regiment for the 39th Indian Division, and was reorganized with two jeep-borne companies and two companies of mounted infantry. When the 39th Division was converted into a training division in September, 1943, the battalion was reorganized as an infantry battalion and joined the 7th Indian Division moving into action in the Arakan under the command of Lieut.-Colonel (now Brigadier) Dinwiddie.

The battalion was given the rôle of Divisional Headquarters Battalion, and was split up amongst the three brigades of the division. Thus it fought in the momentous battles in February, 1944, when General Messervy's 7th Division was surrounded by the Japanese for three weeks.

Early in March, as soon as the Japanese offensive had been crushed, Lieut.-Colonel Bamford took over command, and the battalion was concentrated to take part in the 7th Division's offensive to capture the town of Buthidaung.

On March 6 the battalion carried out a successful night attack against a strong enemy position, capturing two anti-tank guns, over-running a Japanese headquarters and making a firm wedge in the Japanese lines.

On March 11 another successful attack was carried out, with the support of tanks of the 25th Dragoons, against the enemy holding the hills overlooking Buthidaung. Here large numbers of the Japanese fled in disorder from the bayonets and "fatehs" of the Sikhs. The rout of the Japanese was so complete that patrols, riding on tanks, entered Buthidaung without encountering any opposition.

On the following day a platoon had to carry out an attack on a party of forty Japanese who had infiltrated into our lines during the night and were entrenched on a hill overlooking the main road. In this action Naik Nand Singh, after all the men of his section were killed or wounded and he himself was wounded several times, captured three enemy trenches single handed, killing all seven occupants with bayonet or grenades. This fine individual effort resulted in the capture of this vital hill and the annihilation of all but three of the enemy. For this gallantry and

determination against overwhelming odds Naik Nand Singh was awarded the Victoria Cross.

In April the battalion, now in 89th Indian Infantry Brigade, was flown from the Arakan to relieve the surrounded and hard-pressed forces at Imphal. Here the Brigade was attached to the 5th Indian Division, and assisted in clearing the Japanese from the main road back to Kohima.

There was such confused and bitter fighting in which the battalion carried out a series of operations behind the enemy's lines, cutting his line of supply and thereby forcing him to withdraw from his forward positions.

The battalion then accompanied 89th Brigade in the arduous campaign pursuing the Japanese across the hills to Ukhrul under terrible conditions at the height of the monsoon.

Late in July it was withdrawn to Kohima, where it rested and refitted in preparation for the "Big" winter offensive into Burma.

Early in January, 1945, the battalion took part in the advance down the Gangaw Valley with the 7th Indian Division, and was the first battalion to reach the Irrawaddy River south of Mandalay. Whilst the 7th Division crossed the river at Pagan the battalion made a feint crossing further south to distract attention from the main bridgehead. When this was established the battalion, protecting the right flank, broke up several fierce Japanese attacks on the bridgehead. In an action at the beginning of March a company sallied forth in tanks and encountered a strong enemy column advancing from Singu. After a short sharp battle the enemy was driven off, leaving many dead on the field.

When 4th Corps had passed through the bridgehead on its way to Meiktila, where it cut off the main Japanese forces south of Mandalay, the battalion, now commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Spink, took part in the advance down the Irrawaddy. It recrossed the river with the 89th Brigade, and in a series of forced marches cut off the Japanese retreating from the Arakan over the An Pass at Shandatgy. Here the brigade was savagely attacked for four days and inflicted severe casualties on the enemy, who abandoned all their heavy equipment and vehicles and dispersed in small parties. In this action the battalion alone accounted for over 200 enemy dead and much equipment.

In May the battalion was sent on an independent rôle to clear an important track to the town of Kama. Towards the end of the first day's march a village, Kabang, was found to be held in strength by the enemy. Although the Sikhs had to charge across the open rice fields with no artillery support they completely surprised the Japanese and captured the village at the point of the bayonet. Seventy-three enemy bodies were picked up and five pieces of artillery fell into our hands. Kama was reached without incident, and the battalion rejoined 89th Brigade at Thayetmyo on the Irrawaddy to go into monsoon quarters.

However, after a few days' rest the brigade was ordered to the Sittang River bend to relieve a brigade of the 5th Indian Division. Here the battalion played a major part in halting the Japanese counter-offensive at the beginning of July. In this action, which was fought in the most appalling monsoon conditions in flooded country, the Sikhs displayed outstanding gallantry and determination in some of the fiercest and most bitter fighting of the war. Although the battalion suffered heavy casualties, greater casualties were inflicted on the enemy, who was eventually forced to withdraw. In one of these actions, which were the last to be fought in this war, twenty men, under Jem Bhag Singh, in an isolated position, repulsed fierce attacks by over a hundred Japanese throughout the whole of one night. Thirty-three enemy bodies were found on the wire next morning.

In the middle of July the brigade moved into reserve, and the end of the war saw the battalion still in the forward area although not actively engaged.

Later in October the battalion was flown with the 7th Indian Division to Bangkok as the occupational forces in Siam, and then towards the end of the year it sailed to Malaya, once again commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Bamford.

THE KARENS IN THE WAR IN BURMA

BY COLONEL T. CROMARTY TULLOCH

BEFORE describing our military experiences in the Karen Hills of Burma I would ask your indulgence to give you, very briefly, some idea of the country and of the people who live in it. Such a background is necessary, I feel, not only to appreciate the magnificent part played by the Karens in the reconquest of Burma, but also to understand how, as a result of it, the embers of Karen nationalism were fanned into a flame which burns today more brightly—and hopefully—than ever before.

The Karen Hills form the southern half of that immense massif which rises abruptly out of the valley of Burma proper and extends eastwards from the River Sittang to the borders of Thailand and Indo-China. The whole area is densely wooded; tropical jungle on the lower slopes with coniferous forests above the 5,000 feet mark. It is a vast tumble of hill and valley, from 3,000 to 7,000 feet above sea-level, intersected by innumerable streams and dotted, every so often, with villages nestling in clearings hacked out of the virgin jungle, levelled and turned into paddy-fields. There are no communications in the accepted sense of the word, all traffic being carried on narrow jungle trails only passable to pack and human transport. In other words it is virgin country, quite undeveloped but with a potential so immense as to take one's breath away. The soil has a depth and vigour which would be the envy of a Western agriculturist; variations in altitude and rainfall make it possible to grow everything necessary for human sustenance, pleasure or profit. For eight months of the year the climate is delightful and the rains are bearable. And finally, buried under that vast canopy of green are rich deposits of coal, wolfram, gold and silver—many as yet known only to natives, whose crude mining efforts make little or no impression. All this tremendous potential awaits only the coming of a railway to make the Karen Hills one of the fairest jewels in the diadem of Empire.

And what of the people, the Karens themselves? In the first place they are a distinct people; they are in no way identifiable with any other race in Burma. They have retained their national characteristics and language, despite all efforts to merge them into the more powerful race of Burmans. It is possible that had less totalitarian methods been employed by the Burmese after their conquest, the bitterness and distrust—which the Jap occupation did nothing to alleviate—would not have arisen, and the Karen would have taken more interest in the development of Burma. However, a century of oppression so alienated them that they welcomed the advent of the British in Burma, and gave to them the affection and loyalty which should by right have gone to their natural neighbours. How constant this loyalty was is seen in every chapter of Anglo-Burmese history—and not least during the Japanese occupation, when the Karens formed the last core of resistance in Burma with disastrous results to themselves.

This may well have been a factor which decided the planners of our Burma victory to take a gamble—to attempt at an early date in the campaign to raise a guerilla force far behind the Japs' lines so to harry, annoy and disrupt communications that a local defeat in the field might be turned into a rout. I was privileged to command operations on the venture and to be associated with officers who went in on a somewhat hazardous undertaking as a band of real brothers-in-arms; and I like to think it was this example of comradeship and absence of regimentation which not only rallied the Karens to our side at the time but subsequently made them sink their tribal and religious differences for the good of the whole.

We dropped in by parachute—five officers and fourteen other ranks—at dusk on March 24, 1945, on a small plain about 8 miles south-west of Lackaw. It was what was known, technically, as a "blind drop"—that is, there were no signals or friends on the ground to welcome us and put us wise to the general situation. This was unfortunate but unavoidable as two small parties sent in previously for just such a

purpose were picked up by the Japs and the Karen villages which sheltered them were destroyed lock, stock and barrel, their inhabitants with them. In consequence, we were—or perhaps I should say, I was—a trifle apprehensive of Karen reactions to another attempt on their doorstep. Would they hand us over to the Japs or just kill us and claim the large reward offered for British parachutists? This feeling of tenseness was not lessened when one of my officers was killed in the drop, another broke a foot, and we could hear voices in the darkness off stage. However, we managed to get going, and after a nightmare march found ourselves in the shelter of the hills and settled down to see what the dawn would bring. Fortunately it brought nothing; we learnt months afterwards that a strong Japanese patrol was on our dropping area about an hour after we left, but, instead of following us, returned to their base for reinforcements. This gave us a start of twenty-four hours and they never caught up on it. Instead, we contacted a friendly villager who took us to a cave some miles away and produced food and water; and not only that, but when the Jap patrol entered the village and demanded guides and assistance in tracking us down, they led them a wild-goose chase over hill and dale, while the rest of the village turned out *en masse* and obliterated the trail we had made.

We stayed for three nights in this cave, and were fortunate enough to contact several Karen leaders who had been advised of our arrival and came in to welcome us, and, when they learned the nature of our mission, to offer immediate and enthusiastic help. On their advice we moved further into the hills and set up a temporary headquarters in another cave which was easy to defend in case of trouble. Volunteers came pouring in, hundreds of them, and I shall never forget the scene of enthusiasm when, a couple of days later, reinforcements of British officers, arms and ammunition dropped in to our signal fires on a perfect moonlight night. Keenness and eagerness brought Karens to the dropping zone in such numbers that the strict discipline and drill necessary on such occasions had to take second place to Karen loyalty and enthusiasm. First out came the officers, followed by arms containers, food and various other immediate necessities. And as the parachutes opened and the freight glided slowly down, a complete and utter silence descended, almost terrifying in its intensity. Then there was a roar, reminiscent of Twickenham when England scores a try, a concerted rush, and the newly arrived officers were swamped by a seething mass of humanity, who fell on their necks, kissed them, hugged them and chaired them to where we were waiting. A thrilling and wonderful night.

The arrival of arms and ammunition enabled us to equip some 200 men, among whom were quite a number of ex-soldiers who automatically took charge and threw a wide screen of piquets around our headquarters, enabling us to get further supplies in with some degree of security.

In the meantime the Japs were getting rather worried, especially when several small patrols never returned to base, and they made a determined effort to get at us. Unfortunately for them, the Karen showed himself to be a dour, tough fighter, and although there were moments of anxiety they were finally repulsed and chased out of the hills.

An incident which occurred during this successful little battle is worth recording. Untrained troops, as ours were, are inclined to be very wasteful of ammunition, and while the issue was in the balance, I found myself being depleted of it at an alarming rate. I therefore called the Karen leaders together and told them I would only issue one hundred rounds per unit per Jap killed. Unfortunately I used the term "per head," and our astonishment one morning, when thirty Jap heads were rolled at our feet and three thousand rounds of ammunition demanded, can readily be imagined. Indeed, we had great difficulty in persuading the wild tribesmen that a Jap identity disc was not only easier to carry but more acceptable to us. However, we won our point and were, in consequence, able to send back to base by wireless information about troop movements in our area which were of value to the Army.

I feel at this moment I should digress to tell you something of the local tribal and religious situation which confronted us. Christianity has made great strides in Karenni, thanks to the efforts of the American Baptist Mission and the Italian Roman Catholic Toungoo Mission. Unfortunately sectarian differences were rife, and the issue was further complicated by the Animist element, who distrusted both and in

turn were looked down on by others. This made it difficult to get co-ordinated action as quickly as I wished.

For example, after the battle I have just described, we moved headquarters south, leaving a team of two officers and wireless operator to train and lead the levies we had already armed. Before moving off I was earnestly warned by the local leader, who was a Baptist, not to go near any Roman Catholic village, as they were all in league with the Japs. Naturally, not knowing anything of the set-up at the time, I took this advice at its face value and would probably have acted accordingly had I not received a very charming letter from one of the Italian fathers, and decided to risk a visit. I did so alone, sending my headquarters to its new destination by another route, and did probably the best thing I ever did. I certainly had no cause to regret it nor will I ever forget the moment when I came face to face, in the very back of beyond, with a church which would not have disgraced a city. I would like to say, here and now, that the Roman Catholics equally with the Baptist and Animist elements did their share in the subsequent fighting, and before we left we had the great pleasure of seeing all three parties intermingling and their bigotry on the wane.

Perhaps it is as well that limitations of time make it impossible to give anything like a chronological sequence of events, for there would, inevitably, be much repetition. We moved from one place to another, dodged Japs, set out our signal fires, received drops of officers and supplies, armed natives and, leaving a team of officers to train and lead, we moved on to do the same thing all over again. This naturally took some time, but by the middle of April we felt strong enough to go over to the offensive. This took the form of annoying the Jap in every possible way. We ambushed convoys, mined and booby-trapped roads and bridges, raided dumps and small garrisons and forced them to deploy more troops to defend their lines of communication. And when the general withdrawal started and division after division of Japs, weary, hungry and dispirited, came straggling through we had the time of our lives. Unfortunately for us those elements of the 14th Army who were following up the Japs retreating through our area decided to halt about 100 miles away. The Jap retreat halted too, their units reorganized and re-equipped in an astonishingly short time, and then we were forced back once more on the defensive. There were innumerable skirmishes, culminating in a major battle, where about a brigade of Japs was opposed by practically the whole guerilla strength of nearly 7,000. Again the issue was in the balance for nearly three days, but this, the last attack, failed with heavy losses, and from then onward to the end the Karen was master in his own hills.

The re-emergence of Karen nationality, I think, dates from this battle. At all events, it was shortly after it that I was approached by various Karen elders on matters political. They were apprehensive of the consequences if Burma achieved Dominion Status, as promised in the White Paper. They were convinced that the younger, more hot-headed element in Burma would not be content with anything less than complete independence. And, although the White Paper promised to look after them, they felt that the territorial demarcation set out therein placed them economically in a false position. These elders were men of education and intelligence. Many had been members of the Burmese Parliament, three had been on the Legislative Council, all had been to Rangoon University. Their views carried weight, and in short we were convinced that morally, politically and economically their demands were only just and fair.

From then onwards my work was mostly political. I realized that if I was to achieve my ambition to better their lot by having a railway built to link them with the outside world, I would have to assure its sponsors of political stability in a very unstable world. That remains still, I'm afraid, only an ambition, but I have hopes, and I am sustained by the fact that I have been asked by the Karen Central Organization to represent their interests until such time as travel facilities permit them to send their own representative to England.

THE STORY OF THE DUTCH NEW GUINEA

BY ISLE BUNBURY

THE storm of battle has been raging over the southern seas, from Torres Straits to the Philippines, from Timor to the Solomons, and in the centre lies New Guinea, the Mystery Isle of the Pacific, which remained a traveller's tale and a saga for so many centuries.

Yet battles were fought in these regions almost as soon as the world had heard the vague rumours of rich lands somewhere in the dim south. The Spaniards and Portuguese were the masters of the Seven Seas in the sixteenth century. Their ships were the first to find their way into the very heart of the East Indies and the Malay Archipelago. The English and the Dutch followed closely in their wake, and the Dutch in their newly found freedom and strength finally wrested many of the treasure islands from their early conquerors. The story of the discovery and attempted conquest of Dutch New Guinea is the history of nature's last remaining stronghold in the South Seas.

The men who set out in little ships tackled the little islands first, where the landing was easy, the beach firm and open, and where they could see the danger that might meet them. Spaniards and Portuguese discovered the Moluccas, the Spice Islands. Their stone forts rose up on Ternate and Tidore, on Gilolo and Batachina and many other places. But Ternate and Tidore, the smallest of the group, were the most important, for there sat the Sultan of Ternate, the overlord of the islands. The white foreigners traded with him and his Malay people, and imposed on them their rule, which was neither gentle nor just. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese held the monopoly of the lucrative commerce in cloves, the product of the Moluccas, and nutmeg and mace which the Ternate Malays brought from the large unknown land to the south-east. The treatment the Portuguese meted out to the Malays stood in no proportion to the strength of their precarious footholds on the islands, and when Francis Drake visited the Moluccas in 1579 the Portuguese had been driven out of Ternate and had retreated to Tidore, where they still held a fort. The Sultan of Ternate received the Englishman in all his royal splendour, swathed in cloth of gold, with a crown of plaited gold, a chain of the precious metal round his neck and his fingers covered with emeralds, rubies and turquoises.

When the Dutch arrived on the scene, determined to wrest the spice trade from the Portuguese, they dealt a little more cleverly with Ternate and the Malay population of the Moluccas. They promised them freedom and protection from the oppressors, paid them handsomely for their spices and finally monopolized the whole trade by buying the Ternate people out altogether—that is to say, they induced them to destroy their spice trees against a fixed sum which allowed the Dutch to carry on the growing of spices in those islands of the East Indian Archipelago which they already controlled completely, namely Banda and Amboyna, and the natives of Ternate and Gilolo took to growing rice and sago and were probably just as happy.

In 1598 eight Dutch ships under Vice-Admiral Wybrant Warwyck left Amsterdam for the Southern Hemisphere. They arrived at Ternate in May, 1599. The Sultan came alongside in his royal prau to visit the big ships, but, remembering his experiences with the Portuguese, he was afraid to come on board. It took a long time and many presents to allay his distrust, but finally he mustered enough courage to step on board, where Wybrant Warwyck welcomed him. The Malay Sultan was not very impressed by the ship. He had obviously seen such things before. But when he came to the galley and saw the cook working a pair of bellows his delight and excitement knew no bounds. He had to hold the instrument in his own hands and with it blew into his mouth "like a crazy man," as the Dutch narrator puts it. Whether it was the pair of bellows that gave him greater confidence is not known, but a brisk exchange of goods took place and the Dutch returned home, their ships laden with riches. They had been lavishly entertained at the Sultan's palace, a vast stone build-

ing. In front of his dwelling he had erected a small stone platform on which stood an iron cannon, made in England. Drake had apparently been in trouble off Ternate and thrown the cannon overboard to lighten his ship, and the Malays had fished it up. During Wybrant Warwyck's stay on Ternate the Sultan had sent an expedition to the neighbouring island of Tidore in order to harass his enemies, the Portuguese, and the Malays returned triumphantly with some swords and shields to which were attached the ears and heads of their fallen foes. They also brought back a Portuguese woman who was sold as a slave. A fortnight later the Sultan sent another expedition and again the victors came back with booty and with prisoners whom they slaughtered on arrival in Ternate, probably to impress the visitors.

The Dutch were not slow in building small forts all over the islands, imitating their predecessors, and very soon they possessed strongholds in Ternate and Tidore, and also sent a good many ships from Holland to maintain their power. After fighting everyone in the Moluccas, a Pax Hollanda was established, and the Ternatans entered into an alliance with the Dutch and helped them to build the fortress of Oranje or Maleya on Ternate. The whole history of the Moluccas is also the history of New Guinea. Most of them, at the beginning specially Banda, Amboyna and Ceram, served as jumping-off grounds for the New Guinea islands groups and the main island, and in the person of the Sultan of Ternate (or Tidore as he was later called) was vested the Government which held in its loose grasp the coastal tribes of New Guinea.

New Guinea did not at once come within the closer range of vision of the Dutch. The enterprising Portuguese before them had, of course, pushed further south, and in 1526 Don Jorge de Meneses had reached the island of Waigiu, north of the north-west coast of an unknown land, but it was the Spaniard Ynigo Ortiz de Retes in the *San Juan* who landed on that unknown shore twenty years later and hoisted the Spanish flag on what he called "Nueva Guinea," as the people whom he encountered there strongly resembled the negroes of Guinea. From that time onward the unknown land was mentioned on maps as Nova Guinea, later to be popularly known as the "island of bad men."

Soon enough the Dutch realized that part of the spice treasure came from this country, so reluctantly mentioned and so vaguely described by Malay traders on Ternate and Ceram, and in 1606 they sent a small vessel, the *Little Sun*, from the Moluccas to New Guinea to gather more definite information. The *Little Sun* was gone for some time and returned in 1607 to Banda, but the Dutch were none the wiser. The crew of the *Little Sun* had attempted to land on the alien coast, but the natives had received them with a shower of arrows, killing nine Dutchmen. They preferred to leave without further ado.

Another ship had been sent the year before, the pinnace *Duyfken* under Willem Jansz. This expedition was a more ambitious enterprise. Instead of merely crossing the Banda Sea to the east, Jansz had steered a southern course and had come upon two islands groups, the Ké and Aru Islands. He lost not much time there and sailed for his real goal, the western coast of New Guinea. The *Duyfken* followed the coastline for eight hundred and eighty miles, and then crossed over to what is now known as Cape York Peninsula, the northernmost corner of Australia. Willem Jansz was sailing blind, as it were, and had no idea where he actually was. In fact he thought he was still off the coast of New Guinea. This coast appeared bleak and uninviting to the Dutchman, and, when he landed for water, blacks murdered some of his crew. It seemed a hopeless and fruitless quest and the *Duyfken* returned in 1606. In the very same year Luis Vaz de Torres sailed through the straits that now bear his name, crossing the track of the *Duyfken*, and he discovered that New Guinea was in reality an island. But this piece of news did not become public property until James Cook in 1770 made the same voyage and the same discovery.

The Dutch East Indian Empire flourished in proportion as the Dutch East India Company tightened her hold and lorded it in the Moluccas. When the good ship *Eendracht*, Commander Jaques le Maire and Skipper Willem Cornelisz Schouten, arrived at Ternate in 1616, anchoring off Fort Oranje, they found a galaxy of generals, admirals and governors—in short, "the whole Council of India"—and heard with pride that twenty Dutch ships were cruising in the Moluccas. The *Eendracht*

had come a long way, across the South Sea from Tonga and the Fiji Islands, and had sailed up the northern coasts of New Guinea. They were the first to make contact with the Papuans, or "Papoos" as they called them, on what they thought was New Guinea, but which was really New Ireland, and described them as "having short hair, which was curled, and wearing rings through their noses and ears, with certain small feathers on their heads and arms, and hog's tusks around their necks and on their chest as ornament." They saw their huts standing on piles about eight or nine feet from the ground. But of their customs and habits, their whole way of living, they gathered nothing on that short visit. Next they came upon a big island which they named Schouten Island, and then blithely passed the most important bay on the north-west coast of New Guinea, merely noticing that apparently an earthquake was in progress on the land. But the men of the *Eendracht* were weary and short of food, and anxious to get to port. They had sailed round the world, and at the end of their journey they had seen the mysterious frizzy-haired black men of the south-land, although they had not been allowed to set eyes on a single Papuan woman. In any case it was a wonder they had escaped with their lives, and probably only the fact that they managed to kill a number of attacking Papuans and to take some prisoners impressed the savages so that they behaved in quite a friendly manner afterwards. As a rule encounters between black and white ended in a different manner, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the slogan for travel to the small island groups belonging to New Guinea, like the Ké and Aru Islands, and to Waigiu and the group on the north-west corner, was "touch—and go," whereas for New Guinea proper, owing to the most unpleasant behaviour of its Papuan population, it remained "touch and run." The slight education administered to the coastal tribes by Malayan traders did not stick very firmly, and their native cannibalistic habits prevailed. The nationality and colour of their foreign visitors might change, but the Papuans did not change much throughout the centuries.

Although the voyage of the *Duyfken* in 1605-06 was a failure, the Governor of Amboyna, van Speult, sent out another two ships, the *Arnhem* and the *Pera*, in January, 1623, under the command of Jan Carstensz. He, like Willem Jansz before him, sighted New Guinea, and followed the whole south-western coast to Torres Straits. To Jan Carstensz it seemed a green and pleasant enough land, and one fine clear morning he saw a high mountain range inland, to all appearances covered with snow. This he thought a strange phenomenon in these latitudes, but his real interest was held by the many valleys and fresh-water rivers. However, when he landed for water the blacks killed the captain and some of the *Arnhem's* crew. With his depleted company Carstensz continued and, like the *Duyfken*, the two ships crossed over to Northern Australia and followed the coast of Cape York Peninsula as far south as the Staaten River. Then, as if there had not been enough trouble, the remaining crew of the *Arnhem* mutinied at the very moment when Carstensz had decided to steer for home and left the *Pera* to her fate. But when Carstensz arrived with his tale of desertion at Banda he found that the *Arnhem* had come to port before him after all and brought some exciting news. She had been blown across the Gulf of Carpentaria and found land on the other side which her crew named Arnhem Land. In those days, however, such discoveries resulted merely in another few strokes added to the map of a growing world, and another name written across a small corner. Even the strange news of snow in a southern land was after all only a tale told by a sailorman who might have been cloud-gazing, and in any case the world of Jan Carstensz's day cared only for spices and riches.

It did not look as if New Guinea would yield her spices and riches easily or voluntarily, and for the time being the Dutch confined their activities to the Moluccas. But the lure of the unknown lands remained, and after thirteen years the Dutch East India Company threw out another tentacle to try and gain a foothold on the west coast of New Guinea. Two yachts under the command of Gerrit Thomasz Pool were sent from Banda in 1636. They were to go to New Guinea first and then to explore Arnhem Land. They landed on New Guinea, as it happened, at the same spot where the *Arnhem's* people had come to grief. Pool went ashore, accompanied by his secretary, one Andrew Schiller, and ten men. He and Schiller made for a native hut some two hundred feet from shore, when over a hundred Papuans rushed at them and

Pool was struck by a spear. His secretary tried to drag him to safety but was also hit, while the rest of the crew managed to get away. They saw with horror that the savages cut the two fallen men to pieces with the captain's own sword and carried them away into the forest, probably to eat them. Subsequently the two ships made the journey to Arnhem Land, but nothing was gained thereby.

The Dutch now desisted from further attempts at settlement on New Guinea for almost another two hundred years, and contented themselves with the island groups nearer to their firmly established possessions. The little they had found out about New Guinea, as well as their by now extensive knowledge of the Moluccas, they kept carefully to themselves, and it was only in the middle of the nineteenth century that the world received her share of that knowledge.

Willem Jansz had discovered the Ké and Aru Islands, and when Jan Carstensz followed his route in 1623 he landed on both island groups. In the Arus, the larger group, nearest to New Guinea, he found a Malay population in some parts, while he learnt that the eastern islands were inhabited by Papuans. He received the submission of the Malays to the Dutch authorities apparently without trouble, and in 1659 the Dutch erected a fort on Wokam Island in the Arus, to protect their trade with Banda. The Aru Islands had been a trading centre of the Malay world for centuries, but of all this the Dutch realized and made known hardly anything at that time; in fact, all these Papuan islands continued to rise spasmodically into vision and then to sink back again into the mists of time.

A change came with the dawn of the eighteenth century, when the English began to nose their way around the coasts of Australia and up north towards New Guinea. Their captains and adventurers came home full of exciting new knowledge, and the accounts of their travels were widely published. There was Dampier in his sloop the *Roebuck*, who saw the mountains of New Guinea when passing along the northern coasts in 1700, and there was James Cook, who, in 1770, sailed through the Torres Straits and rediscovered what Torres had already seen in 1606—namely, that New Guinea was an island—but, unlike Torres, he was able to make known his discovery, and he also gave for the first time an outline of the shape and form of New Guinea. Cook landed near what is now called Prince Frederick Henry Island, but did not find the Papuans there at all attractive.

The Dutch were well aware that the English made extensive voyages in these seas and, frightened lest another power might plant her flag on New Guinea, decided to make a real effort at establishing a Government Post somewhere. The story goes that there existed, about 1800, an English trading station on Manaswari, or Manokwari as it is now called, a tiny island in Dorei Bay, which forms part of Geelvink Bay through which Le Maire and van Schouten had sailed in 1616. The natives there showed the place where it stood to a Dutch explorer as late as 1858. This trading station appears to have been a small garrison post established by the English East India Company on Manokwari and maintained there for a short time. The Dutch were sufficiently stirred up by all these "intrusions" to send the corvette *Venus* under B. W. A. van Scholen, and in 1824 the brig *Dourga* under Lt. D. H. Kolff, to make sure that western New Guinea was not visited by foreign traders. Kolff sailed to the Arus, where since the founding of the fort on Wokam a party of Dutch soldiers had been stationed. He then continued on his course to Prince Frederick Henry Island, at the time believed to be the mainland of New Guinea, and cruised off Cape Valsche (Cape False), but could not land as mudbanks forbade any approach. The Dutch saw smoke rise up from the shore, indicating the presence of natives. Kolff, in a small boat, sailed up what he thought was a river which he called Dourga. He continued for about twenty-eight miles and then turned back. Had he gone on he would ultimately have discovered that the river Dourga was a narrow strait separating a large island from the coast. Kolff saw many natives, but they were shy and hostile, and he could not make contact with them. He also saw their village, their huts built very low and open on all sides, with a roof of palm leaves.

Returning along the west coast, Kolff came to a deep bay and an island where one of his interpreters had indicated that fresh water could be found. He sent a boat ashore, which returned with three Papuan "rajahs." These people had come

into contact with the Malay and Bugi traders from Ceram and Banda and had also heard of the Dutch East India Company, although none of them spoke Malay. They were given presents and sent back to their village after Kolff had arranged for a boat to visit them the next day. An armed boat was duly despatched to fetch water. The crew was received in a friendly fashion and allowed to fill their water casks, but suddenly the Papuans attacked them and wounded a few men, who luckily managed to escape to their ship. These natives stated at a later visit of Dutch ships that they had attacked the whites only when they began to cut down a coconut tree, their most precious possession.

The reports made by Lt. Kolff were not very encouraging, but two years later the Dutch had definitely made up their minds to form a settlement, and the corvette *Triton* was despatched with the object of choosing a suitable place and building the Government Post. The *Triton* went again to the Dourga River, but found the country very swampy and quite unsuitable. Sailing back north they came to the mouth of a river and discovered a native village. One of the Papuans there claimed acquaintance with the interpreter on board the *Triton*. The black man's name was Abram. He spoke some Malay and said he had been to Ceram and that Malay traders had frequently come to this part of the coast. This was borne out by the fact that the Papuans here knew the use of tobacco and had quite a taste for arrack. This tribe invited the Dutch to build the new settlement in their country, but again the land was found too swampy and they had to leave Abram and his hospitable people.

While the *Triton* and an accompanying schooner were sailing past the west coast of New Guinea "a range of very high mountains was visible, two of the most lofty forming themselves at the summits into very picturesque tablelands. These mountains were generally invisible during the glare of the day, but in the early part of the morning and after sunset they came out in all their splendour, cloud-capped, and mounting to the skies. Many persons fancied that they had seen snow upon these hills, but others were of opinion that they had been misled by the clouds, which frequently gave a fleecy appearance to their eminences."

"There's snow upon these hills!" The old story again, already told by Jan Carstensz in 1623.

The *Triton* and her schooner sailed on, and at last they found a pleasant bay, backed by hilly country, richly wooded, and named it Triton Bay. The natives there were quite friendly. The Dutch began to clear the ground and tried to induce the natives to help with the building. But the Papuans were so accustomed to see the Malay traders come for a short visit and depart again that they would not believe the white men really meant to stay among them. Only after a fortnight, during which they watched the Dutch laboriously clearing a space, did they seem convinced and assisted with the building materials. On the north side of Triton Bay, at the head of a cove two miles deep, there arose in 1828 Fort Du Bus, the first Dutch stronghold on New Guinea, with a garrison of a dozen Europeans and forty native (Javanese) soldiers, a watering-place for ships that might pass this way.

The fort was opened with great ceremonies on August 24, 1828, and possession taken of the new territory in the Sovereign's name "from the meridian of 141° on the south coast to the Cape of Good Hope in the north." They hoisted the Dutch flag and fired one hundred and one guns. Presents and arrack were given to the rejoicing Papuans and then they all had dinner—fish and pork and goose (!) with rice. Luckily the schooner had come back from Amboyna a few days before and brought the provisions.

The neighbouring chieftains took the oath of fidelity to the representatives of the Dutch monarch. They were Muhammadans, having been taught by Ceramese traders, and took the oath after the Muhammadan manner.

News of this settlement reached the outer world in the year 1838, when the *Asiatic Journal* published an account of the event. Alas! Fort Du Bus had already been abandoned and had disappeared from the map in 1836. The story goes, perhaps invented, but told to an English explorer by a Dutchman at Macassar, that the officer in charge of the Triton Bay settlement found the life "insufferably monotonous." He killed the cattle and other live stock and reported that they had died, and that

the place was unhealthy and the natives intractable, and the Dutch authorities had no alternative but to call the whole thing off. True enough, the Papuans had at one time made attacks upon the fort and tried to storm and destroy it, but were beaten back and had since maintained an armed truce.

To make up for the lack of a Government Post on New Guinea, and to maintain the sovereignty which they claimed over northern and western New Guinea through their overlordship of the Sultan of Ternate (or Tidore), to whom the coastal tribes paid tribute, the Dutch erected poles of ironwood at various anchoring places, bearing an iron plate with the Royal Arms of Holland and the inscription "Nederlandsch Indie." The coast of New Guinea and the various islands were also visited annually by an Inspector and a Government vessel stationed in the Moluccas.

The best-known anchoring place was at Manokwari in Dorei Bay, where the mysterious English trading station had been reported about 1800. Half a century later, in 1855, two German missionaries established themselves on Manokwari Island. They formed and maintained the first real settlement in Dutch New Guinea. A few years later they were joined by some Dutch missionaries of the Calvinist Utrecht Society, and even if the work of Christianizing the Papuans did not progress very satisfactorily, they taught some of them the rudiments of settled agricultural life and gave sanctuary to the weak and the sick.

When the Dutch authorities sent out a Commission in 1857 to search for a possible foothold, the man-of-war *Etna*, accompanied by an indispensable coaling vessel, went first of all to the west coast, passed the forsaken settlement at Triton Bay, now reclaimed by the New Guinean wilderness, nosed around the entrance to the McCluer Inlet, a deep bay running far inland, and rounded the north-west corner, finishing up in Dorei Bay. The missionaries were glad to have company, but could not give much useful information about the country, as they themselves hardly ever ventured beyond the island of Manokwari. Following the report of the Commission, a Dutch Postholder was installed in Dorei Bay and a coaling station erected.

But while the *Etna* was making her first cruise, one of many, to New Guinea, something had happened which did more to open up these coasts and islands than the spice trade and the sporadic journeys of exploration during two and a half centuries had done.

In January, 1857, a number of Malayan praus arrived at the Aru Islands from Macassar. This happened regularly every year, but the natives of Wamma, one small island to the west of the island group, saw with astonishment a white man among the Malayan traders who had come so far in their primitive craft. He stood on the shore, looking about him, at the low coast, edged with coral reefs, at the palm trees, the rows of thatched huts with palm leaves for walls, the host of large and small native craft lying at anchor, the motley coloured crowd thronging the only street. This man was Alfred Russel Wallace, the English naturalist. The account of his travels, *The Malay Archipelago*, was to make a stir throughout the English-speaking world which, for the first time, was given authentic and detailed news of these parts.

The Dutch captains Jansz and Carstensz had paid brief visits to the Ké and Aru Islands, and the latter had established a nominal government. A few seafaring men had later on touched there, but sailed away for better-known places. After Fort Du Bus had been abandoned a Dutch Inspector from Amboyna had dutifully paid his rare visits, and the Dutch must have known something of the rôle the Arus played in the eastern hemisphere, but it was Wallace who now told the whole thrilling story.

For centuries Dobbo, the little town on Wamma Island, had seen the traders from all parts of the eastern world forgather on its shores for the annual fair. Sailing down with the north-west monsoon in December or January, the native praus set out from Macassar, as many as forty or fifty; small boats arrived from Ceram and Goram and Ké, sometimes a hundred strong, and in February the great bazaar was crowded with people, Malay and Chinese, Bugis and Arabs mixing with the native Malays and Papuans who came from the eastern islands of the Aru group to exchange their goods: tortoiseshell and Birds of Paradise feathers, edible birds' nests and trepang, a kind of sea-slug, and, most coveted treasure, pearlshell and pearls. For months the bustle and hubbub continued, bargaining and exchanging went on, feasting and merrymaking, till the south-east trade winds blew the visitors back to their homes

during July or August. Then, for the next six months, Dobbo was again deserted, and nothing remained but a silhouette of two rows of empty huts and some lonely palm trees against the sea and the sky.

The secret of the Arus was that the shallow seas between the island group and the mainland of New Guinea covered one of the most valuable pearlshell fisheries of the world, and that the natives had been diving for the big mother-of-pearl shells since times immemorial, and had also brought up many a lovely little pearl.

When Wallace had told this story a good many learned men set out from Europe for the East, and not a few captains, sailing little ships in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, altered their course.

Wallace himself explored some of the more remote islands of the Aru group and was, in fact, the first white man to set foot on them. He then continued his journey to New Guinea and came into Dorei Harbour in 1858. He was there when the *Etna* arrived in May, 1858, with the son of the Sultan of Ternate and the Dutch Government Resident of Banda on board. The Dutch were still somewhat suspicious of foreigners. No wonder; the hold they had over the coastal regions of New Guinea and the adjacent island groups was precarious enough.

They had in their employ at the time a German scientist H. von Rosenberg, who had travelled among the Moluccas and in New Guinea, and who accompanied the Resident of Banda on board the *Etna*. He followed in Wallace's traces. We find him at the Arus in 1865. On Wokam, east of Wamma, he saw the ruins of the ancient fort erected by the Dutch in 1659. A bastion and a gateway were still standing, and a newer building which had been transformed into a church, where a teacher from Amboyna imparted the Christian doctrine to the Malay inhabitants. He went to Maikoor, south of Wamma, and saw parts of the stone wall which surrounded the native village in 1815. There, too, was a whitewashed little church and an ancient bell which bore the inscription: "Me fecit Jan Albert de Grave Amstelodami. MDCCXXI."

Next Rosenberg visited the cluster of islands adjacent to the north-west corner of New Guinea, and landed on Waigiu. He said he was the first European to stay there for any length of time, and he was right. Neither he nor the inhabitants, a mixture of Malays and Papuans, knew anything about Don Jorge de Meneses, who had landed on Waigiu in the year of our Lord 1526. Neither did they know about the English Captain Thomas Forrest. This worthy skipper had travelled to the Moluccas and the islands of New Guinea in 1774-76 in the service of the English East India Company. He, like the Dutch over a century before him, was after the spices. He went to Waigiu and found some very good harbours on its northern coast. He heard of the great rajah who resided there and of his numerous subjects, one hundred thousand, so he was told, who were constantly at war with one another. He sailed to all the New Guinea islands and left to posterity a number of quite accurate and rather artistic charts and drawings of Waigiu and Batanta, of Salwatti and Misool.

Forrest went as far as Dorei Bay, and was delighted with its safe harbour, its green islands and the mountainous mainland. He had hardly arrived there, however, when the ever-watchful Dutch were on his tail and a ship flying the Dutch flag rounded Manokwari Island and cast anchor. The English captain treated the Malay commander "civilly and presented him with a pocket compass and a palampore or counterpane." But before he made these overtures he had cautiously mustered fifty men, mostly armed with bows and arrows. However, everything went off well and the commander and Forrest went on a fishing expedition together, and finally parted company most amicably. Captain Forrest was very keen on visiting Gilolo and the Spice Islands, but found that Dutch boats were constantly cruising there, as "no doubt they had heard of us." Visiting in the Moluccas in those days was a dangerous business. Forrest had a good look at the spice trees at Banda and the Birds of Paradise brought to Amboyna from New Guinea, and then he sailed for home.

While Rosenberg—ninety years after Forrest's exploits—explored Waigiu, Wallace had landed at Batanta, one of the uninhabited islands of that group, and Wallace's assistant, Allen, on Misool, a little further south; in fact, the first deliberate explora-

tion of these parts had started in real earnest. On Waigiu Rosenberg found that the Malays lived in the coastal regions and the Papuans on the mountains in the interior. It was the same on the largest island of that group, Salwatti. The village of Sailolo there boasted two hundred and sixty inhabitants, of Malay origin, and some two thousand people were said to live in the interior. All these professed themselves subjects of the Sultan of Ternate.

The town of Ternate in 1869 had become a large settlement with a European and a native quarter. The palace of the Sultan stood on a hill. It was no longer a primitive stone house but a building in European style. Fort Oranje still dominated the European quarter with its ancient walls, dating back to the sixteenth century. The European settlement, which was quite large until 1840, had been destroyed by one of the frequent earthquakes common to these regions, and the ruins of its houses littered the streets and gardens. Rosenberg found only two relics of the past which interested him—another old bell, dated 1603, and a marble tombstone dedicated to one Corporal Jan Mourits and his companions in 1679. A long time had passed since the voluntary liquidation of the spice trees on these islands, and to a stranger, now standing on a hill high above the deep blue sea, Ternate looked like an exquisite garden, crowded with “lovely sago-palms with their great bunches of fruit, the fascinating betel-nut, tall and tapering; the luxuriant profusion of pepper, cinchona, cocoa, nutmeg, and clove trees. . . .”

On Gilolo, the largest island of that group, opposite Ternate, still stood the small stone fort built by the Dutch East India Company, which now served as residence to the Dutch Postholder. There was also a coffee plantation belonging to M. D. Renesse van Duivenbode, the scion of an old Dutch family who had spent a lifetime on Ternate. Now and then, in the remote corners of the earth, one discovers a man who has set the mark of his personality on the country in which he dwells, a figure of romance to the Europeans who learn his story, and a symbol of power and respectance to the natives. Such a man was Renesse van Duivenbode, the “King of Ternate.”

He had been educated in England and went to the Moluccas about 1840. Wallace met him there in 1858. He was by that time a very rich man “who owned half the town and possessed many ships,” which sailed on trading voyages in the Moluccas and frequented the New Guinea coast. He traded for the Birds of Paradise and the spices of New Guinea, and his schooners, manned by native hunters, went to Dorei Bay and the Arfak regions, the mountainous hinterland of Dorei Bay. In 1858 Duivenbode owned over a hundred slaves. The Dutch emancipated all slaves in 1860, but so good had been the relations between masters and servants that almost all of them returned to work either for their old master or for a new one.

Duivenbode was well known and generally respected by the natives of various races, and when the Dutch authorities began to send out regular expeditions to explore and bring into closer relationship the coastal and island tribes of New Guinea, he accompanied every Commission, and it was his word that the rajahs accepted and his authority to which they submitted.

Wallace was greatly helped by Renesse van Duivenbode; it was on the latter's schooner, the *Hester Helena*, that he made his exploring trip to Dorei Bay, and during his stay on Ternate the Dutchman's influence made living conditions easy and his sojourn pleasant.

Wallace's book had been published in 1869, and in the early seventies more foreign visitors appeared in the Moluccas and on New Guinea. Tall, broad-shouldered, with flowing black beard and penetrating eyes, Luigi Maria d'Albertis, the Italian naturalist, was a man of no mean courage and powers of endurance. His goal was New Guinea, the home of the Bird of Paradise. He arrived at the island of Salwatti in 1872, where Wallace and Rosenberg had been a few years before, and straightaway made for the coast opposite, landing on the islet of Sorong, just off the mainland. The three rajahs on Sorong asked for his letters of introduction from the Sultan of Ternate, but he explained that he was no trader, and they allowed him to go to the mainland, where he collected plants and shot birds to his heart's content. But soon he and his companions were stricken with a fever, to which even the coastal natives succumbed and some died. While poor d'Albertis was lying in his hut on a

bamboo bed, more dead than alive, a deputation from the native village arrived and asked him through the interpreter kindly to leave the place at once, as they attributed the illness among their people to his *mal' occhio*. A lesser man, weakened by fever, and suddenly surrounded by a horde of fierce-looking blacks, might have followed that advice instantly. Not so d'Albortis. He sat up in bed and roared at the natives with laughter. They were rather taken aback. He then asked them how they could explain that he, being able to kill by merely looking at a man, should have been unable to preserve himself and his companions from the illness. This simple logic sank in, and the Papuans filed peaceably out of the hut, looking rather sheepish. In any case they left him alone after that.

Soon after d'Albortis, having somewhat recovered, arrived at Dorei Bay, and saw the missions on Manokwari and a new settlement in Andai, a mainland village. The influence of the missionaries had made itself felt mostly in the adoption of agriculture by the natives. On the mainland station there were plantations of bananas, yams and sugar cane. Under the circumstances, to achieve this among a savage people was doing much. D'Albortis, however, was naturally not satisfied to stay on the coast. Accompanied by a few natives he made an exploring trip into Arfak Mountains, the first time a white man had attempted an inland journey.

In November, 1872, d'Albortis rounded Cape Spencer on his way back to Sorong. He came into the bay at dusk and vaguely beheld the rigging of a large schooner lying at anchor. She was the German vessel *Franz*, under Captain Edwin Redlich. This was a strange meeting of two kindred spirits, the Italian naturalist and the German sea captain and trader. Redlich had been sailing the Pacific and had come via the Admiralty Group searching for pearlshell. While at Sorong he had sent out two armed boats to prospect for shell, but when the boats were at anchor near a small island they were attacked by Papuans and a number of men killed. The cannibals took the bodies to their village, and that was the last Redlich ever heard of them. He finally managed to catch one of the savages, and with the sanction of the Rajah of Salwatti shot him and strung the body up on a tree as an example. As a trading trip the voyage of the *Franz* had not been successful, and Redlich now set sail for the southern part of New Guinea, where the Australians about this time had established a small settlement. D'Albortis gave a farewell party to his newly won friend, to which Redlich contributed two bottles of champagne, and they "took leave with mutual good wishes and hopes of meeting again on some other part of the globe." They did meet, probably sooner than they thought, and the famous explorations of d'Albortis in southern New Guinea and the Fly River were made with the help of Redlich and the *Franz*.

If the Dutch had not been particularly overjoyed at the sight of Wallace travelling among their islands, they were positively dismayed when they found d'Albortis climbing about the Arfak Mountains and nosing around Salwatti and Sorong. The Italian naturalist tells with amusement that they despatched the steamer *Dassoon* and the inevitable coaling brig to follow him and his collaborator Beccari wherever they went, and "to visit every point where the two men had been and plant the Dutch flag in those spots and distribute flags showing the Dutch arms in all the villages." But, of course, this was not quite so farcical as it might sound in view of the fact that the Italian man-of-war *Viitor Pisani* was lying off Amboya at the same time.

The *Dassoon* was, however, not merely occupied with chasing a couple of Italian scientists. At this time the Dutch were exploring the north and north-west of New Guinea with a will. In 1870 the Resident of Amboyna, accompanied by a scientist and Renesse van Duivenbode, the "Kapitein-laut" of Tidore, on board the *Dassoon* were travelling among the Papuan islands, and again in 1872 the *Dassoon* with the Resident of Timor and Duivenbode was cruising there, while the *Soerabaja* was despatched to north-west New Guinea in 1875-6, and Duivenbode met the rajahs everywhere and impressed on them the nearness and efficacy of Dutch authority.

Yet the troubles of the Dutch were about to begin in real earnest during the last decades of the nineteenth century, but they came from another quarter and at another spot. Ever since Wallace's book had been published, and more so since the visit of Redlich, a few odd ships had crept quietly up the coast of New Guinea from Torres Straits, where small settlements, pearlshelling and trading stations had sprung up.

These little ships visited the Aru Islands for trepang, tortoiseshell and pearlshell, but at first nobody paid much attention to their rare appearances. Then, in March, 1890, Captain John Strachan, an English captain well known in Australia, arrived at Thursday Island, the Government Post in Torres Straits, with the news that the crew of the Australian schooner *Ysabel* had been murdered at the Aru Islands. This brought H.M.S. *Cordelia* to the Arus in order to investigate. The *Cordelia* was unable to obtain any information, but a schooner from Cooktown, Queensland, sailing to the Arus for pearlshell, found out a little more about this affair and about the state of things generally at the Aru Group. The Dutch Postholder at Dobbo knew nothing definite about the fate of the *Ysabel*, but just enough. She had left Dobbo for one of the other islands, populated by Papuans with piratical habits, and never came back. Reports and rumours had reached him that the crew had been murdered, but there was nothing he could do, and there the matter rested. However, he reported the presumed murder to the authorities, and from now on the Dutch had an eye on the Arus. When the Cooktown vessel declared her intention to fish for pearlshell, the Dutch Postholder, who wanted no more trouble, forbade her to do so, which was well within his rights, and she sailed to McCluer's Inlet on the New Guinea coast to trade for spices. There she was no more successful, for the natives demanded very high prices for their nutmegs. They were also well armed with rifles and revolvers, supplied by the Malay traders who continued to visit the coast, and the Australian vessel thought it wiser to return home.

Whether the pirates had killed the crew of the *Ysabel* was never proved, but soon enough they gave proof of what they could do in another way. In 1892, under the leadership of an old pearl-diver, they descended from their fastnesses in the rocks, massacred the Chinese and Bugi traders and their families at Dobbo and burnt the place down. The Dutch man-of-war *Java* visited the settlement a little later and discovered what had happened; moreover, when she landed some of her crew they found the place barricaded, and in the ensuing skirmish fourteen sailors were wounded. That, of course, was too much. Two men-of-war were despatched from Amboyna and soon the five ringleaders, including the deluded pearl-diver, found themselves behind bars at Macassar.

Hardly had that trouble blown over when a Dutch shipmaster published an account in a Batavia paper of his chance meeting with two schooners and a host of small cutters from Western Australia who had been pearllshelling at the Arus. They had told him quite openly and with obvious pleasure that they had made a rich haul there between January and April, 1893, and raised 49,000 guilders worth of pearlshell. The Batavia paper politely but with emphasis pointed out that pearlshell fishing in the territorial waters of the Netherlands Indies required a permit from the Dutch authorities, and wondered why the Australian captains did not seem to trouble about permits. The Dutch authorities in haste despatched another man-of-war to the Arus. The new disturbance was particularly annoying, as in March of this year Sir William McGregor, the Administrator of British New Guinea, together with the Dutch representatives on board the *Java*, had in perfect amity settled the boundary line between British and Dutch New Guinea, which now ran from the Bensbach River in the south to Humboldt Bay in the north.

Meanwhile a whole fleet of Australian vessels continued to frequent the Aru Islands. They argued that as the Netherlands did nothing to exploit the pearllshelling grounds, they might as well do it. The Dutch replied by passing an Ordinance forbidding pearllshelling without permission from the Governor-General, and at the same time stationing two ships there temporarily to keep the strangers out. But, of course, the warships could not watch these seas for ever, and it was finally decided to appeal to the British Government, with the result that the excursions from Australia stopped and the pearllers apologized nicely to the Resident at Amboyna. A Dutchman, De Vries, subsequently obtained a concession from the Sultan of Ternate to exploit the pearllshelling grounds in the Sultan's territory for a period of five years; another Dutchman secured a similar concession in Amboyna, and the British Colonial Administration as well as the Dutch authorities hoped fervently that this would put a stop to the adventures of roving sea-captains from the Antipodes.

However, the Dutch felt the imperative need for a more substantial manifestation of their sovereignty in the eastern Moluccas and the New Guinea area than the famous ironwood poles bearing the arms of Holland. In 1899 they pensioned off the Sultan of Ternate (or Tidore, as he had been called) and assumed direct control. A small garrison was stationed on Manokwari in Dorei Bay, where the missionaries had done some pioneering work during the past forty-four years, and another garrison at a place on the south-west corner of the McCluer Inlet, Fakfak, where a Dutch trading station and factory had been established some time previously.

Presently trouble was brewing at the other side of Dutch New Guinea. This time the British did the complaining. The Tugeri tribes in the south-western part of New Guinea had continued for some time past to make headhunting raids into British territory. They had attacked and driven off the expedition of Captain Strachan, who was exploring one of the southern rivers. Although the Dutch were, of course, not responsible for the misdeeds of their black subjects, it brought home to them the necessity for further colonization and the desirability of closer collaboration with the Australians. The first thing they did was to form another settlement, the largest on Dutch New Guinea. They chose the mouth of the Merauke River, quite close to the boundary line of British and Dutch Territory, where they were in constant contact with the unruly tribes, and in 1902 installed a garrison of three hundred soldiers, with four gunboats at their disposal, and a few administrative officials. They also invited the Torres Straits, pearlers and traders to settle at Merauke and to help open up the country. The firm of Burn, Phillips and Co., of Thursday Island, accepted the invitation and set up a store, a bakery and butchery, and an hotel. But except for a temporary influx of Bird of Paradise hunters, and the rare visits of naturalists and explorers, Merauke remained a jungle outpost of forgotten men.

It was different with the pearlshelling grounds off the Arus. The Dutch gave, in 1906, a concession to an Australian company, covering an area from Humboldt Bay down to Timor and Port Darwin, comprising practically the entire pearling grounds in East Indian waters, and the place soon swarmed with sailing vessels of all sizes and descriptions, and steamers plying between the island groups, trafficking from Sydney to Singapore. To assist the pearlshellers and to develop the trade of their islands the Dutch declared Dobbo a free port, harbour lights were installed and a coaling station opened there.

Spices and pearlshell! Almost four hundred years had passed since the dawn of history in the East Indies. Now the seas were charted, the islands had become ports of call. The palace of the Malayan overlord, the Sultan of Ternate, had been turned into a museum, and ancient bells and battlements were shown to the curious traveller who stopped here for a few hours on his trip round the world.

Still there was New Guinea with its unconquered mountains, the "loftiest known in the whole archipelago," with its immense impenetrable forests—old and sombre and menacingly self-contained. At last men remembered the old tales: Snow on the mountains!

Steaming along the coast of New Guinea at dawn, the English explorer A. F. R. Wollaston saw these mountains, remote and ghostly looking, hidden in white mist. But when the mist rose he beheld the coveted white patches glistening clearly and unmistakably above the darker rock. He and his companions saw many strange and wonderful sights near the rivers and on the slopes of the Snow Mountains, but it was a Dutchman, H. A. Lorentz, who reached the summit of Mount Wilhelmina, and the snow.

THE FUTURE OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES AS A WORLD ECONOMIC UNIT

BY CHARLES M. MORRELL

OUR Dutch Allies first arrived in the Netherlands East Indies nearly 400 years ago. They went there in quest of trade, mainly the riches of the Spice Islands—now known as the Moluccas. They found spices—and ultimately founded an Empire. In doing the latter they not only brought security, health and general well-being to the many peoples of the Archipelago—the total population of which is now 80,000,000—but by a combination of scientific skill and sheer hard work developed what was in 1939 an economic unit of major importance to the world.

The almost universal idea that the wealth of the Archipelago was there for the asking, like the treasure of the Forty Thieves' cavern, is a fallacy. In addition to the spices of the Moluccas, the only important export products of today which were indigenous when the Dutch arrived are the coconut and soya bean. Almost everything else which is grown in and exported from the Archipelago was introduced by the Dutch. The history of what was accomplished reads like a romance and would fill volumes. The Dutch brought tea from China and Assam, coffee and oil palms from Africa, quinine from Peru, tobacco and kapok from America, maize, sisal, other fibres, and cocoa from Mexico, rubber and tapioca from Brazil, and tung oil from China. Sugar and rice have been described by a high authority as "humble residents" when the Dutch arrived in the Indies. The following table shows the Netherlands East Indies' approximate share in world production prior to the war :

					<i>Per Cent.</i>
Cinchona bark	...	...	...	...	90
Pepper	...	...	...	...	92
Kapok	...	...	...	...	77
Rubber	...	...	...	...	36
Coconut	...	...	...	...	32
Hard cordage fibres	...	...	...	...	22
Tea	...	...	...	...	18
Oil palm products	...	...	...	...	17
Coffee	...	...	...	...	6
Sugar	...	...	...	...	2
Cocoa	...	...	...	...	0.2

The idea that the grasping white man exploited the natives, which has been propagated in various countries, is completely exploded by the following table :

PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS EXPORTED FROM THE
NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES IN 1937.

				<i>Estate Produce.</i>	<i>Native Produce.</i>
				<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Rubber	...	...	...	51.2	48.8
Pepper	...	...	...	—	100
Maize	...	...	...	—	100
Coffee	...	...	...	33.2	66.8
Coconut	...	...	...	5	95
Oil palm products	...	...	...	100	—
Sugar	...	...	...	100	—
Tapioca products	...	...	...	20	80
Tea	...	...	...	82	18
Tobacco	...	...	...	91	9
Cinchona	...	...	...	100	—
Hard cordage fibres	...	...	...	100	—
Other agricultural produce	...	...	...	7.9	92.1
Total	...	...	...	53.2	46.8

In parentheses, the Netherlands high authority quoted above also wrote the following words in America during the late war :

“The products from the Indies—“ have nots,” please note—have always been sold in the world markets at world market prices without favouritism of any kind to buyers of our own nationality. The Atlantic Charter speaks of “ free access to raw materials ”; well, the products of the Indies have been as accessible to Germans as they have been to Dutchmen and Americans.”

Not only did the natives produce—on their own land—nearly half the agricultural exports of the Archipelago; hundreds of thousands were employed on the great European estates, where they and their families were housed, fed, educated and received medical attention.

Although agriculture was by far the most important source of income for the Netherlands East Indies, mineral products such as oil, tin, coal, bauxite, gold, silver and industrial diamonds played an important part in the Archipelago's economy and, like the agricultural products, were not found lying about just waiting to be scooped up; many millions of pounds of capital and many years of hard, sometimes heart-breaking, work were expended before the earth yielded up her treasures.

In view of the economic axiom that the purchasing power of a country is based on the value of its exports (which incidentally Great Britain knows only too well at the present moment!), it should be recorded that the value of the Archipelago's visible annual exports varied between £50,000,000 and £100,000,000, according to world markets. Allowing for the favourable annual trade balance which every well-conducted country endeavours to obtain, it is obvious that in normal times the value of the Archipelago's annual imports was very considerable, especially bearing in mind the consumer goods continually required by the teeming millions of the inhabitants in addition to the equipment and supplies of all kinds required by the agricultural and mining and manufacturing industries, government and municipalities; in fact, all the thousand and one things demanded by modern civilization.

It is therefore not surprising to learn that in 1938 the Archipelago's visible imports were valued at £50,000,000. Of the consumer goods, cotton piece goods were by far the most important individual item. Other imports were officially classified as follows :

- Animals and plants.
- Foodstuffs and luxuries.
- Animal and vegetable products.
- Minerals.
- Chemical products.
- Earthenware and porcelain.
- Glass and glassware.
- Wood, cork and vegetable products.
- Hides, skins and furs.
- Yarns and textiles.
- Paper and paper goods.
- Metals (all sorts).
- Carriages, vehicles, vessels, etc.
- Machines, tools, implements, etc.
- Other goods.

An effort has been made to indicate the position occupied by the Archipelago in world economics prior to the late war. Post-war trade will, of course, differ in some respects from that of the years before 1939, but the needs of the islands will undoubtedly follow the pre-war pattern, and it is therefore important to know what they bought and from whom they bought it. Imports are officially classified under broad headings, and it is not the purpose of this article to furnish an import analysis giving details of the quantities of goods imported, the prices paid and the countries of origin. These details can, however, be found in the Report on the Netherlands East Indies Import Trade published by the British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands

East Indies, Cecil Chambers, 86, Strand, London, W.C. 2. Great Britain's share in the total trade in 1938, the last complete pre-war year, was 7.9 per cent. compared with the shares of Holland (22 per cent.), Japan (15 per cent.), U.S.A. (12.5 per cent.) and Germany (10.5 per cent.). Great Britain therefore occupied fifth place. Incidentally, the above-mentioned Report shows what Germany and Japan supplied before the war, and as their combined share in the import trade was over a quarter of the total it behoves British manufacturers and merchants to examine the extent to which Great Britain can supersede these enemy countries as suppliers once the political situation in the Archipelago is stabilized, law and order restored, and trade resumed through the normal peace-time channels. In spite of the idealistic (often meaningless) slogans with which the world is bombarded today, and of which the Indonesian Nationalists have provided their quota, the facts remain that the 80,000,000 inhabitants of the Archipelago cannot stand alone economically, and that their 400-year-old association with the Dutch must continue in a form acceptable to both, and under a system which will ensure the welfare which the Indonesian peoples enjoyed before the war, and which is almost wholly dependent upon the Archipelago's world-wide reciprocal trade. Nothing can be achieved without political and economic stability, which go hand in hand, and which will enable the Archipelago to regain its important position in world economics. Nature is always at hand ready to heal and assist, and our Dutch friends have indicated the way. It now rests with the Indonesian leaders to decide whether to end the conditions originally created by the Japanese and prolonged and aggravated by the Indonesian leaders and extremists. For the sake of the 80,000,000 innocent natives we hope that they will act wisely and realistically.

UNDERSTANDING KOREA

BY M. F. LLOYD PRICHARD

KOREA has long been the victim of Japanese adventures on the continent of Asia. She was invaded many times in a period of 550 years beginning in 50 B.C. and ending in A.D. 500, and there is a legend that during this period a Japanese empress conquered the country. Later, however, Japan suffered severe defeat in Korea, but again in the sixteenth century A.D., during the abortive campaign of Hideyoshi (the Japanese Napoleon) to set up an Asiatic Empire, Korea suffered much at the hands of the Japanese, and memory of this seven years' war persists to the present century, explaining it is said to some extent the antipathy of the Koreans to the Japanese. It should be noted, however, that for hundreds of years Korea was considered a tributary state of China and that Japan and Korea dealt with each other on an equal footing.*

After the Meiji Restoration, when Japan emerged from seclusion, she once more sought territory in Asia. Once more Korea was prey. Japan argued that Korea, the Hermit kingdom, must be opened to the world. The Japanese Cabinet deliberated ways and means, and, though an expedition against Korea was urged by a Japanese general, it voted in favour of conciliation. Accordingly a treaty was signed in 1876, in which Japan recognized Korea as an independent kingdom. To make this independence a reality, according to her own account, Japan "employed all the resources of friendly suggestion to induce"† Korea to adopt modern civilized methods. These efforts were evidently not appreciated in Korea, and the Japanese Legation was twice attacked "once in 1882 by the mob in conjunction with the soldiery who were habitually used in Korea as political tools and once in 1884 by Korean troops co-operating with the Chinese."† Differences between the two countries were disposed of by conventions concluded in 1882 and 1885.

* See Kuno (Yoshi S.), *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*, 1937, 3 vols.

† *Recent Progress in Korea*, compiled by H.I.J.M. Residency-General, 1910.

Japan continued her efforts "to maintain Korea's independence and to carry out reforms in her corrupt administration,"* but was so "greatly obstructed by China that the two countries drifted into war, with the result that China had to recognize Korean independence by the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895."*

Japan maintained her programme of advice, and the Korean Government engaged Japanese officials to reform the administration. These, however, had to be dismissed because of "political intrigues . . . and foreign complications."* By this time Korea was looking to Russia for help, and in 1896 the Korean emperor fled to the Russian legation, and, attempting to rule his country from that point, received Russian counsel and assistance. Russian influence was very strong, and the Japanese commented later that "the power of the Russians was so great that it seemed that they were in complete control. For instance, they held the right to exploit the forests along the Yalu, train Korean troops and control strategic ports in the peninsula, while at the same time they acquired the lease of Port Arthur and Dalry, followed by the virtual occupation of Manchuria, and gradually assembled a force on the Korean regions to engage in military manoeuvres there."† Japan therefore was compelled to fight "the mighty bear" of the West, not for conquest but for the preservation of Korean territorial integrity as well as for the safeguarding of herself.†

In 1904 Japan and Russia went to war, and Korean territory was used by the Japanese as a base. Wide supervision over Korea was established, and when Russia was defeated she recognized in the Portsmouth Treaty Japan's special concern for Korea. Britain and the United States also recognized Japanese control as necessary. Britain had a treaty of friendship with Japan, and it is said that the American President was contemptuous of Korea's inability to help herself, and the United States ignored the treaty of mutual assistance signed by her with Korea in 1882.‡

Japan, concluding that "this was the best way to save"§ Korea, proceeded to establish a protectorate over the country. In 1906 a Resident-General was appointed, and many Japanese were given high positions in the Korean Government. But "there were still many Koreans who refused to see the good intent actuating Japan"||; prominent Japanese were assassinated and an anti-Japanese movement persisted. Finally, when a secret messenger was sent by the Korean Emperor to the Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907, pleading to the Powers for help, the Resident-General "deemed it necessary to make closer the relations between Japan and Chosen (Korea) by amending the agreement signed between them and greatly strengthened the hold of Japan on her protectorate."|| The number of Japanese officials in the Korean Government was increased, and money free of interest was loaned to the Korean Government to enable it to meet the increasing expenditure involved in the expansion of administration. At the same time the Korean Army was disbanded, as the Japanese felt that the money spent might be devoted with greater advantage to promoting the national welfare, and they took over themselves the task of guarding Korea.

In 1909 Japan assumed control over all juridical affairs and prisons and in 1910 police affairs. The latter step was necessary because, apparently, when the old Korean police and the Japanese gendarmerie worked together, "being different from each other in organization, they not infrequently failed to show a united front in action."|| By reorganizing the police the Japanese claimed to have "provided the more effectually for the protection of the life and property of the Koreans and foreign residents"|| in Korea.

Even so, peace and security were not obtained. An ex-Resident-General was

* *Recent Progress in Korea*, compiled by H.I.J.M. Residency-General, 1910.

† *Annual Report of the Administration of Chosen*, 1929-30. (N.B.—Korea was renamed "Chosen" by the Japanese.)

‡ According to Grajdanzev (A. J.) in *Modern Korea*, 1944, Europeans and Americans had no sympathy with Korea's primitive conditions and were antagonistic to Russia.

§ *Annual Report*, 1929-30.

|| *Annual Report of the Administration of Chosen*, 1922-23.

assassinated and "the Korean people in general lived in a continuous state of alarm."* Therefore, said the Japanese, there arose the necessity for complete union with Japan. "The Japanese Government seriously considered the matter . . . and the Korean Government, being convinced of the expediency of the step . . . which was also recognized by the Korean Emperor, the Treaty of Annexation . . . was peacefully concluded on August 22."* Korea became part of the Japanese Empire, and a Government-General was established, which was responsible only to the Japanese Emperor. The Korean royal family was pensioned off and a Japanese official report of 1911 stated that "their Highnesses Prince Li Junior and Prince Li Senior, being set free from political responsibilities, are now enjoying a happier and safer life." The nobility and other favoured people in Korea were pleased to receive grants from Japan, and we are told that "the new Japanese subjects, moved by the exceeding graciousness of the Japanese Emperor, came to rely confidently on the Japanese authorities."* Enthusiasm for the new situation was not, however, universal, and many Koreans, after hearing the news, spent a time of mourning and then committed suicide.

Opposition to the Japanese continued, and was attributed by the new rulers of Korea to "the non-comprehension of the true idea governing the Japanese rule."* But the Japanese police and army were very efficient, so that whereas from September, 1908, to August, 1909, they had more than 780 encounters with insurgents and brigands in Korea, from September, 1912, to August, 1913, the number shrank to five.

* * * * *

From 1905 onwards the Japanese engaged in systematic organization of Korea's economic, commercial and financial life. A Japanese Imperial Ordinance of that year endorsed privileges given to a branch of the Dai Ichi Ginko (Central Bank of Japan), which allowed it to become the central banking institution for Korea and to receive and spend the national funds. (Later the Bank of Korea, powerfully controlled from Japan, was founded for this purpose; in this the Emperor of Japan had substantial holdings.) Local banks and credit institutions were established with the help of Government loans; currency reforms were instituted, and official recognition was given to the free circulation of Japanese currency.

Other changes of equal satisfaction to the Japanese were instituted. The customs service, which formerly had been organized as an independent institution under the control of a British Commissioner, was handed over, and steps were taken to improve receipts and reorientate the trade to Japan. Roads were reconstructed for military purposes, and the railways were taken to be operated by the Japanese Government.

Since new productive industries were considered necessary, to invigorate these the Imperial Government negotiated with the Korean Government for the creation of the Oriental Development Company. This company was established with an authorized capital of 10 million yen divided into 200,000 shares, of which the Korean Government took 60,000, and agreed to pay for them in state lands in lieu of cash payments. The president of the company was a Japanese appointed by the Japanese Government, and two-thirds of the directors and auditors were Japanese. The functions of the company were the sale, purchase, lease and renting of land and buildings and the invitation or distribution of Japanese or Korean settlers. The Koreans soon learnt, as the author of *The Grass Roof* (Y. Kang—a description of his youth in Korea) relates, that the company, fixing its own prices and choosing the best land for purchase, meant to make good bargains for the Japanese. Large landowners were left undisturbed, because naturally the Japanese wished to retain influential friends (and certainly some Koreans in industry and agriculture found it to their advantage to rid themselves of "dangerous thoughts" and to co-operate with the new order). Japanese capital flowed freely to Korea, and by 1938 it was estimated that most of the capital in every Korean concern was Japanese. The *zaibatsu* ("money group" consisting mainly of four important Japanese business families) extended their influence with profit to Korean fields of finance and industry. Mining was given special attention and care for "the guidance and protection of miners to secure greater efficiency and harmony

* *Annual Report, 1922-23.*

between capitalists and labourers.”* Control of all the new developments was firmly held by the Japanese. In 1920, for example, of a committee of forty-eight appointed for industrial investigation, twenty were selected from among prominent officials, scholars and business men in Japan; twenty from noted business men, both Japanese and Korean, in Korea; and eight from among high officials of the Government-General.

The spiritual needs of the new subjects were not neglected. Educational reform promoted by Japanese officials aimed at “the simplification of school organization, the shortening of school years and the giving of instruction in general knowledge of daily necessity.”† In 1914 the Governor General wrote in his report that “in order to remedy the chronic evil inherent in Koreans of being addicted to empty talking and idleness, it is necessary to inspire in them the love of active and painstaking work.” He said :

“Therefore the avoidance of empty theories and the respect of practical knowledge was made the guiding spirit of the education of the Koreans.”

All schools, including missionary schools, had to be recognized by the Japanese Ministry of Education and use approved textbooks. The latter was considered important since formerly textbooks mixed up politics and education and led young people astray. Wherever possible Japanese teachers were appointed in schools and universities and charged with the direction of their Korean colleagues, partly, the Japanese said, because of the shortage of Korean teachers and partly that the right emphasis should be made in the teaching. Much prominence was given to the Japanese language so that Korean children might acquire one of the most essential qualifications as subjects of the Empire.

At first the missionary schools made an attempt to stand outside regulation, but the Japanese authorities quickly saw to it that their motives were understood, so that it was not long before they too accepted supervision by the Ministry of Education. From the beginning, the Japanese paid special attention to the missionaries, and one of their reports on Korea records that the first Resident-General tried to come into close and cordial contact with them. In one year, for example, he contributed a sum of 10,000 yen towards the building of a Methodist church in Heijo, and he also used “his powerful influence” to secure an annual subsidy from the Government of 10,000 yen to the Korean Y.M.C.A. Their interest in the Christian missionaries, however, did not prevent the new Government undertaking the building of shrines in Korea. Two important shrines were built, one at which Amaterasu O-Mikami, who created Japan, and the other at which the Emperor Meiji, who founded modern Japan, might be venerated.

* * * * *

Despite large increases in production in various spheres (which incidentally substantially aided Japanese military preparations) the average Korean did not benefit from the new order. The landowning system, by which the greater part of the population had no land and paid the greater part of the crop obtained as rent, was left unchanged (except for a change in masters). New agricultural methods were certainly introduced, but for the purpose mainly of increasing the flow of food exports to Japan. The so-called sound currency did not prevent prices fluctuating disastrously; the roads were useful mainly for military traffic, and the railways were built on land taken forcibly. New forest areas were planted, but on balance the country lost because existing trees were steadily disposed of. All that the Koreans produced had to find a market in the Japanese Empire; what they consumed was bought largely from Japan.

The Koreans continued to revolt. Their resistance required skill and cunning because the Japanese spy system was rigorous. No Korean could, for example, leave his village without registering at the police station, where he had to give his destination and state fully the business he intended to transact. Rights of free speech, writing and meeting were, of course, denied, and Koreans were encouraged to emigrate only to Japan.

* *Annual Report*, 1922-23.

† *Recent Progress in Korea*, 1910.

assassinated and "the Korean people in general lived in a continuous state of alarm."* Therefore, said the Japanese, there arose the necessity for complete union with Japan. "The Japanese Government seriously considered the matter . . . and the Korean Government, being convinced of the expediency of the step . . . which was also recognized by the Korean Emperor, the Treaty of Annexation . . . was peacefully concluded on August 22."* Korea became part of the Japanese Empire, and a Government-General was established, which was responsible only to the Japanese Emperor. The Korean royal family was pensioned off and a Japanese official report of 1911 stated that "their Highnesses Prince Li Junior and Prince Li Senior, being set free from political responsibilities, are now enjoying a happier and safer life." The nobility and other favoured people in Korea were pleased to receive grants from Japan, and we are told that "the new Japanese subjects, moved by the exceeding graciousness of the Japanese Emperor, came to rely confidently on the Japanese authorities."* Enthusiasm for the new situation was not, however, universal, and many Koreans, after hearing the news, spent a time of mourning and then committed suicide.

Opposition to the Japanese continued, and was attributed by the new rulers of Korea to "the non-comprehension of the true idea governing the Japanese rule."* But the Japanese police and army were very efficient, so that whereas from September, 1908, to August, 1909, they had more than 780 encounters with insurgents and brigands in Korea, from September, 1912, to August, 1913, the number shrank to five.

* * * * *

From 1905 onwards the Japanese engaged in systematic organization of Korea's economic, commercial and financial life. A Japanese Imperial Ordinance of that year endorsed privileges given to a branch of the Dai Ichu Ginko (Central Bank of Japan), which allowed it to become the central banking institution for Korea and to receive and spend the national funds. (Later the Bank of Korea, powerfully controlled from Japan, was founded for this purpose; in this the Emperor of Japan had substantial holdings.) Local banks and credit institutions were established with the help of Government loans; currency reforms were instituted, and official recognition was given to the free circulation of Japanese currency.

Other changes of equal satisfaction to the Japanese were instituted. The customs service, which formerly had been organized as an independent institution under the control of a British Commissioner, was handed over, and steps were taken to improve receipts and reorientate the trade to Japan. Roads were reconstructed for military purposes, and the railways were taken to be operated by the Japanese Government.

Since new productive industries were considered necessary, to invigorate these the Imperial Government negotiated with the Korean Government for the creation of the Oriental Development Company. This company was established with an authorized capital of 10 million yen divided into 200,000 shares, of which the Korean Government took 60,000, and agreed to pay for them in state lands in lieu of cash payments. The president of the company was a Japanese appointed by the Japanese Government, and two-thirds of the directors and auditors were Japanese. The functions of the company were the sale, purchase, lease and renting of land and buildings and the invitation or distribution of Japanese or Korean settlers. The Koreans soon learnt, as the author of *The Grass Roof* (Y. Kang—a description of his youth in Korea) relates, that the company, fixing its own prices and choosing the best land for purchase, meant to make good bargains for the Japanese. Large landowners were left undisturbed, because naturally the Japanese wished to retain influential friends (and certainly some Koreans in industry and agriculture found it to their advantage to rid themselves of "dangerous thoughts" and to co-operate with the new order). Japanese capital flowed freely to Korea, and by 1938 it was estimated that most of the capital in every Korean concern was Japanese. The *zaibatsu* ("money group" consisting mainly of four important Japanese business families) extended their influence with profit to Korean fields of finance and industry. Mining was given special attention and care for "the guidance and protection of miners to secure greater efficiency and harmony

* *Annual Report, 1922-23.*

between capitalists and labourers.”* Control of all the new developments was firmly held by the Japanese. In 1920, for example, of a committee of forty-eight appointed for industrial investigation, twenty were selected from among prominent officials, scholars and business men in Japan; twenty from noted business men, both Japanese and Korean, in Korea; and eight from among high officials of the Government-General.

The spiritual needs of the new subjects were not neglected. Educational reform promoted by Japanese officials aimed at “the simplification of school organization, the shortening of school years and the giving of instruction in general knowledge of daily necessity.”† In 1914 the Governor General wrote in his report that “in order to remedy the chronic evil inherent in Koreans of being addicted to empty talking and idleness, it is necessary to inspire in them the love of active and painstaking work.” He said :

“Therefore the avoidance of empty theories and the respect of practical knowledge was made the guiding spirit of the education of the Koreans.”

All schools, including missionary schools, had to be recognized by the Japanese Ministry of Education and use approved textbooks. The latter was considered important since formerly textbooks mixed up politics and education and led young people astray. Wherever possible Japanese teachers were appointed in schools and universities and charged with the direction of their Korean colleagues, partly, the Japanese said, because of the shortage of Korean teachers and partly that the right emphasis should be made in the teaching. Much prominence was given to the Japanese language so that Korean children might acquire one of the most essential qualifications as subjects of the Empire.

At first the missionary schools made an attempt to stand outside regulation, but the Japanese authorities quickly saw to it that their motives were understood, so that it was not long before they too accepted supervision by the Ministry of Education. From the beginning, the Japanese paid special attention to the missionaries, and one of their reports on Korea records that the first Resident-General tried to come into close and cordial contact with them. In one year, for example, he contributed a sum of 10,000 yen towards the building of a Methodist church in Heijo, and he also used “his powerful influence” to secure an annual subsidy from the Government of 10,000 yen to the Korean Y.M.C.A. Their interest in the Christian missionaries, however, did not prevent the new Government undertaking the building of shrines in Korea. Two important shrines were built, one at which Amaterasu O-Mikami, who created Japan, and the other at which the Emperor Meiji, who founded modern Japan, might be venerated.

* * * * *

Despite large increases in production in various spheres (which incidentally substantially aided Japanese military preparations) the average Korean did not benefit from the new order. The landowning system, by which the greater part of the population had no land and paid the greater part of the crop obtained as rent, was left unchanged (except for a change in masters). New agricultural methods were certainly introduced, but for the purpose mainly of increasing the flow of food exports to Japan. The so-called sound currency did not prevent prices fluctuating disastrously; the roads were useful mainly for military traffic, and the railways were built on land taken forcibly. New forest areas were planted, but on balance the country lost because existing trees were steadily disposed of. All that the Koreans produced had to find a market in the Japanese Empire; what they consumed was bought largely from Japan.

The Koreans continued to revolt. Their resistance required skill and cunning because the Japanese spy system was rigorous. No Korean could, for example, leave his village without registering at the police station, where he had to give his destination and state fully the business he intended to transact. Rights of free speech, writing and meeting were, of course, denied, and Koreans were encouraged to emigrate only to Japan.

* *Annual Report*, 1922-23.

† *Recent Progress in Korea*, 1910.

The Koreans organized secret societies in every village by means of which the independence movement was kept alive. Inside the revolutionary groups a struggle went on between those who advocated violent change, which they argued was easy, since there were sixty Koreans to every Japanese, and those who, influenced by Christian and Buddhist teaching, favoured a non-violent agitation. The pacifist element won.

In 1919 the death of the Korean Emperor and the funeral celebrations provided an opportunity for Koreans to collect in the capital. The leaders of the revolt fixed March 1 as the day when Korea should be freed from Japanese rule. Crowds gathered in the streets, and at a given signal the Declaration of Independence for Korea was read. Korea, it said, was an independent nation with 5,000 unbroken years of independent history behind it. Korea was once again free. No judgment was passed on the Japanese treachery; the revolutionaries asserted that they had no time for blaming others, for their concern was to mend the present. With great optimism the document ended with the statement that the age of force and arms was gone and the age of right and justice begun. Loud cries of "Mansei" ("O live 10,000 years") greeted the proclamation, and the Koreans then proceeded through the streets announcing the new freedom. The same scenes were repeated throughout the country, and that the agitators were not armed is shown by the fact that in the ensuing conflicts with the Japanese 562 people were killed, of whom 553 were rioters.

Thus was carried through a pacifist war. There followed a reign of terror, wholesale arrests and mass slaughter. The Koreans hoped that the demonstration would reach the ears of the peacemakers at Versailles, but little heed was taken. They hoped too that help would be forthcoming from the United States, since the Fourteen Points had held out much encouragement to small nations. But although councils of churches held meetings of protest there, on the whole little impression was made, and the world in the main remained indifferent.*

The Government-General boasted that the revolt was stamped out in two months, and that thereafter disaffected Koreans could do nothing of any moment because of the strengthened police force. But all the same revolt continued. Socialist and Communist groups gained strength despite continual arrests. Even the missionaries had to be watched because among the thirty-three signatories of the Declaration of Independence had been eleven Korean Christian pastors, while the agitators included many professing Christians. Activity went on in other countries too. In China exiled Koreans formed a Korean provisional Government. In Manchuria the Korean Revolutionary Army was created and rebels, so the Japanese complained, were to be found plotting in Shanghai and Vladivostok, taking advantage of being beyond the reach of the Japanese police. The Japanese were forced to appoint special agents in Manchuria to keep track of the activities of Korean agitators until they were able to police the territory themselves. In Korea the Japanese rulers went in continual fear of assassination. One attempt, for example, was made in 1932, when the Government-General recorded that "a treacherous Korean made a sudden attack on the Imperial *cortège*, an act that disturbed me most profoundly, and my feelings of deepest regrets were shared by the twenty million people of this peninsula."

* * * * *

Such was the situation to the outbreak of World War II. In 1943 the Cairo declaration promised freedom for Korea. After the defeat of Japan in 1945 the United States proposed the formation of a trusteeship for Korea under Great Britain, China, the United States and the Soviet Union, but said nothing of a Korean national Government. A counter-proposal was made by the Soviet Union, which suggested a provisional national Government, with co-operation of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. representatives, such trusteeship to be exercised for five years. The latter was agreed to at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow. The Koreans were much discon-

* In the United States exiled Korean students published monthly magazines for some years. See *Freedom and Peace* and also *Korea Review* from 1919 onwards. They also organized meetings to publicize Korea, and staged one conference in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

tented with this decision, and made attacks on American soldiers and attempted rebellion. Such action apparently astonished the Americans, who, according to the *New York Times*, accused them of having sat meekly under forty years of Japanese oppression and of being unwilling to spend five years under their friends while they relearned the arts of government.*

But reviewing the history of Korea's experiences one is bound to think that, maybe, the Koreans long to have their house to themselves and maybe, too, they are suspicious of their friends!

A TURKISH INDUSTRIAL VENTURE

BY F. E. M. THRUPP

IN April, 1937, in the presence of the then British Ambassador, Sir Percy Loraine, the President of the Turkish Republic, Ismet Inonu, who was at that time Prime Minister, laid the foundation-stone of an ambitious industrial undertaking, designed, built and installed by some eighteen British engineering firms at a cost of nearly £3,000,000 sterling. It is situated near the hitherto unimportant village of Karabuk, tucked away amongst the mountains of Anatolia, some fifty miles from the coast of the Black Sea and north of Ankara.

Within 1939 the first of two modern blast furnaces was blown in, and it has since then been feeding, with its output of iron, a row of open hearth steel furnaces, which, in their turn, furnish the raw material to mills for rolling steel plates, sheets, sections, rails and bars, and also to a foundry where cast-iron pipes up to 2 feet in diameter are made.

There are many blast furnaces in Great Britain, many steel works, many foundries, and the starting-up of such installations here does not attract much attention beyond their immediate vicinities, but in Turkey, where there had been nothing of comparable importance, it was a different matter. When, therefore, this large plant with all its ancillary installations was inaugurated, the people of Turkey felt that an historical event had taken place, and the family and future descendants of a little girl called Fatma, who lit the first blast furnace and gave it her name, will, I have no doubt, talk about it for many a generation.

Why was this spot chosen? It was chosen because it is close to the sea, by which the necessary Spanish iron ore was to have been imported, and within reasonable distance of the important Turkish coalfield of Zonguldak.

I visited the Karabuk iron and steel works recently. As you know, in a blast furnace everything happens on a grand scale. To produce its daily output of 400 tons of pig-iron a single furnace at Karabuk needs about twice that weight of iron ore, which calls for four long trains of it and three trainloads of coal for conversion into coke. The volume of red-hot air blown into the furnace every minute, at a speed of over one hundred miles an hour, is enough to cover a double tennis-court to a height of something like 12 feet. Nor is that all, for large quantities of limestone also have to go into the furnace, and about 4,000 tons of water are needed every hour to cool the base of the furnace, to quench the coke, to raise steam, and for other purposes about the works.

I don't think I need to work out other figures for you to appreciate how awe-inspiring the sight of such a plant must have been to the people who were privileged to see it started up, and what an anxious time the handful of British engineers who were training the Turkish staff to operate it were having, for I am sure they all wished to be in several places at once, opening valves here, closing others there, regulating this and that, each thing at the right moment. Wrong manœuvres might

* See *London Times*, January 4, 1946.

have cost lives, and if the furnace were allowed to go out there would be hundreds of men out of work and a big financial loss.

Everything had been properly planned, however, and the first furnace has been uninterruptedly in operation since it was started up.

As I have already said, when this plant was originally planned it was intended to smelt iron ore imported from Spain. However, during the construction of a new railway in the interior of Anatolia a large deposit of very good ore was found some 600 miles to the east. Naturally, it was immediately decided to smelt this instead of imported Spanish ore. But the distance is such that eight ore trains are on their way at any one time, either steaming towards Karabuk loaded with ore or going back to the mine with empty trucks. This long haul of empty trucks will eventually cease, however, because, when the demand for iron and steel products justifies it—and that will soon come about—and when new plant from abroad will be available again, more furnaces will be installed, this time near the iron ore mine. The trains taking the ore to the existing blast furnaces at Karabuk will then be able to return to the new blast furnaces near the ore mine laden with the coal required by these. By this shuttle service and by the laying of a new section of railway which will shorten the distance the cost of the ore and, therefore, of the final products will be reduced.

It may be of interest to add a few words about the working and living conditions of the 4,000 people who work at Karabuk. The working week is of forty-eight hours, and generous overtime wages are paid. The workers live with their families in neat single-story houses, each with its garden, all rent free; whilst at the works they get all their meals free, and I can assure you that they are good ones. Social services include free medical attention and medicines, and where safety clothing is desirable, this too is free. Accident compensation is provided at no cost to the work-people, and schooling for the children is, of course, also free. I attended one of the routine English lessons at the school, given, with much success, by a charming English young lady whom the boys and girls are obviously very fond of.

I wish I had time to give you more particulars about these works, as I would like to go into details and describe to you other parts of it, such as the chemical department in which sulphuric acid is made, and where this is used for making superphosphate fertilizer with phosphorus extracted from cattle bones, phosphate rock having been unobtainable from abroad during the war. I would also like to tell you how unexpected difficulties in the early days were overcome by the resourcefulness of the company's engineers, but my time is about to end.

There is one thing I have been asked not to forget to tell you, though, and that is that the people at Karabuk remember gratefully and send greetings to the British engineers who taught them how to work the plant. They referred to them as "their first masters."

An industry such as this is, of course, a basic one. It should soon lead to an improved standard of living for Turkish peasants by providing them with the modern tools, appliances and materials which they need to increase the productivity of the soil. We therefore extend our best wishes for its prosperity.

SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE

V.—MR. E. M. FORSTER

BY RANJEE G. SHAHANI

No modern English writer is so difficult to write about as Mr. E. M. Forster. First, he is such a charming man that those of us who know him personally, however slightly, are extremely loath to cause him pain or annoyance by some unintentional gaucherie. Our liking for him makes us too prudent. Yet there is no good criticism without perfect frankness. We are in a dilemma. Then, to add to our troubles, we

know next to nothing about him. The entry in *Who's Who*, which is all we have to go by, is vague and colourless, giving us not even his age. We have to admit, willy-nilly, that he is something of a mystery to us. Unapproachable reticence—that seems to be the fundamental note of his spirit. His detractors—and there are not a few of them—say that, having visited the East, he has learned to wear the *burka* (veil) to perfection. Perhaps. We cannot tell. All that we are aware of is that there is a scission between his life and work. But we have no proof of that. It may be that there are sides to him which we have not been privileged to glimpse. Finally, there is little new to say about his books. These have never been misunderstood or insufficiently appreciated. On the contrary, they are so crystal-clear that their qualities and defects have been pointed out again and again.

Still, curiously enough, Mr. Forster's place in English literature is by no means secure. Critics are puzzled by him. Most of them admire him, but they do not know whether he is an important writer or not. Take, for instance, T. E. Lawrence, who knew a good thing when he saw it. At one time he thought very highly of Mr. Forster, so highly that he put him among the elect; yet only a couple of months later he was wondering whether Mr. Forster was "quite great." Edward Garnett, whose knowledge of the novel was unsurpassed, at least in England, said that Mr. Forster was "an exquisite soloist, but that he longed to hear an orchestra again." André Maurois, discussing European literature with me in 1929, gave pride of place to Mr. Forster among the English novelists of the time, but added: "He is a cross between Flaubert and Ibsen." Katherine Mansfield had no patience with Mr. Forster; she said that his writings reminded her of a tempting teapot which contained no tea. We turn to Virginia Woolf, who, though very friendly to Mr. Forster, was, we feel, big enough to tell us the truth about him. We are not altogether disappointed. Her essay in *The Death of a Moth* is the best thing we have on Mr. Forster; but she, too, cannot make up her mind about him. Is he a great writer or a minor master? She just cannot decide. But she suggests, by oblique hints, that he is betwixt and between.

Is this true? Let us see for ourselves.

Mr. Forster is a remarkably gifted writer. He has qualities that are rarely found together in the same author.

To begin with, he is a splendid stylist. He produces the maximum of effect with a minimum of effort. The results he achieves with a few sharp strokes are the despair of his friends and foes. How does he manage them? Analysis is of no use. It has to do with the quality of his spirit. He is a master of precision because he knows how to bury a great deal in silence. Yet, as an artist, he is finally disappointing. His books do not produce a single overwhelming impression. No, we are only conscious of touches of elfin beauty. It were as though his creative impulse were not only intermittent but erratic in its jet and flow. This makes parts of his books arid and lifeless. Not all his craftsmanship—and he is a consummate craftsman—can save him from palling on us.

This suggests that Mr. Forster is not at his best in works of large design. He was meant to be a great short story writer. He is a novelist by deliberate wish, not by vocation or divine compulsion.

Consider a virtue of his—his astonishing power of observation. He knows the smallest thing about his characters, their homes and their surroundings. He can tell you that old maids blow into their gloves when they take them off. He can tell you on what particular day in the week a certain place is dusted. He can even tell you in what year Lilia learned to bicycle and the exact spot where she fell off. His mind (or is it his notebooks?) is stored with such recondite information. But as we read him we feel that his facts tend to extinguish his imagination. His cameralike eye takes in everything—the essential and the unessential; and both go, pell-mell, into his work. This is all the more surprising since verbal economy is his forte. How is it, we ask ourselves in pained puzzlement, that he cannot distinguish between mere detail and significant detail? I suppose he lacks the supreme gift of the great artist—the power to shape masses of material into creative wholes. It appears that his vision is not clear; it is fitful and uncertain. So, to fabricate a book of a certain number of pages, he has to use a great deal of padding. Had he concentrated on the short story his slender but exquisite talent would have found ample scope. The writing of a

moving novel requires more vitality than he possesses. Mere skill in handling words is not enough. Were that so, Tennyson would be a greater poet than Wordsworth, and George Moore a greater novelist than Thomas Hardy. Technique is a minor grace.

But, all the same, what an abundance of virtues Mr. Forster is endowed with! Take, for example, his sense of social comedy. It is superb. Gino the dentist's son sitting in the café with his friends and the performance of *Lucia di Lammermoor*—we cannot forget these episodes. We wish they were longer. But this is to ask for too much—for almost a kind of "second helping"; and Mr. Forster will frown. What do we take him for—a comic artist, or what? No, he is a serious writer; a very, very serious writer. We see this when we turn from his first novel, *Where Angels Fear to Tread*, to the next volume, *The Longest Journey*. The change is startling. The wings of fantasy are ruthlessly clipped. We are given solid matter. But we are not impressed. As a matter of fact, this time the journey for us, too, is longer and rather exhausting. Mr. Forster's seriousness, which was formerly hardly obtrusive, now flows over and assumes the proportions of solemnity; and solemnity, when it is not of the Æschylean kind, is tiresome. Very, very tiresome. But the spirit of playfulness is too powerful in him; it leaks out in spite of him. We thank the gods for that. With what delicious diablerie he describes luncheon and tea-party and a game of tennis at the rectory! And how aggressively alive are his old maids and his clergymen! Often a fancy strikes us that when it suits him Mr. Forster can become, just by mumbling a mystic formula, Miss Forster.

The feminine element is shot through his work. It comes out most of all perhaps in his moral scruples. He will give us pages of delightful fun, and then suddenly stop. Is it time for a lesson? Pure fun, of course, is something illicit and isolating, so not to be thought of. It is there to gild the pill. The demon of preachment raises its ugly head and spoils everything. Why must Mr. Forster, we ask ourselves in dismay, play the school marm? Why can't he forget Cambridge—Cambridge is too much with him—and let himself go? Form, dull, donnish form, is his bane. One sometimes wishes that he had never approached the gates of a great university. He needed tavern-talk. But, unfortunately, he only drinks tea—so at least we are told by his friends. And tea, as the students of the Far East know, begins and ends in ceremony.

Mr. Forster is a superb satirist. He can, when he likes it, puncture so expertly that his victim hardly notices the operation. But he is ill at ease on such occasions. He looks round apprehensively, as much as to say: "Am I being too cruel? Please excuse me." So we get from him dribbles of malice—something like Voltaire-and-water. The strong wine of Swift is not for him.

The fact is, his conscience is over-developed. He must see every side of the question. The result is that he fritters away his energies. He cannot hit a nail squarely on the head. Hammer in hand, he performs a sort of war-dance round it, occasionally letting out a yell.

Mr. Forster has strong poetic feelings, but he does his best to smother them. We sigh when we think of certain moments in the Arno, in Hertfordshire, in Surrey, and elsewhere. Why, we exclaim, they are magical! But they do not last. Nor are they an integral part of his design. They seem to wander in uninvited—like the beauty of the starry night invading the room of a Salvation Army officer.

What, is Mr. Forster a changer of souls? Not exactly. He is never anything completely. He is always betwixt and between. But he has a message for the world. Yes, a real message. Of course he does not deliver it directly and bravely like Tolstoy. No, he slips it in. But what is this wonderful message of his? Distinguish, he says, between reality and appearance, between truth and falsehood, between the eternal and the temporal. Be kind, be decent, and, above all, cultivate your soul, which flowers best in silence and solitude.

Fine; but we seem to have heard all this from almost every parish priest. Did Mr. Forster have to write novels, long accomplished novels like *Howards End*, to tell us the obvious? We rub our eyes.

Personally, I like best his *Celestial Omnibus*. This is a gracious collection of stories. Almost everything is right here. We are in a real world of make-believe:

buses drive to heaven; Pan plays his pipe not far from the roadside; girls change into trees. Mr. Forster's fancy has free play. And for once he succeeds in establishing a link between ordinariness and the lyricism of life. Just because he is spontaneous and unreflective he floats on the wings of ecstasy. He gives us fiction that is true. Certainly there are jarring notes here and there—Mr. Forster just cannot close that photographic eye of his—but we are no more troubled by these than by the buzzing of a few flies in some garden of enchantment. What we recall in after-days is the potency of his magic spell.

But what about the famous *A Passage to India*? I confess that I do not care for this novel. It has wit, wisdom, and an immense technical accomplishment, but it is not filled with the breath of life. Artistically, too, it is patchy. The people we encounter strike us as mere blots on the landscape. India ought to have been the heroine of Mr. Forster's book, but India is too complex and rich for his tiny moral-cum-satirical telescope. He gives us some brilliant snapshots of her seeming, but nothing of her soul. What he offers us is a surface view, not a plumbing of the depths. He has not divined the ways of the Indian sun—that old wizard who flings life and death with the same mysterious smile. Pain is the path by which he leads to light. *Via crucis, via lucis*. Mr. Forster's Indian characters, if they are Indian at all, impress us as mere creatures. They seem to look up merely to hasten to bury their glances in the dust. What distinguishes the great artist from the cunning artifex is the faculty of discovering and lighting up the essential under confused and fleeting forms. Mr. Forster has not laid bare either the fundamental strength or the fundamental weakness of the Indian nature. Sometimes we feel that he is about to stumble upon the truth, but he goes round and round, and never seems to get any nearer. He beats the bush with admirable dexterity, but nothing appears. No wonder his book leaves on our minds an impression of waste.

At last I come to something that I can praise wholeheartedly. This is Mr. Forster's *Aspects of the Novel*—a really fine book. It has knowledge, sympathy, and a sure sense of values. In fact, Mr. Forster is a subtle and wise critic—though not so subtle as Edward Garnett or Virginia Woolf. He lacks their power of critical divination. But at his best he is very good. His study of G. Lowes Dickinson is first-rate. Technically, it is almost perfect. But the subject does not enthuse me. After all, Lowes Dickinson was not an earth-shaker. . . .

To meet Mr. Forster personally is to like him. He is a shy, modest, emancipated person. And he always stands for fair play. I think the man is bigger than his books. I admire him tremendously, though his writings leave me cold. But perhaps he will yet give us the masterpiece that we all expect from him. It would be a tragedy for English letters if he did not.

MARIE PETIT'S PERSIAN ADVENTURE

BY LAURENCE LOCKHART

MARIE-CLAUDE PETIT was born at Moulins, the capital of the Department of Allier, in 1675; her parents were a lawyer and a washerwoman who had, it appears, dispensed with the formality of marriage. It was doubtless due to her father that she received a very fair education. Extremely little is known of Marie's life until 1702, when she was running a gaming-house in the Rue Mazarine in Paris. It was at this time that she formed an association with a certain Jean-Baptiste Fabre, of Marseilles. She fell very much in love with Fabre, and, in a curious document dated December 2, 1702, she undertook to follow him wherever he wished and to make no financial claim against him. Fabre was at this time fifty years of age; he had gone out to Constantinople as a young man, and had passed many years there and elsewhere in Turkey engaged on business of various kinds. In 1695, after the death of Monsieur de Guillerages, the French Ambassador to the Porte, he had been appointed *agent*

(but not *chargé d'affaires*), in which capacity he had carried out duties of a diplomatic nature for a short time. He had returned to France burdened with debt at the close of the century, and it is very probable that Marie advanced him money to pay his creditors.

It so happened that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Shah Sultan Husain of Persia and Louis XIV of France were, for very different reasons, anxious to send envoys to each other. The Shah's object was to enlist French naval aid against the Muscat Araba, whose piratical activities in the Persian Gulf were causing his subjects severe loss. He had gone so far as to appoint a certain Mirza Ahmad as Ambassador, but the Isfahan representatives of the Dutch and English East India Companies made it worth Mirza Ahmad's while to decline the honour, and had it brought to the Shah's notice that Louis XIV had failed to send an envoy to Persia to congratulate him on his accession in 1694. Louis's reasons for wishing to enter into diplomatic relations with Persia were twofold. In the first place, he wanted to secure redress and protection for the numerous Roman Catholic missionaries in Persia, many of whom were being grievously persecuted not only by the bigoted Shi'a clergy, but also by the no less intolerant Orthodox Armenians. Secondly, he and his ministers wished to obtain a renewal of the commercial privileges which had been granted to the *Compagnie des Indes* in the time of Colbert.

The person whom Louis's ministers selected as Ambassador to Persia was Fabre. It appears that he, with the customary exuberance of the South, spoke in most exaggerated terms of his knowledge of the East and of his great influence with persons of importance there. Charles de Ferriol, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, suggested the nomination of Pierre Victor Michel, one of his secretaries, instead, but his suggestion was ignored, although Michel would have been a much better choice.

Fabre would have been unable to start on his mission had it not been for Marie Petit, who had to advance him the money needed for the preparations for the journey. After a series of delays, Fabre sailed from Marseilles in March, 1705. He was accompanied by a numerous suite, consisting of his nephew Jacques, a surgeon, a *maitre d'hôtel* and a number of other persons; among these last was a "cavalier," who, when the ship was well out to sea, proved to be Marie Petit in disguise. After an uneventful voyage, the party disembarked at Alexandretta and set out for Aleppo, the first stage on their long overland journey to Persia. The Turkish authorities at Aleppo refused to let the mission proceed further; their obstructive attitude was actively encouraged by le Blanc, the French Consul, who was acting under instructions from de Ferriol. The last mentioned was determined for various reasons to put obstacles in Fabre's way. In the first place, de Ferriol, not without reason, had a poor opinion of Fabre, and he was still feeling piqued that Michel had not been chosen as envoy; furthermore, he was carrying on an intrigue with Fabre's wife (whom Fabre had left in Constantinople some years before). The presence of Marie Petit was an added complication, as she caused much umbrage to the Turks by appearing unveiled in the streets of Aleppo, and she scandalized the no less rigid Jesuit missionaries there by her conduct in other respects; for once, the votaries of the Cross and the Crescent had a common object of condemnation.

Being unable to overcome the objections of the Turks at Aleppo, Fabre and Marie went to Constantinople, where they were able, after a great deal of persuasion, to get permission to cross Anatolia. Accordingly, Fabre and his fair companion (who was now in Georgian attire), after sending word to the members of the mission at Aleppo to set out independently from there, left Constantinople for the Persian frontier, taking with them Fabre's sixteen-year-old son Joseph. They reached Erivan safely January, 1706, and were very well received by Muhammad Khan, the Governor, who at once sent a messenger to the Court reporting their arrival and asking for instructions. Fabre, who had an exaggerated idea of his own importance, asked for ambassadorial allowance at ten times the usual rate and for 100 livres a day for whom he styled the "*Déléguée des Princesses de France*."

Shortly after their arrival one of Fabre's French servants attempted to murder her on the somewhat inadequate grounds that she had thrown an orange at him. He had already acquired such an influence over Muhammad Khan that he readily

agreed to imprison the culprit in the town gaol. When Père Mosnier, one of the Jesuit missionaries at Erivan, heard of this incident he sent a messenger to inform the rest of the mission, who by now were approaching the town. The result was that when they arrived they marched in a body to the gaol, forced the gates and released the prisoner. When Muhammad Khan demanded his surrender they refused to give him up, and were, in consequence, besieged by the Khan's forces; in the fighting that ensued two Persians were killed and a number were wounded. In the end superior numbers told and the Frenchmen had to give in. They were all thrown into gaol, including Père Mosnier. However, after they had been imprisoned for some days, Marie secured their release.

Seven weeks after the arrival of Fabre and Marie, the Khan received a favourable reply from the Court, so preparations for departure were made. Before the mission was due to leave, the Khan invited Fabre and Marie to a farewell hunting party, at which, or as a result of which, Fabre contracted a violent fever and died in a few days. Marie's enemies afterwards alleged that Muhammad Khan had become so infatuated with her that he poisoned Fabre in order to be rid of him, but there seems to be no doubt that he died a natural death.

When the members of the mission heard of Fabre's death, a scene of wild confusion occurred. Some of the Frenchmen wished to make the youthful Joseph Fabre their head, while Fabre's nephew Jacques and Père Mosnier wrote to Monseigneur Pidou de Saint-Olon, the Bishop of Babylon (who was then, owing to trouble with the Turks, unable to reside in Baghdad and was living at Hamadan), urging him to come and take charge of the mission. The Khan of Erivan, however, caused their messenger to be delayed until the advent of winter made it impossible for the Bishop (who was old and infirm) to travel.

Marie herself ended the period of confusion by proclaiming herself head of the mission "in the name of the Princesses of France." She took possession not only of Fabre's effects, but also of the papers of the mission and the presents for the Shah. Neither Mosnier nor anyone else dared to restrain her, as she, being under the protection of the Khan, was in a very strong position. Owing to her great influence with the Khan, she had no difficulty in persuading him to let her and the rest of the embassy leave for the Court and to give her a letter of recommendation to the Khan of Tabriz. The Khan also provided her with an interpreter named Imam Quli Beg, a renegade Armenian, who, masquerading under the self-conferred title of Comte de Zagly, had had a chequered and highly discreditable career in Europe.

At the beginning of December, 1706, the embassy set out from Erivan. At its head were Marie Petit, young Joseph Fabre and Père Mosnier, surely a strange trio to lead a diplomatic mission.

In the meantime news of Fabre's death and of the subsequent events at Erivan had reached de Ferriol at Constantinople. Without waiting for orders from France, de Ferriol despatched his secretary Michel post-haste for Persia, with orders to overtake the mission at the earliest possible moment, to take charge of it and to send back Marie Petit. Michel's crossing of the frontier coincided more or less with the departure of the mission from Erivan, and he succeeded in overtaking it at Nakhichevan. Owing to the fact that the Khan had provided Marie with a strong escort, Michel was unable to seize her and take her place. After conferring secretly with Mosnier, Michel hastened to Tabriz; when the mission arrived there he was again unable to take action against Marie, as she was now under the protection of the Khan of Tabriz, to whom his colleague at Erivan had written warmly on her behalf. All that Michel could do was to proclaim himself ambassador and to seek for permission to travel as such to the Court. Marie's interpreter, Imam Quli Beg, thereupon alleged to the Khan that Michel was an impostor, pointing out that he had neither letters of credence nor presents and that he had arrived without any retinue or baggage. These remarks made a deep impression on the Khan.

Michel then went to Marie and demanded the inventory of the presents for the Shah. She flew into a passion, and threatened to turn Muslim and to cause all the missionaries to be expelled from Persia. However, she eventually calmed down and handed over the inventory. Michel then managed to get permission to leave Tabriz for the Court, but was unable to take with him either any members of the mission

or the presents : he hoped that, on reaching the Court, he would be able to explain the situation satisfactorily to the Shah. He was very well received at Qazvin, but his satisfaction was short-lived, because Marie Petit, whom he had told to remain in Tabriz, reached Qazvin the day after his arrival. She was well armed with letters of recommendation from the Khans of Erivan and Tabriz.

Michel was most anxious to proceed from Qazvin to the Court, which was then camped some miles to the south of Tehran, but the letters which Marie had brought told against him, while the English and Dutch (who had no reason to view with favour anything that might tend to strengthen French commercial interests in Persia) gave lavish bribes to the Persian officials to induce them to obstruct him. The result was that, while Marie was allowed to continue her journey, Michel had to remain in Qazvin. On arrival at the camp Marie was received by the I'timadu'd-Daula (the Prime Minister), who caused her to be conducted to the royal harem, where, she afterwards claimed, she received "all possible honours." On the following day the Shah gave her her *congé* and she returned to Tabriz.

After some delay Michel was able also to make his way to Court, but his enemies prevented him from seeing anyone of importance, and he was forced to retrace his steps without accomplishing anything.

Michel's plan was to rejoin the mission, send Marie back to France, and then return to the Court and endeavour to obtain from the Shah protection for the religious missions and the renewal of the commercial privileges for the *Compagnie des Indes*. On his way back he met the Bishop of Babylon and travelled in company with him. At the instigation of Imam Quli Beg, Marie's disreputable interpreter, both Michel and the Bishop were arrested and imprisoned. They soon escaped, however, and made their way to Tabriz. There they found Marie; she had been ill, and was in a chastened and contrite mood. She meekly asked Michel for an escort as far as the Turkish frontier, sufficient money for her travelling expenses and reimbursement for the sums that she had advanced to Fabre to enable him to leave France on his mission. Michel provided her with the escort and with 200 crowns travelling money. He also gave her a promissory note for 12,200 livres, the amount that Fabre had received from her; both Michel and the Bishop (as the latter afterwards admitted) knew that this note was worthless.

Marie left Tabriz on July 8, 1707, on her long journey home. On reaching Tiflis she stayed for some time with Vakhtang VI of Kartli, the Viceroy of Georgia. When rumours reached Michel that Marie was endeavouring to marry Vakhtang he sent agents to the Georgian prince to urge him to speed the adventurous on her way. She accordingly had to leave Tiflis for Constantinople at the end of September, but got held up by the winter at Trebizond and did not reach the Turkish capital until March, 1708. De Ferriol, though hostile to her at first, lodged her in the Embassy and allowed himself gradually to be won over to her side. She remained at the Embassy until November, when, in deference to urgent instructions from Versailles, de Ferriol placed her on board a French vessel bound for Marseilles. She set foot once more on her native soil on February 8, 1709, after an absence of all but four years.

Although both Vakhtang and de Ferriol had written to Versailles, testifying to Marie's good behaviour and pleading for leniency, she was arrested immediately on landing on charges of giving herself false titles, misappropriating the presents intended for the Shah, having embraced the Muhammadan faith, causing the death of several Frenchmen, and having scandalized the Orient by her behaviour. The penalty for such a series of crimes would, if she were proved guilty, be burning at the stake. Not only was Michel's promissory note not honoured, but all her effects were sequestered.

At the outset Marie's treatment in prison was very harsh, but when her extraordinary story became known to the ladies of Marseilles many of them visited her and took steps to alleviate her hard lot. Nevertheless, when Marie's arch-enemy Michel returned to France in August, 1709, after successfully accomplishing his mission, fresh impetus was given to the prosecution, and his evidence, together with that of the Jesuit Mosnier, weighed heavily against her. Lengthy documents were prepared for the prosecution and the defence, but the proceedings dragged on and on without

any sign of approaching finality. The case took a new and totally unexpected turn when, after de Ferriol's recall from Turkey in 1711, Madame Fabre, the widow of the unfortunate envoy, arrived from Constantinople and somewhat surprisingly gave evidence on Marie's behalf. She strongly attacked both Michel and de Ferriol. It was probably Madame Fabre's intervention which led the authorities to take a more lenient view of Marie's conduct, and in 1713 she was released. There is no record of judgment ever having been given either for or against her, and it may be that the prosecution eventually withdrew their case.

During her enforced seclusion Marie started to write her memoirs, but had not completed them when she was released. Nothing is known of what she did during the next two years, but early in 1715 she emerged once more into the limelight. Hearing that a Persian named Muhammad Riza Beg, whom she had known at Erivan, had landed in France and was on his way to Versailles as Ambassador from the Shah,* she made an attempt to see him, but was rearrested and thrown again into gaol. She utilized her time in prison to complete her memoirs. When she had finished her task, the prison authorities sent the work to Pontchartrain, the Minister of Marine and Master of the Royal Household. Pontchartrain, although he had been much troubled by Marie's case, was so entertained by her memoirs that, instead of handing them over to the legal authorities, he sent them to the well-known writer Lesage in order that he might embellish them with a view to publication. Pontchartrain also gave Lesage the letters and reports from Michel and the Consul at Aleppo, in order that he might be fully documented. After giving the matter careful consideration Lesage declined the task in a very tactfully worded letter to Pontchartrain. His reasons for refusing were that, if he adopted Marie's version alone, he would incriminate de Ferriol, Michel and the Jesuits, and so incur their wrath; if, on the other hand, he accepted their story, he would be acting unjustly to Marie. Had Lesage agreed to undertake the task, we would have had a female *Gil Blas* in a Persian setting; it is all the more unfortunate that Lesage had such scruples because Marie's own memoirs have disappeared.

Feeling that the long spells of imprisonment that Marie had already served had punished her sufficiently, Pontchartrain gave orders for her release. The poor woman was thereupon set at liberty, but she was broken in health and quite penniless. She is believed to have died in penury in 1720, the same year in which her enemy Michel breathed his last.

Although Marie Petit had undoubtedly been guilty of unseemly behaviour on various occasions and had acted at times in a manner prejudicial to the interests both of France and of the Jesuit and other missionaries in Persia, there can be no doubt that her faults were much exaggerated and that she was punished too severely for her wrongdoings. One cannot help admiring her courageous spirit and her extraordinary zest for adventure.

JAPAN TODAY

By FRANCIS J. HORNER

THE first and outstanding fact that must strike a visitor to "Japan of the Occupation" is the extent and type of destruction that has fallen upon her cities. Two alone are untouched—Kyoto and Nara—the former the old capital, the home of the Emperors for a thousand years, the city of lovely shrines and temples; the latter containing the oldest buildings in the country whose every square foot is redolent of history and tradition. The destruction is quite different in kind from the smashed cities of Europe.

* The tale of Muhammad Riza Beg's mission to France forms a fitting counterpart to that of Marie Petit. His extraordinary behaviour and strange escapades created an even greater sensation in France than Marie's doings in Turkey and Persia had done—but that, as Kipling was wont to say, is another story.

A description of, say, Hamburg or Berlin might be summed up in two words—Ruins and Rubble. Tokyo would be more accurately described by one word—Nothing!

Tokyo was a vast city, some eight miles in diameter, housing about seven million souls. It was a teeming beehive of active, cheerful and busy people. Now it consists of a few scattered concrete and brick buildings fringing the palace grounds, the whole occupying an area of about one square mile; beyond this—nothing—desert—desolation, from the midst of which stands up here and there a solitary, ghost-like relic in concrete. A senior officer of the eighth U.S.A.A.F. informed me at the time Tokyo was being incinerated that the heat generated by the petrol jelly bomb made concrete "run like milk." Hundreds of thousands of these bombs fell upon this city of Tokyo, some 87 per cent. of whose houses were of wood and paper!

The present population is about 2,500,000. They huddle together by night under bridges, seek shelter in the subways or gather together in little groups protected by some boards that have been laboriously collected and knocked together to form some sort of shield, however inadequate, against the wind and rain. Makeshift huts, numerically hopelessly insufficient, are being constructed by the Government. By day the people wander to and fro in apathetic misery, looking for lost relatives, looking for work, looking for food—looking for hope. They are people who all their lives have lived according to routine, far more than those of other lands. The social code of the Japanese involved a life strictly regimented, strictly patterned in all its aspects. Each individual lived his life according to rule, whether at work or at home—a life regulated by the laws of the Government and by the prescriptions of the family and communal codes down to its smallest details. He was not accustomed to think for himself, to come to individual decisions. The system did that for him. Within that system, provided he obeyed its rules, he lived a happy industrious life. Now all is gone from him—he is lost. But there is one over-mastering instinct that keeps him on the move—hunger.

Many are the problems that the Occupying Authorities have to deal with, but this is one that cannot be postponed even for an hour. It is an urgent, pressing and tremendously, vitally important question that has got to be solved every day. It is complicated by certain factors peculiar to Japan. For example, there has always been a veiled antagonism between the town dweller and those of the countryside. The farmers have for so long suffered hard deals from the authorities and the rich landlords and grain speculators of the cities that they are unwilling to part with their crops except on their own terms. The city and town merchants will not supply them with desperately needed farming utensils, supposing that they have them, save at what the farmer considers exorbitant charges. Hence the prevalence of hoarding. Japanese agriculture also depends greatly on chemical fertilizers which are in very short supply. The situation is further complicated by the dislocation of the transport system, the grave shortage of coal, as also of petrol for the fishing fleets. As a whole, the country dweller is better off than those in the town, but the difference is only relative.

It is, of course, inevitable that a general condition of affairs, as described above, must give rise to uncertainty and unrest. This is being exploited to its fullest extent by Communists and other political groupings of the left.

To those who know Japan, some of General MacArthur's directives must have caused much pleasure, and given rise to great hopes for the future. On the other hand some have undoubtedly caused a feeling of apprehension, particularly that which permitted, or rather insisted on complete freedom of speech. "The tongue is a little member but worketh an infinity of harm; see what a great matter a little fire kindleth," wrote the wise and practical St. James. To realize the possible reaction of this directive on the Japanese people requires a previous knowledge of their character and psychology. Putting it as shortly as possible, they are extremely emotional, and very unstable in their emotional manifestations, swinging from one extreme to another in a moment of time. For centuries—not for years—they have been abnormally suppressed, not merely politically, but by the social code which rules the family and the commune. As a result of this patterned, regulated and suppressed life, they are lacking in self-control and in the ability to judge the merits

of different issues as individuals. This directive may be compared to the sudden removal of the cork from a bottle of some super-compressed gaseous liquid. A torrent of froth bursts forth. The people themselves are swamped by the wordy floods of demagogues, the vast majority of whom have little else in view than their own aggrandisement.

England has reached the goal of free speech after centuries of gradual evolution and training. To impose it in all its completeness on a people in the condition of the Japanese seems, putting it mildly, a little rash. One result was seen in the much-heralded election. Before polling day, besides the five main parties of Progressives, Liberals, Socialist Democrats, Co-operatives and Communists, there were more than a hundred other "parties"!

Unfortunately the "profession of politics" has gained for itself a most unenviable reputation in Japan, especially among the peasantry, whose contempt for and distrust of the "town-bred politician" is intense. And rightly, for the pre-war political parties were hot-beds of corruption, owing to their exploitation by the Zaibatsu, the financial group headed by Mitsui and Mitsubishi. The result is that very few men of really good standing will offer themselves as candidates for election to the Diet. What will be extremely interesting in the new Diet is the showing that the women members will put up, and the reaction of their male colleagues. The latter will probably get a considerable shock!

The activities of the last Diet and of the Cabinet were greatly crippled by the successive purges instituted by General MacArthur. Leaders were unable to rely on the voting strength of their party, as they did not know who might be suddenly removed by unexpected "cleansing."

The degree of uncertainty under which they worked was shown by the late purging of Hatoyama, the leader of the successful Liberal party at the elections. Not until he had been actually nominated to the Emperor by Shidehara, the outgoing premier, as his successor, did the purge "fiat" go forth from Allied H.Q.

A similar state of perplexity in commercial and business affairs is also greatly delaying the work of national reconstruction. The reason for this is chiefly the uncertainty that prevails in regard to the question of reparations, the amount to be finally demanded and the proportion that will be paid in cash and in kind. Until this is definitely known financiers cannot, and with reason, commit themselves to new enterprises.

But what is perhaps of more general interest is the attitude of the people towards the war. How do they feel towards their late enemies, towards their own militarists and the Army in general? Are they conscious of any sense of guilt or of their own responsibility for the terrible conditions in which they now find themselves? To take these questions in order, there is no overt display of enmity towards the occupiers. On the contrary, there is much manifestation of welcome, of smiles and ready acceptance of rules and regulations.

As to how much of this is genuine it is hard to estimate. It must never be forgotten that for a Japanese to show disagreement, particularly to a foreigner, is the height of rudeness. Etiquette makes it obligatory to agree or to answer in a way that gives pleasure to the questioner. Thus, "Do you like MacArthur?" or "Do you not like MacArthur?" would both be answered, "We *love* him!" even though the speaker might be going through an internal hymn of hate! There is nothing dishonest in this; it is simply good manners. So the first question is almost unanswerable.

How do they feel towards their own militarists? They have no use for them whatever. To the Japanese there is a moral quality that attaches to failure and success. That which succeeds is right, that which fails is wrong. This theory originates in the power and influence that they attach to the Kami, the dead. They from their higher "plane" can see more clearly what is right and will support it. What they support will succeed. The Militarists failed. They were therefore wrong and must be eliminated.

So strong was this feeling of antagonism that, in the first reaction to defeat, demobilized soldiers returning to their villages were, in one or two cases, actually refused food. The people had to be urged, through the Press, to discriminate.

As to the consciousness of guilt, they have none; neither is it likely that such will grow. The reason for this is deeply psychological. Put as shortly as is possible, every Japanese is taught—and has been for hundreds of years—that the repayment of an insult not merely must be done, but that it is a virtuous act, incumbent on his honour and that of his family. Such political incidents as the Exclusion Act of the U.S.A., the Naval Limitation Agreement, even the non-renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance have been regarded as insults to the Japanese family.

The attack on Pearl Harbour was “returning the visit of Admiral Perry.” It was the repayment of an insult. Far from feeling guilty of aggression, they felt a sense of virtue that the insult was avenged—that the scores were evened.

But the people do feel shame in regard to the cruelties, the barbarities practised by their soldiers, and regard their punishment as perfectly justified.

Are there any subversive underground movements? The Japanese have always had a passion for secret societies and that such exist is perfectly well known to the American counter-intelligence. It is not to be expected that those of the old Samurai families who have all their lives absorbed the doctrine of “Japan’s mission to rule the world”—a doctrine handed down from father to son through generations—are going to change all in a moment. Moreover, like most Orientals, the Japanese have an almost inexhaustible patience. Up to the present, however, such “patriots” are keeping very quiet and are carefully watched. But it must be remembered that any action by the occupying authorities, particularly by the soldiery who come in contact with the people, which is likely to rouse resentment among the people, is exactly what the subversionists most desire, and such things are never forgotten.

Among the innumerable problems with which Japan is now confronted, one of the most vital is that of educational reform. With this is involved the question of a reform in the whole system of writing, a task of immense difficulty and complexity. The occupational authorities have imported a committee of twenty educational experts, all from the U.S.A. How many of these have any knowledge of the Japanese character and the peculiar problems that arise from it is not known. They have, however, issued a report drawn up in conjunction with a committee of Japanese educational authorities, in which several valuable suggestions are made. It is the implementation of these that is so difficult. For example, entirely new textbooks have to be prepared, as all those of the pre-war days were impregnated with chauvinistic ideologies.

The great danger—and this applies to every department and stage in Japan’s reconstruction—is that of going too fast, of the Occupation H.Q. trying to force the pace. There is also another, perhaps even greater, danger: of the authorities—of course always with the best intentions—trying to impose their own customs and ideas on the people regardless of the latter’s own culture. In so many reports on Japan appearing in the American press there is evident a tone of superiority, an atmosphere of *de haut en bas*, which is somewhat disconcerting. The Japanese Minister of Education, Dr. Abe, in a remarkable speech made to the American Education Mission, made two admirable statements: “The tendency to democratize our national life, which is what you are requiring of us, seems to be sweeping all over the country with a great deal of noise and journalism. In the mad reactions against war-time hardships and restraints placed on freedom, the people are now rushing from one extreme to another, and are facing the danger of falling into either a state of vacuity or anarchy.” He further added: “America, as a victorious nation, is in a position to do anything it pleases with Japan. I hope America may not avail herself of this position to impose upon us simply what is characteristic of America and Europe. . . . If this is so I fear we will never have a true Japanese education. There are some young idealists among the Americans coming to Japan who tend to use it as a kind of laboratory in a rash attempt to experiment in it on abstract ideals of their own, which are not yet even realized in their own country. While the Japanese should open-mindedly listen to all advice given to them, you will agree that they should accept it or not on the basis of their own conscience and criticism.”

There can be no doubt at all that one of the main reasons for Japan’s previous

failure to adopt the true essentials of Western democracy, contenting herself only with superficial resemblances, was the speed with which her own Government tried to force those foreign ideas on to her people. It won't work. The danger is now far greater. For example, real parliamentary government cannot be imposed from outside. It must develop from within, from village councils, with all the apparatus of free speech, election by ballot, voting and other techniques of democratic government. District and municipal councils similarly organized should form part of the life of a country before it is asked to govern itself through a parliamentary organization and procedure.

However, there can be no question that the Occupying Powers are slowly evolving some semblance of order out of the chaos that reigned when they first entered the country. Transport is becoming more organized, postal and telephone communications partially restored and a public health service being evolved. What must in some way or other be overcome is the apathy of the people. The Japanese are a resilient race in ordinary circumstances, and it is to be hoped that as things settle down this power of resilience will become more and more evident. The problems General MacArthur and his staff have to solve are very great. The greatest of them all is that of understanding the psychology of the people.

TWENTY YEARS' PROGRESS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

A SURVEY of the manifold advance achieved in Jammu and Kashmir during the twenty years to 1945, contained in a handbook issued by His Highness's Government, supplies convincing evidence that the accession of the present ruler to the *gadi* in September, 1925, inaugurated an era of reform—political, administrative, judicial, social and economic—which has rarely lagged, and holds the promise of equally steady and solid progress hereafter. At this juncture it may perhaps be particularly apposite to recall that, from the outset, His Highness has impressed upon the heads of departments the imperative need of providing a fair representation in Government services to communities not adequately represented therein, and that, since his accession, this policy has been steadily adhered to. In particular it is pertinent to note that there has been considerable improvement in the representation of Muslims in the civil services, especially during the last twelve years. In April, 1944, there were 4,419 Muslim officials, including 150 gazetted officials, out of a total strength of 12,345 officials, including 507 gazetted officials, in the superior service. This may be compared with the condition in April, 1932, when there were 2,052 Muslim officials, including 55 gazetted officials, out of a total strength of 8,683 officials, including 355 gazetted officials. In the inferior service Muslims numbered 3,868 out of a total strength of 8,266 in April, 1944, against 3,542 out of a total strength of 8,360 in April, 1932. It will thus be seen that there has been an increase of 115·3 per cent. in the number of Muslims in the superior service during the above period, while in the gazetted rank the increase has been nearly 173 per cent. In April, 1944, they formed over 40 per cent. of the total strength of the civil services.

The Legislature (the Praja Sabha) includes forty elected Members in a House of seventy-five, and about 6 per cent. of the population, including a number of women, have the right to vote. The Sabha has the right of passing all legislation pertaining to taxes, as distinguished from fees and penalties, and has constituted Standing Committees for Finance, Industries, Public Health, Agriculture, Co-operation and Education. Two of the Ministers, including one Muslim, were appointed by His Highness from a panel of six chosen by the elected members of the Sabha, in compliance with a request to them by His Highness towards the end of 1944. On September 10, 1943, His Highness granted Letters Patent to the High Court of Judicature, similar to those of High Courts in British India, and as the Official Handbook observes:

"This gave to the court a status and prestige of its own. The Letters Patent is the foundation upon which the edifice of justice in the State now rests."

In regard to the peasantry, there is space here only to record that "the status of cultivators of land, whose condition was little better than that of serfs before the introduction of Settlement of land, has been improved considerably. The maximum State share of revenue is fixed at 30 per cent. of the gross produce, and suspensions and remissions are granted from time to time. The term of a Settlement has been extended to forty years. . . . About 4,000 co-operative credit societies, with a working capital of over Rs. 1 crore, provide facilities for credit to agriculturists." Admirably planned projects are also in hand for developing three resources for which Kashmir is world-famous—namely, its silk and carpet industries, and its unrivalled attractions for tourists from within India itself as well as from farther afield.

HYDERABAD PROMOTES "FREEDOM FROM WANT"

THERE are few countries in which State aid is now lacking in order to ensure the maximum production of food and its equitable distribution, and unless present national and international programmes are reversed this drain on public funds appears likely not merely to continue but to increase. Such a development indeed represents the logical and inescapable accompaniment of the increasing control exercised by all Governments over economic activity. "Freedom from want," formerly the personal responsibility of each individual, has now in almost all countries become the collective responsibility of the community and of the Governments to which they acknowledge allegiance. In this direction the financial pundits must adapt their methods of calculation to meet the behests of the statesmen who in turn reflect the development of the social conscience. Initially, in India irrigation projects secured financial sanction only if they yielded Government a handsome profit on the capital outlay involved. At a later stage protective (or financially non-productive) works began to multiply, and from now on this class of project appears likely to become the rule rather than the exception.

Judged by this method of assessment, Hyderabad's largest irrigation works, the Nizamnagar project, which cost about Rs. 4·5 crores to irrigate 275,000 acres, is perhaps essentially a profitable project, inasmuch as it yields a direct return of 7 per cent. (as against 10·8 per cent. originally expected). If, however, it is yielding less to the Hyderabad Finance Department than its promoters hoped, there are now other Government Departments, those concerned with rural welfare, whose outlook and responsibilities enable them to view it, as indeed does the present Finance Department itself, with a complacent eye. For, as the Hyderabad official journal remarks, measured by its utility as a safeguard against scarcity and famine, this great project is an unqualified success. "One has only to stand upon the hill overlooking the lovely lake of Ali Sagar, commanding a panoramic view of miles of country, covered by a network of canals and distributaries, to appreciate at a glance what the Nizamnagar has done, and is still doing, to confer upon the people of the area the most vital of the four freedoms enunciated by the late President Roosevelt—freedom from want." Settlers are attracted by grants of land amounting to 35 acres, preference being given to those who actually settle on the land and cultivate it with their own labour. When required, settlers are given interest-free loans recoverable in ten equated instalments. Other valuable concessions are also available. In special cases grants of land, ranging from 100 to 500 acres, are made to "gentlemen farmers"—an experiment justified by the lead such men have given by introducing the latest methods of agriculture, horticulture and allied industries. The "faithful ally" of the British Crown is also becoming, to an increasing degree, the "faithful ally" of modern methods of economic development in forms whose benefits reach down to the humblest peasant in the Dominion.

AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURE IN MYSORE

MYSORE has acted as a pioneer State in so many forms of economic development in India that its selection as the first home of India's new aircraft-manufacturing industry seems to be wholly in accordance with the fitness of things. The Government of India's decision to embark on production in this field arises from the recommendations of the United Kingdom Aircraft Delegation, which visited India about three months ago. Inevitably, maturity will be a matter of slow growth—self-sufficiency not being expected within less than twenty years—but this is an additional reason for making the earliest possible start, and it is expected that, utilizing the Government-owned Hindustan aircraft factory in Bangalore as the manufacturing unit, the first machines, comprising trainer aircraft for the Royal Indian Air Force, will be off the lines by about the end of 1947. During the war years the Bangalore factory has been engaged mainly on repair work, enabling much useful initial experience to be gained, and its development as a production unit is a not unexpected sequel. Efficient control will be assisted by the appointment of a board of directors, including three technical directors from the United Kingdom as well as two prominent Indian industrialists, the Government of India retaining ultimate control and supplying all the capital required.

In common with other States and Provinces, Mysore is taking every possible step, by speeding up new irrigation projects and other means of increasing food production, to avert a recurrence of the present famine conditions, without remaining dependent on external aid, which is so apt to be lacking when most needed. In the sphere of food production, indeed, self-sufficiency affords India's only reliable safeguard against future famines. In fact, one may go further and assert that if India's Central Government is to be subject to as severe restrictions in its functions and powers as those now contemplated, this self-sufficiency will become as essential to each individual State and Province as to India as a whole. In addition to embarking on further irrigation schemes, Mysore is also continuing its policy of bringing about the maximum development of hydro-electric power. By the end of the present year the Jog Falls scheme will yield 48,000 kw., while next year this total will be trebled, and industries are being established or extended with sufficient rapidity to absorb all the power available. Recognizing that technical training and experience must keep pace with industrial expansion, the Mysore Government are sending abroad students capable of deriving the maximum benefit from the industries and institutions with which they will be associated in this country and elsewhere.

THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM

BY LOUIS VÉDRINES

THE term "Viet-Nam" can, geographically, be defined as follows:

"A collection of territories where the majority of the population is of the Annamite race and language."

The extent of these lands has varied considerably in the course of centuries, for the Annamites, who were originally confined to Tonkin and North Annam, successively colonized the kingdom of Champa (now South Annam) and Cochin China, a Cambodian Province.

At present the Annamites inhabit the deltas of the Red River (Tonkin) and the Mekong (Cochin China), as well as a narrow coastal belt the length of the Annamite Chain.

From a purely political point of view the name of "Viet-Nam" is applied today to the young republic, presided over by M. Ho Chi Minh, and which controls Tonkin and the greater part of Annam.

Although this republic is of very recent growth, the struggle of the Annamites for independence is an historical fact which no one seeks to deny. After fighting for centuries to free themselves from Chinese rule, the Annamites accepted the French protectorate as a means of assimilating more rapidly the scientific discoveries of the West. But they never abandoned the idea of forming a sovereign State.

However, one cannot say that, until the war, our colonial administration had had to struggle, in the Annamite lands, with a well-defined nationalist movement. In fact, the parties which fought against our policy believed in either the Third or the Fourth International: the Trotskyite agents, who were, moreover, animated by an ideal, were certainly the most dangerous, while the Indo-Chinese Communist Party obeyed the directives of Moscow. These two forms of revolutionary activity then assumed an *international* character. The evolution which the Marxist doctrine underwent, as a result of the German-Soviet war, at last allowed the Indo-Chinese Communist Party to assume a very marked *nationalist* character.

Thus can be explained the fact that, from its birth, the Republic of Viet-Nam possessed organized groups: it benefited from the qualities of organization native to the Communist Party, while drawing to the state the aspirations towards independence which existed, more or less diffused, among the Annamite population.

Let us now consider the actual administration of Viet-Nam. At the head of the Republic is President Ho Chi Minh. The latter, thanks to his personal prestige, which is very great, exercises almost absolute power, so long as his policy is not disowned by certain more advanced elements.

Around President Ho Chi Minh are placed twelve ministers, chosen from among the different political parties. Briefly, the chief parties are:

(1) "The Viet Minh," the chief party, whose leader is Ho Chi Minh himself which is the result of the fusion of the Communist Party and the old nationalist elements.

(2) "The Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dang," an old revolutionary party, which has kept a certain influence, although most of its supporters have joined the Viet Minh.

(3) "The Dong Minh Hoi," a party formed in China during the war, which strictly obeys Chinese directions. This party, very anti-French, represents the extremist element.

(4) "The Democratic Party," which represents, on the other hand, the moderate element. It is composed, for the most part, of mandarins who were recently supporters of a progressive grant of independence, but who, in general, trusted in Japan to hasten this evolution, and have, for this reason, lost some credit.

Beside the Government, there is a constituent *assembly*, elected on January 6 last, under conditions of doubtful enough regularity, since Indo-China was at the time in a state of complete anarchy. These elections gave an overwhelming majority to the Viet Minh, who have, in fact, exercised power ever since, while trying to form a national front with the other parties, as the composition of the present Government shows.

The basis of the party is the *People's Committee*, with branches in the communes, cantons and regions.

It is difficult to forecast what the constitution, which the Assembly is now working out, will be like. According to a plan published recently, the *Congress of the deputies of the people*, elected for three years, would be the body which would wield supreme power. The executive power would be held by a Government composed of a President of the Republic and a Council of Ministers, both elected by the Congress. The President would be chosen for six years, and be eligible for re-election.

In any case the Constitution will be revolutionary, in the sense that it will put an end to the mandarin administration, inherited from China; the Annamites blame France for maintaining its skeleton. Indeed, the slightly feudal character of this traditional administration aroused more criticism on the part of young Annamites, brought up in the Communist school, than did the French administration itself.

As to forming a judgment on the work already accomplished by the Government of Viet-Nam, it would be difficult to do so fairly. This Government came into power

in extremely difficult circumstances: ravages produced by the Japanese occupation, destruction of means of communication by Allied bombing, and famine in Tonkin, an over-populated country, which can only live normally by importing rice from Cochin China, and which was suddenly isolated.

Nevertheless, it seems that Viet-Nam, in its haste to blot out French influence and eliminate the local pro-French elements, risks finding itself faced by a crisis caused by the lack of technicians and skilled men.

What is the connection of the young Republic of Viet-Nam with France? It is known that an agreement was signed on March 6 by President Ho Chi Minh and M. Saintenay, the representative of the High Commissioner. This agreement foreshadows the incorporation of the free State of Viet-Nam into the Indo-Chinese Federation. The preliminary talks for the conclusion of a treaty have just taken place at Dalat, and the delegates of France and Viet-Nam have succeeded in agreeing on a certain number of points. The final negotiations must take place in Paris in the near future.

What developments have brought the head of Viet Minh, who had so fiercely demanded complete independence for his fellow-countrymen, to consent to this agreement? It seems that this *volte-face* must be attributed, not to fear of a French military expedition to Tonkin, but to a healthy understanding of the structure of the modern world. President Ho Chi Minh and his Cabinet know very well that the young Republic of Viet-Nam possesses neither the military power nor the economic equipment to play the rôle of a sovereign State in a Far East where so many envious neighbours confront it. Under such conditions it is logical that Viet-Nam should choose as protector the France to whom all the Annamites, even the most anti-colonial, owe their culture. Certainly many Annamites who had fought against our troops, to the cry of "Independence or death," do not understand the attitude of their leader, a fact which explains why hostilities have continued to take place in certain sectors after the signing of the agreement; but the most advanced elements have confidence in Ho Chi Minh.

What will be the relations of France with Viet-Nam in the future? The incorporation of a free State into the midst of a Federation presents numerous problems, the solution of which is not yet clearly apparent. The essential point evidently is that Viet-Nam sees that it has every interest politically, and, above all, economically, in becoming part of the Federation.

The most delicate question is that concerning the future status of Cochin China. The latter at present does not come under the rule of Viet-Nam, but the Government of Hanoi declares that Cochin China, inhabited by Annamites, is an integral part of Viet-Nam. The importance of this claim can be understood, when the richness of Cochin China is recalled: this colony, which was before the war the second rice-exporting country in the world after Burma, is the true granary of the Federation, and its incorporation with Viet-Nam a vital question for the latter. This economic argument is far stronger to our eyes than that based on historical grounds put forward before by Viet-Nam, and which is of little worth, since the Annamites, coming from the North, colonized Cochin China, destroying or submerging the native Khmer element.

It is because of this richness of their soil that the Cochin Chinese do not wish very much to join Viet-Nam; they fear, in fact, in case of fusion that they will become a mere colony to be exploited by the Tonkinese.

The agreement of March 6 settled that the population of Cochin China should decide its fate by plebiscite. Viet-Nam, however, shows little enthusiasm at this prospect, and seeks to convince international opinion of the legitimacy of its claims.

If this prickly question of Cochin China can be settled without too much argument there will be no other major obstacle to a good *entente* between France and Viet-Nam. The help which France is now giving Viet-Nam in the shape of capital, and by the sending out of professors and technicians, is of a kind which will be of equal benefit to both countries. As to the ability which Viet-Nam will show in governing itself, it is difficult to judge of it in advance; in any case, France will have fulfilled her rôle towards the young Republic.

A TALE OF TONKIN: TRUNG-TRAC AND TRUNG-NHI

BY TRAN VAN TUNG

THEY grew up, like two lotus or jasmine flowers, in a little Tonkin village called Son-Tây. The elder was named Trung-Trac and the younger Trung-Nhi. Trung-Trac possessed the most enchanting beauty. Her eyes, passionate like flames, lit the fire of love in every heart. Her smiles, as sweet as scented roses, raised a storm in every soul. Her voice, as gentle as the breeze, made the stones and rocks dance. Men, beasts and birds encircled and surrounded her. All the world loved her. The whole earth knelt before her. This lovely being had the noblest and most generous heart in the world. In her sweet soul, filial piety, conjugal faithfulness and love of country shone like a cluster of stars.

Beside her sister, Trung-Nhi was like a rose beside another rose, a star beside another star. Like two flowers, they vied in colour, in scent and in beauty. Like two flowers, they adorned and scented their father's house and their native land.

* * * * *

Kneeling before the Altar of the Ancestors; the old king Hung-Vuong brooded on his mortal hatred of the tyrannical Chinese governor, To-Dinh. After invoking the soul of the ancestors and consulting the geomancers and the diviners, the sorcerers and the magicians, he changed the position of his ancestors' tombs several times.

"Sire," said the Geomancer to him, "the tomb of your illustrious father is now placed on the back of a dragon. The Princesses will revenge you. They will chase the Chinese hordes from our sacred country and will proclaim themselves queens."

"I entrust the destiny of the royal family to the powerful hands of the 'Jade Emperor,' of Buddha."

"Sire, all is written in letters of sapphire in the sacred book of Heaven. I will give you my head to cut off, Sire, if the two Princesses do not become queens of Nam-Viet. Their swords are more deadly than that of the greatest warrior! They will conquer the Chinese!"

From their childhood Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi learnt how to wield the sword, to hurl the spear, and to ride. To teach them the art of war, King Hung-Vuong entrusted their education to one of his most faithful generals. Thus the two Princesses nursed revenge in their hearts.

From the day when he dethroned Hung-Vuong, To-Dinh seized all power and instituted a reign of terror over the kingdom of Annam. Every hostile Mandarin was beheaded. Villages and provinces were pillaged and burnt, and the inhabitants massacred. The most crushing taxes weighed down the brave and peaceful peasants of Annam. The most horrible tortures were used against Annamite patriots. Famine, misery and death, like vampires, stalked through the land. In silence, the people of Nam-Viet nursed their hatred and planned their revenge.

* * * * *

Although endowed with the highest military skill, Trung-Trac could not fight against the poisoned darts of Love. Like every pretty woman, she was beaten in the cruel and delightful game of Love.

That day the village of Son Tây was celebrating a festival. The flags, embroidered with dragons and Chinese characters, waved in the breeze. The golden parasols opened out like lotus-petals in autumn. The drums echoed in the sky like prayers and incantations.

All the youths and maidens, dressed in their most beautiful clothes, went to the pagoda with trays filled with rice, roast pork, stuffed chickens, areca nuts, votive paper and incense sticks. Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi, accompanied by their servants, went there in their golden carriage. Their hands clasped on their breasts, and holding lighted incense sticks, they invoked Buddha and asked for his help and protection.

Four times they bowed before the altar. Then, their souls full of gratitude to the Enlightened One, they rose, and prepared to enter their golden carriage once more.

"Princess! Noble Princess, permit one of your humble subjects to offer you these lotus flowers as a token of his admiration and his faithfulness to the royal family," said Thi-Sach, bowing before Trung-Trac.

She took the bouquet with some hesitation, and, blushing, replied :

"Sir, your lotus flowers are very beautiful. I have not the courage to refuse them. I love flowers so much."

Encouraged by the gracefulness of Trung-Trac, the young Mandarin went on :

"Noble Princess, it is a very great honour for me to approach your 'jade person,' to hear your voice, and to breathe the heavenly scent of your body. Your fame, Princess, extends like a pink cloud to the four quarters of the world. My thirsty soul flies towards you like a swallow towards the heavens. My heart flies towards you like a dove. My thoughts weave a thousand enchanting dreams around you. In front of you, Princess, I do not know if I am waking or dreaming. I do not know if you are a reality or a dream. There is so little difference between true life and a dream, between reality and illusion."

"Sir, your words fall on my soul like rain from heaven. Your voice enters my heart like Love's caress. Your illustrious name has entered the cinnamon-wood walls of my bower with the scent of roses."

"Princess, your words sow joy and hope in my empty heart. Why cannot I be the chamberlain who guards your bower, the sapphire ring that you wear on your finger?"

"Your compliments, Sir, make me blush. But, like a piece of pink silk, my frail destiny is in the hands of my august father. If he orders me to climb a mountain, I will climb it. If he tells me to throw myself into the sea, I will throw myself. Allow me to retire, Sir. It is already late, and my sister is awaiting me!"

Trung-Trac bowed gracefully to Thi-Sach, and, with her heart divided between a thousand emotions, she climbed into her golden carriage and disappeared with an enchanting smile.

Thi-Sach, intoxicated with her beauty, her charm and with his dreams, remained nailed to the spot, without making the slightest movement, for a long minute. The festival in the pagoda went on.

* * * * *

Several weeks later Thi-Sach, dressed in a long blue tunic, and accompanied by members of his family and his servants, presented himself to King Hung-Vuong. The wedding presents, on huge trays of carved brass, were placed before the King's throne; they consisted of two hundred bottles of gentian wine, twenty pairs of elephant tusks, a hundred rolls of Chinese silk, a thousand ingots of gold, two jade bracelets, a necklace of solid gold, a hundred packets of a betel-nut box of mother-of-pearl, and many other rare and precious gifts. Learning of the great literary and military talents of Thi-Sach, and of his devotion to the imperial dynasty, Hung-Vuong accorded him the hand of his beloved daughter, the lovely Trung-Trac.

Having become the head of the imperial family, Thi-Sach, in whose veins ran warrior blood, decided to thrust the Chinese out of the kingdom and regain the throne. Working with his wife and his sister-in-law Trung-Nhi, he recruited men, formed an army, drew up plans for a campaign, and drafted a proclamation to the people. To-Dinh's spies, on their side, were not idle. Disguised as porters, as doctors, as merchants, as beggars, they followed Thi-Sach step by step, noting every word he said, noticing his every action. Thus, the tyrannical To-Dinh learnt of every movement of Thi-Sach. Feigning entire ignorance, he held a great feast at his palace, to which he invited Trung-Trac's husband. To divert all suspicion, Thi-Sach went there, unarmed and unescorted. To-Dinh, smiling and affable, gave him a warm and cordial reception. He accorded him all the marks of respect due to a great mandarin.

"Pour us out some wine!" commanded To-Dinh. "Give us some wine to drink to Duke Thi-Sach!"

The favourites, smiling and obsequious, who were standing round, handed Thi-Sach their goblets, filled to the brim. One after another Thi-Sach emptied them.

"Sing to us," commanded To-Dinh. "Sing a love song for my noble guest!"

To the nostalgic sounds of guitars and mandolins, the singers, painted and garlanded, sang of starry nights to the bewildered heart of Thi-Sach. While the singers intoxicated him with music and song the favourites plied him with wine. Thi-Sach drank three bottles of wine.

"Show us some dancing!" ordered To-Dinh. "Dance the ballet of the Silver Dragon in honour of the Duke!"

To the broken rhythm of the cymbals and drums, the dancers depicted, with their heads, their hands, their arms and legs, the Silver Dragon flying through the clouds. The wine, the women, the music, the singing and dancing, all plunged Thi-Sach into the shades of Nirvana. The memories of his wife, his sister-in-law, his family, and his country flickered in his mind like dying fires. To-Dinh, bloodthirsty To-Dinh, alone remained present in his consciousness. Like a storm, anger rose in his heart. Forgetful of the dangers which threatened him, Thi-Sach spat in his face, injured him, and threatened him with death. Accused of rebellion and treachery, Thi-Sach was condemned at once to the most horrible death. Delivered defenceless to the executioners, he was gagged and bound and placed in an empty pickle-jar. On the orders of To-Dinh, the body of the prisoner was sprinkled from head to foot with boiling water. The torture lasted more than two hours. When the body of Thi-Sach had been boiled like a chicken, To-Dinh had it buried in the left wing of his palace.

Trung-Trac, broken-hearted, yet filled with rage, fled to the mountains. She issued a moving proclamation to the people. Hundreds of thousands of Annamite patriots gained the mountains and placed themselves under the orders of Trung-Trac. With the consent of her sister Trung-Nhi and several faithful generals, she prepared her army for war. After a year of ceaseless work the two Princesses succeeded in creating an army of a thousand well-equipped, warlike men. Without wasting a moment they marched against To-Dinh. Mounted on two white horses, armed with golden swords, Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi themselves directed operations. A battle, one of the most important in the history of Annam, took place between the army of the two queens and the Chinese troops. With their lances, swords and scimitars, the soldiers of the two Princesses launched an attack on the citadel of To-Dinh. Hand-to-hand struggles could be seen.

Animated by the valour and patriotic ardour of the two queens, the Annamite soldiers fought like lions. The Chinese, beaten and pursued, retreated. To-Dinh, abandoned by his army, was captured and made prisoner. Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi reconquered more than sixty towns in a month.

Having revenged Thi-Sach and washed the shame from their people, they proclaimed themselves queens of Nam-Viet.

Learning of the power and popularity of the two queens, the Chinese Emperor Quang-Vu pretended for three long years to negotiate with them. Every year he sent them, through his ambassadors, rich presents and fine declarations, accompanied by flattering poems. To preserve peace and happiness for their subjects, Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi sent ambassadors to the Emperor of China. While these negotiations were being pursued the Chinese troops, under the supreme command of Ma-Vien, crossed the frontier of Nam-Viet.

Refusing to be influenced either by the ferocity of Ma-Vien or the violence of the attack, Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi mounted their white horses and threw themselves on the enemy. The most bloodthirsty and murderous encounter took place between the two armies. Violent fights of swords, sabres and lances began. Obeying the orders of the two queens, the Annamite troops defended their native soil inch by inch. In the midst of the flying arrows and the clicking of sabres and swords the two queens, calm, proud and invulnerable, fought with their soldiers. Around their passage the heads of Chinese flew like dry leaves and fell like ripe fruit under the blows of their fatal swords. Ma-Vien could do nothing against the bravery and heroism of the two queens. Furious as a trapped lion, he changed his tactics. Instead of fighting with arms he resolved to burn the province of Son-Tây

and with it the two queens. He surrounded the city with a barricade of straw and wood, drenched it with thousands of barrels of arachnide oil, and then, on a very windy night, he lit the fire. Driven by the wind, the flames spread from house to house, from quarter to quarter, and throughout the city. Taken in this circle of fire, this flaming inferno, the army of the two queens was going to be burnt, reduced to ashes. But the Genies of Annam watched over the destiny of the two queens! Invoked and entreated, they sent heavy rain down on the flames: the ring of fire was broken, and the troops of the two queens, like herds of bulls, threw themselves on the enemy. Once more the Chinese took to flight, abandoning the conquered territory behind them. The anger of Ma-Vien roared like the China Sea. Shame bit at his throat like a viper: "I, Ma-Vien, the greatest general in China, the genius of war, I will never let myself be beaten by two feeble women! Death! I prefer death a thousand times!" For three days he did not eat. For three nights he lay awake and thought. On the third night, inspired by the Ma-Qui, he decided to fight with cunning. Knowing the great modesty of the women of Nam-Viet, he did not fail to take advantage of it. To the sound of tom-toms, tocsins and gongs, the battle waxed furious throughout the land of Son-Tây. The warrior mandarins of the two queens, seated on the back of their elephants, threw themselves like furies at the pursuit of the conquered foe. Sure of victory, and trusting in the fighting power of their troops, Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi, on their white horses, directed the battle themselves from the vanguard. After a wide turning movement, Ma-Vien reassembled his forces on a steep mountain slope. He ordered all his soldiers to strip: "I will give those two lovely women in marriage to any man among you who can capture them alive," said Ma-Vien to them, loosing them like hounds before the two queens. Hairy as monkeys, with long rat's tails, vicious as hungry wolves, violent as stags in quest of a mate, they hurled themselves towards the two queens, uttering obscene cries.

Wounded in their modesty, overcome by this horrible sight, Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi hid their faces behind their banners and fled. Drawn by the beauty and irresistible charm of the two queens, the Chinese soldiers, like packs of wolves, threw themselves into the pursuit. With their swords and lances the two queens opened a way for themselves through this horde of hairy men. Hundreds of heads flew off on every side. Waves of naked men, countless as locusts, rolled towards them. Crimson with shame, worn out by anger and fatigue, Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi took to flight. Emboldened by the success of his diabolical scheme, Ma-Vien, in his turn, undressed. Damp with sweat, his hairy body resembled a maize-field after a storm. Never was there a more repulsive man than he! He might have been called an orang-outang or a giant. Advancing before his soldiers, he threw himself on the back of his black horse to join the pursuit of the two queens. Not daring to turn back, Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi continued their headlong flight, while behind them, long and fierce, rose the yells of the exasperated men. The most terrible confusion reigned in the army. Believing the battle lost, the Annamite soldiers, discouraged and desperate, retreated. In a last effort Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi tried to rally them and counter-attack. Alas! it was too late!

Encircled, attacked on every side, the two queens defended themselves like two lionesses. Wielded by the hands of masters, their swords cut the heads off thousands of Chinese. Wounded in both arms and legs, they continued their desperate struggle, cut a passage, and once more took to flight.

Reaching the river Day, abandoned by their generals and their troops, the two queens, like two dragons, threw themselves and their horses into the foaming waters.

"A glorious death rather than shame!" cried Trung-Trac.

"A glorious death rather than dishonour!" returned Trung-Nhi.

And the waters carried them away in their winding course. When Ma-Vien and his men reached the river Day they found the bank deserted and the trees mourning. The Chinese general let loose his hunting-dogs in the bushes. The dogs sniffed, barked and scratched the ground; the beautiful queens of Annam were not hiding in the undergrowth.

At the command of Ma-Vien, hundreds of rafts, boats and sampans were launched on the river. The most skilful divers, the boldest fishermen, like others, threw

themselves into the water and plunged below the surface. After a long day's search they succeeded in recovering the bodies of the two queens. To soothe his rage Ma-Vien ordered his soldiers to open the bodies of the two queens and to bring him their hearts. To the sound of drums and gongs these hearts were presented before the golden throne of Ma-Vien on plates inlaid with mother-of-pearl. He placed them in lovely porcelain vases filled with gentian wine, and had them carried as presents to the Chinese emperor. Then he ordered his men to cut the bodies of the two queens into pieces and throw them to the crows.

* * * * *

On the green banks of the Song-Day there now stands, in honour of the two queens, Trung-Trac and Trung-Nhi, one of the most beautiful and ornate temples in Annam. The Emperor of Annam, grateful to the two great national heroines, gave them the title of "Saints of Nam-Viet," and the name "Thanth-Thi," or "City of Perfect Women," to their temple.

(Translated by Miss Daphne Cannon.)

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA*

BY DANIEL LEE

I must emphasize that this is a personal report. China is so vast and her problems so complicated that there are numerous angles from which one can look at the situation. However, I think I am tackling the problem from an honest and unbiased angle, although I am sure I will not be able to give you a complete report on such a large subject.

The Chinese people today do not attempt to hide the fact that China, after the war, is finding herself in a very terrible and dangerous position. Militarily she is being torn into two camps by opposing armed forces; politically she is divided by party interests; economically she is suffering from terrible inflation, famine, and all the ill-effects of the war.

There is a movement in China today to bring all these problems out into the light to see what are the factors leading to such a terrible result, and how we can solve the problems.

Lately, party strife and bitter propaganda have again dominated the whole of China. Not only friends here, but most people in my country do not really know what is happening in China. Competent Chinese observers believe that the confusion rotates around three main problems—namely, (1) the North-Eastern Provinces, or what the foreigner would call Manchuria; (2) the reorganization of the Central Government; and (3) the National Assembly.

I will try to give you a simple, concise and factual summary about these three problems. The British Press has given some attention to the problem of the North-Eastern Provinces, so I think you all know quite well about the background of this issue. To put it in its simplest form, it is the issue as to who should look after the North-Eastern Provinces after the Soviet evacuation. The Nationalist Party, which is in office now, believe they have a legal right to put the four Provinces under the administration of the Central Government. They point out that it is the duty of Government forces to restore all these territories to order, and if they meet any opposition or obstacles which cannot be solved by political means the only way out is to resort to force.

On the other hand, the Communist Party, which has strong forces in those

* Lecture delivered to the Universities' China Committee on May 30. Mr. D. M. Green presided.

Provinces, argues that the Government should adopt a realistic and compromising attitude. They hold that the Central Government and the Communist Party should arrange political means for the restoration of those Provinces into the Chinese administration, but unfortunately the Communists themselves also resort to force to hold a large number of towns and villages in the North-East and keep them under their control. The unavoidable result is armed strife. Fighting has been going on for several weeks for the city of Changchun. It has been reported that Government forces have captured Changchun, but there is no indication as to whether the conflict there is at an end.

I should like to emphasize that the North-Eastern problem is not a local one. The effect of this conflict is felt all over China from Peking to Canton. It seems the North-Eastern Provinces have a very peculiar destiny. It was for this piece of Chinese territory that the whole of China stood united against Japanese aggression, and now it is because of these Provinces that confusion overshadows all China.

The second problem of China today is the reorganization of the Central Government. The Chinese people, the Communist Party, the Kuomintang and other parties all broadly agree that the present Central Government must be thoroughly reorganized on a democratic basis, so that the new Government will be capable of leading the country from war to peace. However, when they come to actual politics, the question is not so simple.

Last January, when delegates of all parties met together in the Political Consultative Council, they laid down the following principles for Government reorganization :

Firstly, the State Council should become the highest policy-making body, and the forty councillors should be nominated by the President of the Republic. Half of the membership should be nominated among Kuomintang members, while the other half should be nominated among other parties and non-party personalities well-known in the country.

Secondly, resolutions of secondary importance could be carried by more than half of the councillors present, but resolutions of major importance could only be carried by a two-thirds majority of all the councillors.

Thirdly, seven or eight ministers in the Executive Yuan were to be nominated among political leaders outside the Kuomintang.

These principles sounded all right, but instantly two major issues arose. The first was the allotment of the twenty non-Kuomintang seats in the State Council. The second was, "Who should be the President in the Executive Yuan?" It was clearly stated in the agreement that the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party should occupy twenty seats in the State Council, but nothing was said about the allotment of the other twenty seats except that they must be distributed among all the parties outside the Kuomintang. The Government suggested that eight seats should go to the Communist Party, four to the Democratic League, four to the Young China Party, and four to Non-Party Social Leaders. However, the Democratic League and the Young China Party were opposed to this suggestion. The Democratic League argued that being a combination of a number of parties they should have more than four seats. The Young China Party said being the third great party they could not have only half of the number the Communist Party had. The Democratic League demanded six seats and the Young China Party also asked for six seats. The Communist Party, though not saying plainly how many seats they desired, had a calculation in their mind. If the Communists and the Democratic League had at least fourteen seats in the State Council they would hold the veto power, because fourteen is more than one-third of the total forty seats. Besides this, the Communists would like to know beforehand who is to be the President of the Executive Yuan, so that they can consider whether they would be able to co-operate in the reorganized Government.

In the meantime the Kuomintang held the second plenary session of their political council, and they suggested all the nominees of the State Council should be appointed by the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang Political Council. That added more fire to the controversy. The other parties sharply replied that only the President of the Republic should be in a position to appoint Councillors and not the Kuomintang.

In addition to this argument the Communists objected that President Chiang-Kai-shek had not yet made good his pledge to the Political Consultative Council in January. One of President Chiang's pledges was "freedom of personal thought, religion, belief, speech, publication, assembly, association, residence, removal and correspondence shall be guaranteed to the people."

As the present Government had failed both to map out a fair distribution of the twenty seats among the parties and to carry out President Chiang's pledge, the Communists said they could not participate in the Coalition Government. Hence a deadlock exists in the reorganization of the Central Government.

Recently the Central Government have made some reshuffles. A new Ministry of National Defence has been set up to replace the Military Affairs Council, the War Ministry and the Army Headquarters. General Pei Chung-hsi is to become the first Minister of National Defence. The post of the Chief of Staff has also been transferred from General Ho Ying-chin to General Chen Cheng. The Ministry of National Economy and the Ministry of Communications also have new ministers. The Chinese people to a certain extent welcome these recent changes, especially in the case of the inauguration of the Ministry of National Defence to replace the triplicated structures of the Military Affairs Council, the War Ministry and the Army Headquarters. That may simplify the military system a bit, and that means less red tape and corruption, but apart from this the recent Government reshuffle is only of minor importance. The people are still looking for a democratic, capable and clean Central Government.

As we have seen, all this military and political strife is due mainly to the conflict of party interests.

As in England, the interests of major parties in China never agree. But that is not the undoing of party politics. On the contrary, freedom to disagree, and tolerance of opposition are two pillars of genuine democracy. However, the success or failure of this system lies in how the opposing sides settle their issues. In England, fortunately, opposing parties settle their issues by ballot (instead of bullet); in China and some other countries this maxim does not always apply.

The Chinese people know full well that a workable Parliament is the key to solve all this civil strife. Nine years ago the Central Government decided to inaugurate a National Assembly, or a Chinese Parliament. More than 900 representatives were appointed, but the Government later postponed the Assembly on account of the Japanese total aggression in 1937.

Last January, during the political Consultative Council, it was decided to open the National Assembly on May 5 with its work confined to the adoption of a draft Constitution. The membership of the Assembly was extended to 2,050. Besides regional and professional representatives, they included 700 delegates from all parties other than the Kuomintang. At that time the people of China generally welcomed this decision, but soon after the conclusion of the Consultative Council problems of controversy arose again. The first one was the allotment of these 700 seats among the Communists and other parties. It was stipulated that the adoption of a Constitution should be carried by three-fourths of the representatives present; therefore the Communist Party and the Democratic League were again looking for more than one-fourth of the total seats in the Assembly, so that they could hold veto power. Whilst argument was proceeding about this question of seats, the People's Political Council met in Chungking. Many members of the Council insisted that, as representatives of the people, they should also attend the National Assembly. The Central Government yielded to their demand, so more than 100 seats were added to the Assembly. In the meantime members of the Legislative Yuan and the Control Yuan also insisted on being representatives in the Assembly. Again the Government yielded to their demand, so that the membership of the National Assembly was increased to approximately 2,500. That was unprecedented in world history. Two thousand five hundred representatives in a Parliament! How could such a huge body get together and discuss national affairs in order? It was technically quite impossible. In addition to this difficulty the Communist Party declared they would not nominate their representatives to the National Assembly as long as the North-Eastern problem remained unsettled and President Chiang's pledge unfulfilled.

The Central Government could not inaugurate the National Assembly without the participation of the Communists, who were the second largest party in the country; consequently, on April 24 the Government announced the National Assembly would be postponed until a later date.

The fighting for the control of the North-Eastern Provinces, the failure to reorganize the Central Government on a democratic basis, and the indefinite postponement of the National Assembly all contribute to the deplorable situation in China today. After having heard these complicated problems you may perhaps ask one simple question: "Why should there be so many obstacles standing in China's way to unity and peace?"

Every Chinese citizen is also asking the same question. Many answers have been given by Communist critics, Government organs, foreign observers and other quarters. Perhaps you would like to hear what the Chinese people themselves think about it, hence I am presenting the people's views as they appear in the *Takungpao*, which is a non-party and independent newspaper published at Shanghai, Chungking and Tientsin for the interests of the Chinese people themselves.

In a recent editorial under the title "Politics, Parties and Personalities," the newspaper said, "Why is there such confusion on our way to Peace and Unity? It is most perplexing and incredible to us and all others who stand outside the arena of party interests. There must be certain reasons for it; there must be some forces driving them to this endless strife. From what we have seen, the corruption of political spirit and practice, the selfishness of party motives and the low standard of political personalities are some of the reactionary forces that lead to civil strife.

"Let us first take up the subject of political spirit and practice. Had all parties devoted themselves whole-heartedly to the public and the State, no matter what differences there might be in principles and policies, there would have been no great difficulty in reaching a compromise agreement. Parties would not need to rage at each other, and least of all resort to the sword. After all, the right or wrong of party principles and policies is finally judged objectively on facts by the people themselves. The winner of a fight may not be in the right. Frankly speaking, in the matter of political principles and policies there is not one who is 100 per cent. right, without any fault. Despite this simple truth, the people entangled in political rivalry in this country all have deep-rooted prejudices without a broadminded and unbiassed spirit. They contend for self-interest instead of national interests. Blinded by selfishness, they never see the views taken by the opposite side. They lack the sportsmanship of respecting one's rival. Because of this, we have been perplexed to see, in the last six months, only controversies and compromise, but no dignified platforms of principles presented by various parties for public judgment. The subject of their controversies has seldom been an issue of principles or policies but merely how to acquire self-interest and regional control. But they cannot blind the people's eyes to all these tendencies. The people themselves are well aware of it because they personally experience and feel all the good and evils of all the parties. Beautiful lies and ill-willed propaganda cannot for ever hide the true facts.

"Under such a political spirit and guidance the political rivals themselves have little to gain but much to lose, while the nation suffers endless calamities from them. We cannot but severely condemn this degenerate spirit and practice in the political world.

"Secondly, let us come to party politics. Again we cannot feel happy about them. The power of a party is used for putting their ideas into practice in order to lead the country and people to a position of prosperity and peace. The former is the means, while the latter is the ultimate aim. We cannot change them *vice versa*. However, because of poor practice in the past and foreign temptations, most of the parties in China unfortunately place their own interests above the interests of the State. Consequently what they contend for is their own interest and not that of the State.

"In the relationship between parties, there is strong antagonism and stubborn selfishness. There is nothing good in other parties, nothing bad in their own. This practice of giving others no respect is a source of unlimited suffering in our country. It multiplies numerous difficulties in the way of a political agreement. Many national

problems of fundamental importance thus receive no serious attention from the parties, while all controversies giving us headaches are mere issues between parties. For example, some of the most urgent problems awaiting decisions and treatment are the questions of demobilization, of famine, of the restoration of peace and order and of educational reforms. Despite the urgency of these, the parties only think of regional control, military strength, Government seats, Parliamentary seats, and how to seize power, how to hold tightly the power they have already gained, and how to stand in the way of their rivals. They turn aside from all the questions, for which solutions are eagerly awaited by their compatriots, who are plunged in deep water and tortured in the heat of fire. Because of the party controversies, national sufferings, famine, and destruction deteriorate from bad to worse. The party people argue over the number of seats with flushed faces. We wonder whether they argue for the election of the best people in the country as a whole, or merely for the interests of their own parties. They fight for regional control, but we want to know whether it is for national reconstruction or for national division. They scramble for military strength, and we wonder whether it is wanted to defend the country and protect the people, or merely to attack their opposing parties.

"We understand full well that without a party system it is difficult to gather together a country's wisdom and power for the sake of democracy, but we are afraid that such parties as we have today may ultimately become liabilities of democracy. Why should we have such a low standard of political spirit and practice and such an atmosphere of political struggle? Are not all the parties responsible for that?"

"Thirdly, let us come to political personalities. For many years the making of a political figure has been dependent on three conditions. Firstly, his relations with others; secondly, his political ability; and thirdly, his knowledge or learning. Character and moral standards have long been cast outside these conditions of selection. Thus there has been a system of selection in a reactionary direction, which leaves the way open to those people without principles and closed to those who have self-respect. There are some political figures in the country today who are gaining rapid promotion and prosperity, but we would venture to ask, are they really among the best people of the nation? They occupy important representative positions, but are they really representing us? Some of them hold important positions because of marriage ties. They represent the feudalistic evils of the past. Some of them sway the power of deciding the destinies of others with great pride. They represent the sin of officialdom of the past. When we view the situation as it is today we cannot but feel great sorrow for our country.

"For the sake of national salvation we eagerly hope all the parties concerned will come down to sincere and honest self-examination. We hope they will confess that they themselves also have been mistaken, and admit that even others may occasionally be right. We hope they will recognize party is merely a matter of means, and the interest of the State the only ultimate aim. The two cannot be reversed.

"In such a spirit of self-reflection there may come a genuine political compromise among all concerned. There may come political rivalry in the right way. Only then could our political spirit and practice undergo a real reform. Only then could our people, now on the verge of total destruction, be saved."

I think that *Takungpao* is not alone in what I have just quoted. I venture to state that the majority of the Chinese people do agree with it. Actually the paper simply reflects public opinion among the people. The Chinese people have no special love for, nor particular hatred against, any party. All they hope is simply for all parties to put their own interests, not before, but after, the national interest. The Chinese people have a very strong will for a united, peaceful country. This national desire is one of the main factors shaping the future of China. Many foreign observers of Chinese affairs pay much attention to civil strife and party politics, but little notice to the minds of the people. I see otherwise. The people's demand for a united and peaceful China will, in the long run, emerge as the primary force in deciding the outcome of their present trials. Some people would ask, "What does the people's desire matter in the face of all these obstacles?"

To this question I would like to present as a reply the almost incredible story of China's resistance against Japanese aggression. In 1937 Tokyo announced that Japan

would conquer China in three months. Most foreign observers at that time didn't think Japan was bluffing. But the Chinese people themselves decided doggedly to stand against Japanese conquest. The people's will-power for national independence was our secret weapon that finally shattered the Japanese sinister design.

Today the Chinese people's will-power is still at work. This time it is for peace and unity. I have no doubt that this national desire will ultimately guide China out of her present chaos.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE CERAMIC ART OF CHINA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE FAR EAST. By William Bowyer Honey. (Faber.) 63s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR FRANCIS ROSE)

For many years all lovers of Chinese art have waited for an illustrated book which would give a full survey of the ceramic art of China, and which would not be a vast and expensive tome. Mr. Honey, in his *Ceramic Art of China and Other Countries of the Far East* (Faber, 63s.) has attempted to produce such a work, and in many ways his book is admirable, although not entirely successful as it falls between two stools, being neither for beginners nor for the experienced collector.

The plates which form a great part of the book are well chosen and give a very complete idea of the subject, considering that most of the specimens are taken from British museums and private collections. This arrangement has the advantage that the originals are accessible to students. Unfortunately, and this is not the fault of the author or publisher, but of modern conditions of printing, only three of the plates are in colour. Perhaps it is on this point that the book falls down for beginners, as the plates are only guides to styles; only the true collector could understand the value and quality of texture of the pieces illustrated.

The collector will find Mr. Honey inclined to make sweeping statements which are not sufficiently amplified. His reasons for occasionally disagreeing with Hobson are not adequately justified. Even if Hobson is wrong, Mr. Honey's arguments do not seem to me to be of great importance.

This book, however, is a very useful and handsomely produced work; its scholarship and value must not be minimized. In the Preface Mr. Honey gives an excellent analysis of the different types of Chinese taste and of the Chinese outlook on ceramics. The text is never dull, and the subject is sensibly treated chronologically. The references to Tang and Sing glazes should be very helpful to any collector. One feels that Mr. Honey's deep appreciation of the beauty of form and quality of the Chinese wares of the best periods is very genuine: one might almost say he has the "Chinese eye."

Perhaps the most important and interesting part of Mr. Honey's book is the sections comparing Korean, Indo-Chinese and Japanese wares with the parent wares of China. His section on Japan has been awaited by students far too long. So little is known in this country of the wares in true Japanese taste. As Mr. Honey points out, the ceramics of Japan have usually been associated in the Western mind with the abominable "brocaded Satsuma" porcelain of the nineteenth century, made for export, which was really the result of sharp observation on the part of the Japanese of Western vulgarity.

In the section on Indo-China, too little is said of the exceedingly interesting wares excavated at Than Hoa, the old capital of Annam. Mr. Honey only refers to the brownish celadons, and not to the earlier glazed potteries in the form of figures and foliage—a ware which is entitled to a chapter of its own.

The Appendices are another feature of the book which makes it a valuable possession; and the Bibliography, especially of Chinese books, is of the utmost useful-

ness. It is on account of its arrangement and the valuable data it contains that Mr. Honey's work can be called admirable. But so great a subject needs a far longer and deeper analysis than I can make here. Notwithstanding its weak points, Mr. Honey's volume should be received with gratitude by all students of Chinese art.

GIVE BACK MY RIVERS AND HILLS. By I. Feng. Translated from the Chinese by Innes Jackson. (Macmillan.) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR FRANCIS ROSE)

"Looking into the past" is an old Chinese custom, but I. Feng in his book *Give Back My Rivers and Hills* did not intend this to happen. He was writing about the present; it was only by that fate which seems to follow China, the time it took to translate the book into English, the long voyage of the manuscript, and the delays in issue, that have made it possible for us to step back in this book to the first days of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The author, too, has vanished, for we are told in the Preface that he was last heard of several years ago when he joined the guerillas. However, when we read the pages of this little book he is vividly present; we learn to like him, and when we reach the last page we sigh that it is time to say good-bye, so good, a friend he has become.

Give Back My Rivers and Hills is full of the silent loving spirit of Chinese poetry. Amidst the sordidness and horrors of war the Chinese love for trees and streams and the scenery of mountains is predominant. Although patriotic clichés fill the pages they have none of that breath of destructive Western element which perturbs modern China. There is more than just touching naïveté in this book, and it leaves one wondering whether perhaps it is that same sob for the peace of true culture and learning which made the great Chinese artists of the past the victors over soldiers, tyrants and dictatorial Governments.

This book is the story of a road, the tribulations of a journey, taking I. Feng far from his family and his loved one; he has almost forgotten the ancestral tomb, yet he is never failing in his respects for longevity, and one can truly call him a son of filial piety. No lover of China, old or new, should fail to read this little book, which is admirably translated by Innes Jackson.

However, whoever cares for the beauty of pictures should beware, and firmly close his eyes when he comes to the illustrations. These blemishes on the good white paper are by misguided Chinese students of Eastern European art, if such it can be called.

It will be a sad day for the almost divine Chinese school of painting if Soviet influence succeeds in importing its renaissance of Prussian Bismarckian art of the eighteen-seventies into China.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1946

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE WORK OF THE CABINET MISSION TO INDIA

BY THE RT. HON. L. S. AMERY, C.H.

At a meeting of the Association held at the Royal Society of Arts House, John Adam Street, W.C. 2, on Monday, June 24, 1946, the Right Hon. L. S. Amery gave an address on "The Work of the Cabinet Mission." The President of the Association, Major-General the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK SYKES, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., took the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was a great pleasure to welcome Mr. Amery because there was no one more qualified to speak on the very complex subject of India. Mr. Amery had been helping towards getting the two countries into the present position in which an endeavour was being made to bring into being a really thought-out Government of India which would meet the views of the population of India. Although India had had many distinguished Secretaries of State, no one had left his mark more firmly on the India Office than Mr. Amery. He held office during the most difficult period brought about by the second world war; he had to cope with the situation which arose from the failure to implement the Federal part of the 1935 Act, and he had to face a second and even more bitter disappointment when Congress refused the Cripps offer, surely the most generous offer a great Power had ever made. After the rejection of the offer Mr. Churchill, then Prime Minister of the Coalition, stated that the offer still stood in its full scope and integrity. It was Mr. Amery who worked so diligently towards that position.

All had watched with the greatest interest the gallant efforts of the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission in India to find a solution of the quarrel between Hindu and Muslim, a quarrel which had its roots deep in history, and which could not be solved by Anglo-Saxon effort. Lord Morley said that majority rule could only be successful when all were equal under it. This was the puzzle to which as yet no key had been found in India. In spite of all these difficulties Mr. Amery had never been deflected from his purpose; he had done his utmost to arrive at a solution satisfactory to all concerned.

The Right Hon. L. S. AMERY: When I accepted Sir Frank Brown's invitation to come here today I did so in the confident belief, which I think most of us shared, that one way or another the negotiations undertaken by the Cabinet Mission would have come to their conclusion. That is not the case. The latest telegrams suggest that there is still perhaps a possibility of agreement, and we all earnestly hope that that is the case.

In those circumstances it would, I think, be very unwise for anyone, most of all a former Secretary of State, to say anything in the way of criticism of any of the parties to the negotiations. If sometimes we may be inclined to think that Indian political leaders are not as ready to compromise, as ready to overlook what seem to us minor differences in comparison with the great goal of Indian freedom and Indian unity, we must remember, as your Chairman has just said, that the roots

of their differences go back very deep in history. After all, if one looks at Europe today the difficulty of coming to an agreement on terms of peace, on issues that must look rather small when viewed from Delhi, we had better be careful about forming any clear-cut or unfriendly judgments.

DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY

Under those conditions I think the best thing that I could perhaps do would be to trace the development of policy which has led up to the present Cabinet Mission and to analyse the factors which stand out in the problem of India's advance to complete freedom. When I went to the India Office just over six years ago it was very soon evident to me that the Act of 1935 had broken down, and in certain aspects at any rate had broken down irrevocably. I say that not in any criticism of what I still believe to have been a great and statesmanlike legislative enactment, the results of years of discussion and consideration. I doubt if purely on merits the division of functions between the centre and the Provinces could have been better devised. The weakness of the scheme lay in the assumption, natural to Parliament here and also at that time to the leaders of political thought in India, that our peculiar British method of so-called responsible Parliamentary government could fit Indian conditions, more particularly at the centre. The essence of our form of government really is that the electorate decides between two alternative forms of government, differing sufficiently to make politics alive and yet sufficiently in fundamental agreement on the main issues of national life to appeal to a homogeneous electorate of which a large element can be swayed to one side or the other according to the circumstances of the times and the strength of the arguments addressed to it. Those conditions exist in very few countries. The attempt to carry out the British system has broken down in almost every other European country, with the exception of Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries. It is unsuitable in any country where there are profound differences of religion, political life or political ideology. Anyhow, that breakdown convinced me at a very early stage of my study of the question from the inside of the India Office that whatever India's future Constitution was to be it must be settled by Indians for themselves. Also it did not seem to me that India was any longer prepared to accept a Constitution imposed from the outside, and in the absence of acceptance no Constitution would work for more than a mere fraction of time. There is no Constitution in the world that is workable if people are determined to see that it does not work, and any Constitution imposed on India by Parliament against the general feeling of political India is bound to break down. Nor do I believe myself that Parliament here, which is so strongly predisposed in favour of our own type of government, would be capable of framing a Constitution really suited to Indian conditions.

From the early summer of 1940, therefore, I was convinced that one of the first things we should make clear was that the future Constitution of India must be framed by Indians for themselves. A natural consequence of that was that it could not be framed by a pure majority vote, but had to take account of great elements in the population, not altogether accurately described as minorities any more than small nations of Europe can be called minorities, which have historical backgrounds of their own. That was the first conclusion to which I came. But it was only part of the problem as I saw it.

THREE ASPECTS

It seemed to me that the problem of what India wants and needs in order to be free resolves itself into three aspects closely related, but yet worth while separating from the point of view of any study of the subject. One is the natural desire of Indians for a Constitution of a democratic character, using that word in the very widest sense of the term—namely, a Constitution based, broadly speaking, on the consent of the whole community as typified and embodied in constitutional and elective bodies. That was the most difficult aspect of the whole problem, and the one which I felt it was least possible to solve by imposition from this end. Another aspect was the natural desire of Indians that the government of their country, the

actual administration whatever the Constitution, should be in the hands of Indians and no longer of Englishmen. Thirdly, and again a somewhat different aspect of the question, the very natural resentment of Indians, proud of the ancient history of their country, proud of its present organization and capacity to influence the affairs of the world, that India should, in the eyes of the world, be rated in some senses a subordinate country whose affairs were normally, as supposed by the world outside, governed by Whitehall and to be at the mercy of political fluctuations in this country.

From the point of view of what was advisable and urgent at that early stage of the war, it seemed to me that the best line of approach lay in the direction of strengthening the hands of Indians in the government of their own country. At the same time I felt that that would be much easier, that the political leaders of India would be more ready to go into the government of their country if it was made clear to them that the full independence they wanted was assured, even to the extent of leaving the British Commonwealth if they wished; and it was also made clear that the framing of their permanent Constitution would have to be by agreement and not imposed by a majority rule against a minority. The proposals also indicated that if any Province disliked the Constitution framed by the others it could stand out. The whole object of that provision was not to divide India, but to make it quite clear that the majority could only secure a Constitution for the whole of India if it were prepared to come to some compromise with the minority which would be regarded as at any rate tolerable. The whole principle of a partnership is that the door is open while you discuss the conditions of partnership. If you are told the moment you go in that the door is shut and you have to accept the conclusions which a majority of the would-be partners decide, you do not enter at all. No Constitutional body could have met unless it was clear that the door was open for those Provinces which were not prepared to come if they did not like the Constitution. In any case the proposals put by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the Government here as to the constituent body were purely suggestions, although they seem to have been taken as if they were conditions we imposed. They were merely one method of approach. They were thought convenient, but it was always open for Indian political leaders to meet together in any way they preferred in order to make the first approach to the problem of the future.

THE 1942 OFFER

In the absence of any response to an invitation to go into an interim Government, the next step was what is usually known as the Cripps proposals. Those proposals did, in fact, give everything that could be given. That is, they made it perfectly clear that India was free to choose to stay in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and emphasized that the Constitution would have to be by agreement and not imposed by a majority rule against a minority. The proposals also indicated that if any Province disliked the Constitution framed by the others it could stand out. The whole object of that provision was not to divide India, but to make it quite clear that the majority could only secure a Constitution for the whole of India if it were prepared to come to some compromise with the minority which would be regarded as at any rate tolerable. The whole principle of a partnership is that the door is open while you discuss the conditions of partnership. If you are told the moment you go in that the door is shut and you have to accept the conclusions which a majority of the would-be partners decide, you do not enter at all. No Constitutional body could have met unless it was clear that the door was open for those Provinces which were not prepared to come if they did not like the Constitution. In any case the proposals put by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the Government here as to the constituent body were purely suggestions, although they seem to have been taken as if they were conditions we imposed. They were merely one method of approach. They were thought convenient, but it was always open for Indian political leaders to meet together in any way they preferred in order to make the first approach to the problem of the future.

So far as my own view of the problem is concerned, the important thing was not the Constituent Assembly or the future Constitution, but the creation of an interim executive in which the political leaders should take part. I was convinced that it was only in the give and take of working together with the real administrative problems of India that her political leaders would develop the frame of mind which would make a constitutional settlement possible. From beginning to end the important thing is that India's political leaders should be confronted with the actual problems of administration and realize the responsibilities of government.

During the war it was obviously not possible to go very far in the direction of what I call the third aspect, the emphasizing of India's independence of Whitehall. But I will say that throughout my years at the India Office I made it a practice to deal with the Government of India as I had formerly dealt with Dominion Governments, and there was no single instance of orders from myself or the Cabinet to overrule a decision passed by a majority of the Viceroy's Council.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

That brings me to the next stage. When the rejection of the proposals conveyed by Sir Stafford Cripps was evident I saw no reason for not continuing, although that particular line of approach was abandoned. Lord Linlithgow agreed with me in thinking that the Executive Council should include the most responsible and experienced Indian public men who would be willing to serve and who, however strong as Indian Nationalists, also believed that it was in the interests of India that they should serve her in public office. The number of Indian members of the Council was increased, until, to four Europeans, there were eleven unofficial Indian members. That made no difference to the actual letter of the Constitution. But in fact it was a profound change. The Constitution of India carries on the old Constitution under the East India Company under which normally the Viceroy has to follow the decision of the majority of his council, though he has latent powers in an emergency to decide against the views of the majority, subject to the veto of the Secretary of State.

That was one thing when the majority consisted almost entirely of officials. It was quite another thing when the majority became Indian and almost entirely an unofficial majority. From that time the relations of the Government of India with Whitehall have undergone a profound change, and it is only due to the gentlemen who during recent years have undertaken the responsibility of Indian government to recognize the great services they have rendered to India. The responsibility of a man like Sir Jwala Srivastava in dealing with terrible problems of famine are responsibilities for which his fellow-countrymen without regard to party politics should be grateful. Others have rendered high service. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar held the reputation of India very high outside India during these years. I am glad to see Sir Zafrullah Khan here today; he has played an outstanding part in the government of India. India has been governed by Indians, although not by Indian political leaders.

After Lord Wavell had been in India a few months he was profoundly convinced, and I shared his conviction, that it would be a great step in advance if the political leaders in India were ready to go into the executive, and, as you know, a year ago at Simla proposals were made that very nearly came off. Again, I am not going to blame anyone for their breakdown. Lord Wavell, with characteristic generosity, at the end of the negotiations said that he was prepared to take the blame on himself. But the breakdown did reveal some of the essential difficulties of the problem. I will only remind you that under these proposals every executive office, including foreign affairs, was to go into the hands of Indian political leaders, the only exception being that during the war the Commander-in-Chief should remain an actual member of the Executive.

I had hoped at that stage, when the end of the war was approaching, to be able to do something that would definitely mark an advance on what I call the third aspect of the Indian question—namely, the clear independence of the Government of India under its existing Constitution from Whitehall control. It would, of course, have followed in one sense almost inevitably from the mere facts that the new Executive would have consisted of Indian political leaders and that the reserve powers of the Viceroy would really only be required as a reminder that the future Constitution was still unsettled and that it was not for the Executive to prejudice the future constitutional settlement. Indeed, one of the main suggestions was that the parity between Hindu and Muslim within the executive would make it very much less likely that proposals could be brought forward of such a character as to necessitate the Viceroy's interference in the interests of the future Constitution.

A HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BRITAIN

More than that, one of the features of those proposals on which I myself laid great stress—and I confess I am a little puzzled why it has not been carried out as I hoped it would be—was the appointment in India, as in the Dominions, of a High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, in order to make it quite clear that the

interests of the United Kingdom would be best represented not through the Viceroy but through such an appointment. The High Commissioner's loyalty would be to the Government which sent him out, the Viceroy's loyalty would be confined to his duty as the representative of the Crown in India and his powers, such as they are, would be used simply and solely in the interests of India and for the stability of the constitutional position pending the creation of the permanent Constitution framed by Indians for themselves. My own view (there is no harm in my saying so) was that if the High Commissioner was appointed he would represent the Government not only on economic matters and promote British trade in India and so on, but become a recognized channel for the communication of our views on common problems of Commonwealth defence and Commonwealth policy. However, the negotiations broke down.

EFFORTS OF THE MISSION

The present Government is anxious to show that it is wholeheartedly in favour of the early fulfilment of the policies of its predecessor, and sent out Sir Stafford Cripps, my successor Lord Pethick-Lawrence, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, to try to solve the problem. I think the Government was perfectly right in sending out so strong a delegation to India. The task of the Mission was not to press any new constitutional settlement, or even to suggest it. Their task was to try, by the influence of the sincerity of their purpose, to bring the Indian parties together and, at any rate, to suggest a line of approach to a constitutional settlement, and on the strength of agreement on that line of approach to bring about the formation of an interim Government.

They carried on their efforts for some weeks, but they failed to bring about complete agreement, so they took their courage in their hands and indicated their own line of approach. In doing so it was impossible for them to avoid altogether the issue of whether India was to be one or was to be divided because, clearly, if they had definitely said, "We are in favour of Pakistan as demanded by Mr. Jinnah" it would have been the end of any constitutional discussion with Congress and would certainly have excluded the possibility of the formation of an interim Government. Similarly, if they declared themselves out for the federal unity of India without qualification, that would equally have eliminated Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League because they would have refused to participate either in a constitutional settlement or in an interim Government.

Therefore something had to be devised which would come as nearly as possible to meeting the desires and practical demands of both sides. Their basis for agreement was the unity of India confined to the narrowest possible limits—namely, defence, foreign policy and the necessary finance for those purposes. Not even customs were included, and all those other powers which under the Act of 1935 are central powers would primarily devolve on the Provinces. It was suggested, however, they should be exercised by groups of Provinces, and if these proposals were adopted India would have got very near to practical Pakistan, owing to the fact that the Provinces which wished for Pakistan would be able collectively to frame their own policy and, indeed, to decide on everything other than foreign policy and defence. The exact means by which the money should be found was left open; the object was not to suggest a Constitution but to bring people sufficiently together to make them willing to enter the same Government.

I will give an illustration of how near they were brought together. The Austro-Hungarian union lasted for a space of nearly fifty years on the basis of two theoretically independent monarchies, the Austrian federal empire and the Hungarian kingdom, but it was agreed that foreign policy and the first-line defence services and customs should be one. There were regular meetings—I think twice a year—of parliamentary delegations from the two parts of the double monarchy. I will put it this way: if complete Pakistan had been granted outright, if it had been politically possible to do so, then, owing to the conditions of the world round India, and the problems of defence and foreign policy, there would have had to be something in the nature of that Austro-Hungarian dual Constitution. Between that and what is

recommended by the Cabinet Mission, or what could arise from the suggestions of the Cabinet Mission, there is very slight difference; indeed, the difference is much more one of form than of actual reality.

On the strength of these proposals the Mission have hoped, and earnestly hoped, that both the major parties would be willing to go into a Government. When further difficulties arose for the nomination of members, and so on, Lord Wavell very rightly took his courage in his hands and announced the names of those whom he wished to invite. These names included, in the main, those whom both parties would have wished to nominate themselves. He also indicated that if there were individuals they were not prepared to accept he would not invite them, and also men whom their party wished to nominate he would be willing to accept them. I do not see how he could have gone any further in meeting the wishes of the parties. I can only hope that the last-minute telegrams which suggest that on those lines some further modification may be arrived at mean that there is still some hope of a settlement.

NO GOING BACK

If there is not a settlement then undoubtedly the Viceroy must go on and compose his Government as best he can with those elements which he feels can give him the greatest amount of support in India. After all, we are not going back; we still mean to go forward with this policy to which we have committed ourselves. If we have failed all we can do is to persevere and for Lord Wavell to make as good a Government as he can, and for the British Government here to make it as clear as they can that they rely confidently on that Government and recognize that Government as entitled to deal with Indian affairs and to make it clear that it is not a Government under Whitehall dictation—the more clear that is made the better.

I hope what I have said may not embarrass or add to the great difficulties with which the Cabinet Mission have struggled so patiently and determinedly during these sultry weeks in Delhi, but I hope I may have made clear to you how the policy of today has evolved over recent years, and how strongly I for my part still feel that the key to the whole position is that Indian leaders should come into the Indian Government and in that Government to realize their responsibility for India, and also realize how mistaken is the common impression that India is governed from Whitehall.

DISCUSSION

The CHAIRMAN said that an extraordinarily lucid account of the various factors leading up to the present situation had been given, and it was sincerely hoped, not only in the Association but by members of all political parties throughout the country, that a settlement would be reached. He would add his tribute to the Indian gentlemen who had carried out such a responsible task during the interim period, and he also welcomed the presence of one of them, Sir Zafrullah Khan, at the meeting.

Mr. P. J. GRIFFITHS (Member, Central Legislative Assembly) spoke with diffidence in the presence of a distinguished former Secretary of State and a number of former members of the Viceroy's Council and others whose record and position entitled them to speak with greater authority than his own. He had, however, just returned from India and had taken some part in the conversations with the Cabinet Mission and also the European group, of which he was leader, had consistently for the last three years given the fullest support to the endeavours of H.M. Government to lead India along the path of self-government. The group still gave that support. Those in Delhi were convinced that there was no future for India except along the lines of complete and unqualified self-government.

To appraise the work of the Cabinet Mission three factors had to be borne in mind. First, the intractable nature of the problem itself—that is, that two great political parties which started from entirely opposite angles had to be brought

together in a solution acceptable to both at a time when tempers were such that emotional rather than rational considerations governed the position. The second difficulty was that the Cabinet Mission came into the picture thirty years late at a time when, in his own view, India had been led along a false path—the path to parliamentary forms of government. Right from the beginning two separate questions had been confused: the question of self-government and the question of parliamentary government. When we started India on a path towards parliamentary government an ultimate issue was the demand for Pakistan. The Cabinet Mission had to face this problem at a time when they could not stop to look for a leisurely solution; a solution had to be found quickly because it was realized that the situation in India before the visit was explosive. The Cabinet Mission had to find a quick settlement which would be accepted by the groups holding apparently irreconcilable views. The dominant thought in mind should be gratitude, for the Mission had come as near to a solution as it was humanly possible for them to come, and if he seemed to speak critically he would like it to be qualified by the remark that this country and India alike owed a very deep debt of gratitude to the three Ministers.

There were four or five points with regard to which criticism might be levelled against the plan which had been produced. The first was that there was considerable room for doubt whether the proposed division of functions between the Union Government and the Governments of the Provinces or groups was workable. Was it practicable under the circumstances of modern war? In days of total war could defence be allotted to the Centre and all the subsidiary things on which defence depended and which were so intertwined with defence be allotted to the Provinces? In foreign affairs could one, in practice, distinguish between foreign affairs and commerce? What would happen when India wished to enter into commercial treaties? The Centre would be the body to do the diplomatic talks, but the conditions under which commerce was carried on would be under the control of the Provincial Governments. In his knowledge of federal Constitutions there was hardly one which proposed to allot so little to the Centre as had been allotted in the Cabinet plan. There was, moreover, a vast difference between federations in which the component parts wished to be federated; in India one of the parties did not wish to be federated at all. Artificial division of function would work only if everybody wanted the Federation itself. There was therefore a good deal of room for doubt as to whether federation would work.

The second point was that so far no protection worth mentioning had been laid down for minorities. It was said that matters affecting communal issues must receive the consent of 50 per cent. of the major communities; this might bar any satisfactory clauses for the treatment of minorities. A majority could veto protection which minorities felt to be necessary. Up to now there was nothing in the plan which gave any kind of guarantee that adequate protection of small minorities would be a condition of going ahead with the scheme.

Thirdly, there was a complete failure to do anything for the protection of the Princes. It had been stated that when we ceased to rule British India we should cease to have anything to do with the Princes, and Britain was therefore open to the accusation that she was leaving the Princes high and dry.

Another point of criticism was that the scheme was too complicated to work. He doubted whether any kind of three-tier system of government, with its centre, groups and provinces, could be worked. This might, however, not arise, because it might be that the group aspect or provincial aspect might disappear.

There were some who would say—he did not associate himself with their view—that this solution found by the Cabinet Mission was a purely temporary one, that it was something to gain breathing space, because it did not recognize the inevitability of Pakistan. The European Group regarded that as a question to be settled by Indians and not by the British, and the speaker was not prepared to express any view either for or against Pakistan.

These were the points against the plan, but there were three or four things to be said for it. The first was that for the first time in history the Indian people were convinced that Britain was sincere in her determination to give India self-government, a belief which did not exist until the Cabinet Mission went to India. A second

matter to be borne in mind was that when the Cabinet Mission went to India, India was, in view of many competent observers, in a very explosive state. The emotional stresses and strains were so great that nothing short of a determined effort to find a settlement could have allayed the excitement. The Cabinet Mission had postponed a crisis; he did not know whether the danger was averted. Thirdly, the Mission had succeeded in doing something which might have seemed impossible. It had devised some compromise between the demands of both sides, and he would pay a great tribute to the three men who had been able to find a means of compromise between two parties whose points of view seemed so completely opposed.

It was easy to criticize the Cabinet Mission, and under some aspects he disliked their plan intensely, but what else could they have done? If this plan was wrong, what could they have done instead? They had made the best of a bad job; they had come the nearest possible to framing a scheme of compromise and had put forward something which should be acceptable. If it was not acceptable the fault would lie not in the efforts of the Cabinet Mission but in the intransigence of the parties themselves. That was the only test to be applied, and judged from that standpoint he had no hesitation in saying that the Mission had done its job well, whether the result was success or failure, and had earned the gratitude of all parties both in this country and in India.

Mr. S. SADANAND (Editor, *Free Press Journal*, delegate to Empire Press Conference) said that as a guest he owed the Association some obligations, and he could not discharge them better than by plain speaking, not in a spirit of controversy, but in the spirit of one who was anxious to be a partner, but at the same time found himself compelled to be on the opposite side. The British were always baffled by India, and he represented the baffling aspect. He had great regard and admiration for the people of Britain. This was his third visit to this country; he was here in 1931 during the economic crisis; again in 1942, when he moved in the streets of London he admired the courage, the stubbornness, the unwillingness to complain of the common people. What had happened during the war, and what he had seen on this present visit, had confirmed his admiration.

At the same time he was one of those unreasonable people who thought that, as far as India was concerned, the British did not always fulfil their promises, and then felt aggrieved that the people of India were so unreasonable that they would not allow the right thing to be done by them. The Indian people had a culture and tradition of their own, and it was not true that they were always living at war with other communities and different religions and people speaking different languages. India had known peace for a long time, and he was unable to understand the reference to the historical background explaining the difficulties which confronted British statesmen in regard to India. To his mind the Indian problem would be solved if the British applied to India the principles which they applied in their own country. Mr. Amery said that he discovered that the 1935 Act had broken down. In the speaker's view the Act broke down not because it tried to introduce the British parliamentary system but because it failed to do so. If the principles applied in this country were applied to India he was confident that there would not be any difficulties whatever.

Coming to the Cabinet plan, he would point out that the main object was to let the people of India choose for themselves and Britain, quite reluctantly, but in deference to their principles, was prepared to allow India to break away from the Empire if she chose. If that could be the attitude it should not be difficult for Britain to let the people of India choose, but the Cabinet Mission, in trying to set up the machinery to let the people of India choose, had chosen a plan for India. Within the framework of the plan India would have an election in order to settle the details—something quite different from what the Mission set out to do. He would point out that it was not difficult for the people of India to choose the form of government, but they must be prepared to allow them to choose wrongly, and even if it led to chaos. That freedom was given to Greece and Italy, but in both the people made a decision which some found it difficult to understand. If Britain would trust India to choose, and even choose wrongly, it would be found that the

people of India would choose rightly, but if they were allowed only to choose the details, Britain playing the guardian role, it might be that in spite of India's anxiety not to break away she would do so and the calamity would be brought about which they were anxious to avoid. "Trust India and let her make her choice."

The Hon. Sir ZAFRULLAH KHAN said that, as then a member of the Viceroy's Executive, he was to some extent a witness of the efforts which Mr. Amery briefly described in his opening remarks, and could endorse the facts which he stated which were within his own knowledge, and he would accept all the other facts which Mr. Amery had mentioned; but nevertheless during the years to which he was referring the impression left on his own mind had been that India was being governed from Whitehall. He agreed that the Secretary of State did not either tell the Viceroy or suggest to him that he should overrule his Council, but the reminder was always there, that if the Council took an extreme view on any matter, thinking it was in the interests of India, it could be overruled, and that made a lot of difference. There were a good many matters that could have been pushed forward. He did not blame Mr. Amery or His Majesty's Government that during the difficult war years they did not do so, but he would draw attention to one visible proof which might have been given of the undoubted desire that had existed in His Majesty's Government's mind for self-government for India, and that would have been the strengthening of the High Commissioner's position in London as representative of the Government of India, performing all the functions performed by the High Commissioners of the Dominions, functions which at present were performed by the India Office. That was something which could have been done.

With regard to the Cabinet Mission, he would associate himself with all that had been said by Mr. Amery and previous speakers as to the tribute to be paid to the Mission by all in London and India. Those who had accepted the duty of forming the Mission had shown a high degree of courage and sense of responsibility. It was also an act of great physical courage on the part of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, who at a fairly advanced age undertook the journey to Delhi at the time of year when most people were afraid to face the climate. The Mission had achieved a great deal; it was easy to criticize, but they had carried this extremely complex and difficult matter very much further and brought it almost to the threshold of success which most people had despaired of seeing. He hoped that agreement might soon be reached. It was easy to say that the Mission should not have done this or that, but it was difficult to suggest what the something else was that they should have done. They were faced with a constitutional problem the complexity and magnitude of which had not been matched previously in history, and that must be realized when judging their work.

He would give one or two instances of what had been achieved. When the Mission arrived in India there was a sharp division between the two principal communities, or two nations, as they were described in some quarters. One wanted a unitary or federal India, the other would not even go into consultation with anybody who proposed anything but a division of India. The Mission succeeded in getting the protagonists of these two irreconcilable points of view together, and in bringing the two conflicting points of view very near to one another. The Mission secured the assent of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League to go into the constituent assembly on the basis that the Mission eventually put forward, which included a common centre for India.

It had been said that the proposed centre would be weak, limited and ineffective, but the choice lay between a centre of that kind and no centre at all. The Mission had to adopt the only alternative left open to it. But the centre was not so small or so impractical as was generally supposed. It would comprise defence, external affairs and communications, but "communications" included railways, civil aviation, post office, telegraphs, telephones, broadcasting, at least to some extent, and there was still the question of providing finance for those departments. Communications provided their own finance, but money had to be found for defence. He felt that the States would not agree to direct taxation of any kind until all sources of indirect taxation had been exhausted, and this meant that customs would be the first source

to be considered. He thought the Muslim League would find it difficult to suggest any practical alternative. Similar considerations applied to currency. Thus defence, external affairs, communications, customs and currency would be dealt with at the centre.

In this respect the scheme was a great improvement on the 1935 Act, which visualized that there would be a large number of subjects administered by the centre on behalf of British India and a comparatively small list for the rest of India. The present suggestions eliminated that anomaly. The States and the Provinces would now have a uniform list of common subjects.

It was true that in a time of emergency much more had to be done for defence than these subjects included, but that was an anomaly which existed in almost every federal Constitution. When the emergency arose he had no doubt that means would be found to deal with it.

He agreed with Mr. Griffiths that in the end it would probably be found that within each group it would either be the Provinces dealing with all the residuary matters or the group dealing with the whole of the Provincial matters. On the surface it looked as though the suggestion of group Constitutions in between the centre and the Provinces was a concession to Pakistan sentiment; perhaps it was. The Mission might have been impelled to put in this provision, so that the Pakistan Provinces could have some means of getting together. But it must not be forgotten that Congress also had suggested that the centre should exercise two categories of powers—powers common to the whole of India, and powers common to certain Provinces who might place those powers in the centre. This could now be done through the group Constitutions. But the groups would be voluntary; it was not necessary that a Province should remain in a group if it did not want it.

With regard to Mr. Sadanand's criticism, the present speaker held no brief for Britain, but he did agree with Mr. Griffiths that for the first time in the history of the relationship of India and Britain it was recognized in India very generally that the efforts of the Mission proved that Great Britain was sincerely eager to transfer full political power to Indian hands. Mr. Sadanand's definition of the people of India seemed to be a majority obtained by the mere counting of heads. On that basis it might be said that the people of India had not been allowed to choose their own form of Constitution; but that ignored the Muslims. The Mission had not made their own proposals obligatory, they had not said the Constitution must have this; the constituent assembly could by a bare majority vote decide anything that it chose, it could even reject or modify the policy set forward in the proposals, but to modify or reject the proposals not only must there be a majority but a majority of the representatives of each community. Once that was obtained they could change anything, so that particular criticism was rather unfair.

SIR WILLIAM BARTON pointed out that little had been said about the Indian States, and unless a reasonable proposal was put forward which the States could accept there would not be any real unity in India. Although there were hundreds of small States, about twenty or thirty shared between them the greater part of the Princely territories, their resources and population; in those States the administration was carried on on very much the same lines as in British India. At the same time considerable progress had been made in popular reform, so much so that in some of the States there was a close approach to popular government.

All realized how much this country owed to the States for their loyalty in two great wars, especially the last. The more important States had treaties with the Crown which pledged the Crown to ensure their protection both internal and external, and in return for that pledge most of these States had ceded very extensive territories to meet the cost of maintaining troops within them. All the States, small and great, were covered by the British protectorate, and in return they were all expected and all did contribute to the defence of India when the occasion arose. The Crown had utilized its predominant military position in India to impose on the States its defence policy. That policy had taken the shape of limiting armaments. The States were not allowed to manufacture their own munitions; their forces were reduced to a minimum. They were not allowed to have modern artillery or equip-

ment. Because communications were an essential element in strategy the States had been expected to allow railways to pass through their territory, to provide land and to cede jurisdiction on the lines. They had been expected to conform to British policy in matters such as the salt tax, opium, customs, and so on.

The Indian Congress and the intellectual Leftists of this country were never tired of accusing the States of standing in the way of Indian progress, unity and self-government; that was not a fair indictment. Many would remember that at the time of the Round-Table Conference the States went out of their way to propose a federation and expressed their readiness to enter it. They would have done so if the Indian Congress had not shown such obvious hostility that the Princes felt that once Congress had the power it would do its best to eliminate them; they had no intention of being extinguished by a caste Hindu bourgeoisie. They demanded further safeguards; the matter was not settled when war broke out.

It was not clear what the position of the States would have been if the Cripps offer had been accepted. They were told that if they liked to stand outside the Indian Union they could do so, but they would have to make separate treaties with political India. What that would have meant he did not know.

With regard to the proceedings of the Cabinet Mission, some little time ago the Princes were nervous of what might happen when the new Constitution was framed, and they obtained an assurance from the Viceroy that the Crown had no intention of altering its relationships with the States, except with their consent. What was the present position? The Cabinet Mission had told the States that in a completely self-governing India the pledges of paramountcy could no longer be carried out; it would disappear. It was said that paramountcy would not be transferred to a successor Government, which meant that the rights which flowed to the Princes from their relationship to the Crown would cease to exist. On the other hand, the rights which the States had ceded to paramountcy would be returned to them. It looked very much as if the assurances of the Viceroy had been forgotten, and that there had been a unilateral decision by the Crown to renounce its pledges to the States. One would like to know what those rights were which might be returned to the States. Were they to be allowed to rearm; were they to receive a share of the railway, post office, customs and tariffs revenue? He thought it was very unlikely. There was no doubt at all that paramountcy and the exercise of paramountcy had put the States in a very difficult position *quâ* political India.

Was there any chance of a return of ceded territories? In 1932, when the Round-Table Conference was still sitting, it occurred to the British Government that States which had ceded territory in return for specific military guarantees might not require those guarantees; a mission was accordingly sent to India to assess compensation. They examined first the case of Baroda and were inclined to think that the territories might be returned, but decided it would be difficult and assessed compensation at £200,000. They also assessed compensation in the case of other States. When it came to Hyderabad it was a different question. That great State with a population of 18 million had had military alliances with Great Britain for nearly two centuries, and Britain was pledged to maintain 10,000 men in Hyderabad. Hyderabad was governed by Muslims, and Muslims felt that political India, especially Hindu political India, was very opposed to Muslim rule in the Deccan; the Nizam and the Hyderabad Muslims did not like the idea of giving up the military guarantees, and said so. The Committee went into the question of the treaty, and came to the conclusion and it was not terminable except with the consent of both parties, and that there was no alternative to accepting what the Nizam wished.

Had not the Cabinet Mission gone against the opinion of the earlier committee and decided that a unilateral decision was permissible? They might say that things had changed since that time, but the position of Hyderabad was very difficult. It was suggested in some circles that Hyderabad might be a separate dominion, or at least a separate unit with a military treaty with the Crown. To make that possible a port would be necessary on the west coast, and it had been suggested that a port might be found in the little Mahratta State close to Goa. It could be connected with Hyderabad through Indian State territory with a short corridor between Hyderabad and the next State. This was a point which might be considered. Some people might say

that with the 100 million Muslims of India behind the Hyderabad Government it was not very likely that the Hindus would interfere with it; that might be so, but unless Hyderabad was placed in a secure position there might be trouble, which would spoil the whole show when the new Constitution had been framed. Hyderabad had stood by the Crown during some very great crises, and he felt sure the people of Britain would welcome proposals which would do justice to the case and make it possible for the Hyderabad State to continue.

Defence lay at the core of the Indian problem, and unless the new Government could defend the sub-continent and maintain security the whole plan was a mere dream. With communal feeling as strong as it was in India it seemed unlikely that it would be possible to maintain fully law and order. The Princes knew this and realized that the only way out was a military treaty with Britain. It had been suggested that the States might form a separate dominion; they could give the British Government naval bases in some cases, and with naval, military and air bases in Ceylon, Singapore and possibly in Kenya, Britain might be able to maintain its present position in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. That was a question which might be considered later on.

Sir William added that he could not develop his theme further because of the lack of time, but he felt, and he was sure all hoped, that the question of the Indian States and their relation to the Indian Government would be carefully considered by Parliament before any irrevocable decision was taken.

Mr. AMERY, in reply, said that the discussion had been very full, and there was not much which he could usefully add. He thought Sir William Barton had touched on an important aspect of the whole problem. He deliberately avoided saying anything about the position of the Princes because at this moment it did not affect the urgent question of the formation of an interim Government, and he did not wish to say anything which might seem critical of the Mission or in any way embarrass its efforts. Undoubtedly the problem of the States was difficult. What exactly was meant by the Mission's very brief and rather vague note on the subject he was not prepared to examine at this junction. One point he would like to have seen more clear was whether the termination of the treaties would in any way affect the more personal relations of loyalty as between the Princes and the British Crown. He would, however, rather not say more about that at the moment.

Sir Zafrullah Khan's contribution to the discussion amplified effectively what he had said, and the points of criticism raised by Mr. Griffiths were natural if one was considering the best form of government for India. But what the Mission was concerned with was not what they might think, or anybody might think, was the best form of government for India, but to bring about sufficient agreement both to allow constitutional discussions to begin and to allow an interim Indian executive of political leaders to be formed. That was the test by which alone the Mission's plan should be judged. He was afraid Mr. Sadanand's solution was so simple that he only wondered what Mr. Jinnah would say in reply. He would not carry the point further, but the position was not that of Italy or Greece, where people were agreed that it was one country, and they were rather concerned with the detail as to whether it should be monarchist or republican. The issue in India was more fundamental than that; people were not ready to come to any agreement as to how the opinion of India was to be ascertained, and that was the very task to which the Mission, with great patience, had addressed themselves, so that a beginning of the final settlement could be made.

Sir JEREMY RAISMAN proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Amery. He said that Mr. Amery had a unique knowledge of the developments leading up to the work of the Cabinet Mission, and no individual's views could be more interesting. Mr. Amery's catholic familiarity with parallel historical and constitutional problems, exhibited in his talk today, had been constantly manifested during his tenure of office. When Sir Zafrullah Khan was a member of the Government there was not yet a non-official Indian majority. It was after the enlargement of the Cabinet that it became impossible, if the Viceroy was not to overrule the Council, for Whitehall to dominate

in any sense the policy of the Government of India. Even when the interests of India and Britain were in direct conflict Whitehall was unable, if it had wished, to impose on the Government of India decisions which were less in the interests of India than of Britain.

RECEPTION TO INDIAN CRICKET TEAM

ON Wednesday, June 19, 1946, the Association gave a reception to the Indian cricket team then touring Britain, at the Imperial Institute, South Kensington. The President, Sir Frederick Sykes, and Lady Sykes, received the 300 guests, with the Nawab of Pataudi, the captain of the team.

The PRESIDENT, in welcoming the team, said the Association offered the team its cordial good wishes. All present had a great allegiance to India and were a bit torn with conflicting emotions when watching the scores (which did not always amount to much owing to the frequent rain of the early summer season), first hoping that the Indian team would win and then beginning to wonder whether it should be the English team! In any event all would wish the visitors the very best of luck in their tour, and if it was ever a case in England of taking to water cricket the Indian team would come to demonstrate the game. (Laughter.) It was some ten years since the Association had the opportunity of entertaining an Indian cricket team, and amongst them was Ranji of immortal fame and his great friend C. B. Fry, who was expected to be present that afternoon.

There were others with them famous in the cricket world. Within a stone's throw of the Association's headquarters was Westminster School, from among whose scholars some illustrious administrators of India had come. He was pleased they had with them that day the captain and vice-captain of the school eleven. One of the outstanding sportsmen of India was H.H. the Nawab of Bhopal, who had very great responsibilities on his shoulders at the present time as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. The Begum of Bhopal was present, and he was delighted to welcome her, and hoped she would convey to His Highness the Association's very best wishes.

The team could be congratulated upon what they had been able to do during their tour to date; he would assure them that the East India Association was not responsible for the appalling atmospheric conditions under which they had been playing. The weather forecasters in this country did not seem to be very much better as prophets than those of any other country.

The captain of the team was the Nawab of Pataudi, and before asking him to say a few words he would congratulate him on having recovered from his brief illness. They of the Association were greatly relieved when he put up 101 not out at Nottingham two days ago and thus gave proof of being quite well enough to be a guest of honour.

In conclusion, the President hoped the ensuing matches would bring better luck in the matter of weather, and that the team would not only be able to enjoy very good cricket but would have the attendances they so richly deserved for coming here to give us the pleasure of seeing them in England.

The NAWAB OF PATAUDI said that he had a distinguished audience to whom to make a speech, and he found it rather an ordeal. He would, however, say something about cricket. The team had had a very enjoyable tour so far in spite of the weather, and it was looking forward to a very enjoyable further tour. They had been hard hit financially, but he was sure that their distinguished patrons in India would come to their rescue.

The team was going to take the field against England on the following Saturday with a very clear conscience, full of confidence, no false hope, and with an earnest prayer for three sunny days. He did not wish to make any prophecies nor to boast, but three sunny days would give them the opportunity of showing what they could do.

Sir Frederick Sykes mentioned that illustrious sportsman, C. B. Fry, who should have been present but had been delayed by the weather. His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal was better off as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes than he was himself because he had only three Englishmen of the Cabinet Mission to tackle, while he (the speaker) would have eleven against him on Saturday. He was delighted that his mother-in-law, the Begum of Bhopal, was present, and if sentiment and affection could be any help, then indeed he was fortunate.

The team was very grateful for the Association's hospitality, and for the opportunity of meeting some old friends. He remembered as a boy of 7½ being ushered into the presence of one of the greatest gentlemen he had ever met, Sir Edward Maclagan, then Governor of the Punjab, whom he was delighted to see present. Sir Edward asked him if he could read, and he replied he did not remember; then he asked if he could write, and he said he did not know; then Sir Edward asked, "What can you do?" and he said, "I play hockey and cricket." He had other friends present; he could not mention them all, but there was one to whom he must refer, his great and dear friend Marie Marchioness of Willingdon. When her husband was Viceroy he encouraged the game of cricket in India. On one occasion when he was playing, Lord Willingdon said, "I will never forgive you if you lose this match," to which he replied, "We have not a hope of winning." On the first day he was dismissed with five runs. As he was staying at Viceregal Lodge for the match he felt very subdued, but in the next innings he made 200 runs, and Lord Willingdon presented him with a pair of beautiful links, which he still possessed.

On behalf of his team, his manager and himself he thanked the Association for its hospitality and for listening to him. Cricket was a subject which could be very interesting and very good.

THE BENGAL FAMINE: THE BACKGROUND AND BASIC FACTS

BY PROFESSOR P. C. MAHALANOBIS, F.R.S.

I AM grateful to the East India Association for the opportunity to draw attention to certain aspects of the Bengal famine of 1943. A comprehensive report on the famine prepared by the Commission, presided over by Sir John Woodhead, was published by the Government of India last year. It is not necessary to go over the same ground again. The present paper, in fact, does not deal with the famine itself but attempts to give a general appreciation of economic conditions both before and after the famine.

NATURE OF THE MATERIAL

Even before the famine, information about the economic life of the rural population of Bengal was meagre. The census and other official statistics related mostly to the Province as a whole, and usually had no reference to different socio-economic strata. Reliable data relating to the famine itself were simply not available. Various attempts were made to gauge the intensity of incidence of the famine, but these were based mainly on general impressions. In this situation in March, 1944, it was decided that an extensive sample survey should be organized by the Indian Statistical Institute

under my technical guidance with the collaboration of Professor K. P. Chattopadhyaya of the Calcutta University. Work on a small scale was started in May, 1944. The Government of Bengal gave some financial assistance, but owing to the delay in receiving sanction it was the end of July, 1944, before the work could be taken up on an adequate scale. The field survey continued till the beginning of February, 1945, under the general supervision of Professor Chattopadhyaya, with the help of a large number of voluntary workers and some paid investigators. The Government of Bengal, unfortunately, lost interest in the enquiry after it was started, and the original programme had to be curtailed for lack of funds. The analysis of the material was also delayed for the same reason.

The enquiry covered nearly 16,000 families selected at random from 386 villages in 41 (out of 86) administrative sub-divisions, scattered all over the Province. The sample was stratified on the basis of intensity of incidence of famine conditions in different sub-divisions as assessed by Government. Unfortunately, the results of the sample survey deviated in certain instances quite appreciably from the official classification, which meant that certain gaps were left in the data, especially in regions which were believed by Government to have been only slightly or not affected, but which, in fact, were appreciably affected, by famine conditions. Regions seriously or moderately affected were, however, adequately represented in the sample.

The margin of error was reasonably small and of the order of 4 per cent. or 5 per cent. of mean values in the cases studied. On the whole, the results supply a fairly reliable picture of economic conditions in Bengal before and after the famine. A report on certain portions of the material has been recently published in a paper on "A Sample Survey of the After-Effects of the Bengal Famine of 1943," by P. C. Mahalanobis, Ramkrishna Mukherjee and Ambika Ghosh in *Sankhya*, the *Indian Journal of Statistics*, Vol. 7, Part 4, April, 1946. The present paper is based largely on the above report; I have also used some of the material given in my earlier paper on "The Organization of Statistics," in the *Proceedings of the National Institute of Sciences of India*, September, 1943.

It will be convenient to start with a general picture of Bengal and its people based on census and other official publications. The statistics, however, are known to have appreciable (but undetermined) margins of error, and it will be safer to deal in round figures.

POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY

The area of the Province is about 70,000 sq. miles, comprising 86 administrative sub-divisions. The population in 1941 was about 61.5 millions. The rate of growth in the preceding decade was a million per year; and 300,000 per year on an average during the 70-year period between 1872 and 1911. An increase of half a million each year in the near future is a safe guess. Setting off the increase in population between 1941 and 1943 against excess deaths in the famine year, one may speak of a population of about 61 millions just after the famine out of which 6 millions lived in urban and 55 millions in rural areas. The number of rural families (in the census sense of persons having food from the same kitchen) is estimated at 10.2 millions with an over-all average of 5.4 persons per family.

The official figure for the total area under cultivation is about 25 millions of acres, including double-cropped lands; but there are reasons to believe that the actual area is appreciably larger. Rice is the staple food as well as cash crop accounting for about 88 per cent. or 90 per cent. of the total cultivated area; jute is the next important money crop with a normal acreage of about 7 per cent. or 8 per cent. of the cultivated area. The area under *aman* (the chief winter rice) was probably 18 or 19 millions of acres before the famine. The average yield of rice is believed to be about 10 maunds (or, say, 820 lbs.) of rice (not in husk) per acre, giving an average out-turn of about 8.5 million tons of rice per year. Production and consumption of wheat or other cereals are negligible.

Reliable consumption figures are not available; the official estimate is 344 lbs. per head per year. Home-grown supply varied considerably, leading to a gross excess or deficit of a million and a half tons in individual years. This is normally balanced by export or import from outside the Province. The net import was about 100,000 tons

on an average during the 7 years 1933-34 to 1939-40 for which data are available. The home-grown supply of rice had thus become already inadequate when war broke out.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

This is as far as one can go with official statistics, which relate mostly to the Province as a whole. The sample survey, fortunately, supplies a more detailed picture. The occupational distribution in rural areas may be first considered. Agriculture in a broad sense was the occupation of about 40 millions, or 72 per cent. of the total rural population of 55 millions. This was made up of the "agriculture" group proper of about 18 millions (32·7 per cent.), consisting of *ryots* or peasant proprietors, who actually cultivate their own land or land taken on lease, but do not work as hired labour; about 9 millions (16·8 per cent.) in the group "agriculture and labour," who not only cultivate their own land or land taken on a share basis, but also work as agricultural labourers; another 9 millions (16·5 per cent.) of "agricultural labourers" who do not own any land; and 3·3 millions (6 per cent.) of "non-cultivating owners," consisting of owners of large holdings; as well as widows and invalids who have their land cultivated by hired labourers or on a share basis. Among other rural groups mention may be made of "crafts" (about 6·8 per cent., or 3·8 millions) following various village industries, "trade" (about 6·7 per cent. or 3·7 millions), minor professions and service (about 6·8 per cent. or 3·7 millions), and "fishing" (1·4 per cent. or about 80,000).

LAND POSITION BEFORE THE FAMINE

Rural Bengal in 1943 was thus primarily agricultural, and yet the land position was extremely precarious. About 36·2 per cent., or more than one-third of all rural families, did not own any rice land, while about 40·5 per cent., or two-fifths, had less than 2 acres. Now, in the opinion of many economists and agricultural experts, the subsistence level is usually taken to be 2 acres of rice land per family on an average. About 76·7 per cent., or three-fourths of all rural families, thus owned rice land less than the subsistence level. The over-all average for the Province as a whole was 1·8 acre of rice land per family.

The point to be emphasized, then, is that, in the case of 76·7 per cent., or three-fourths of all families, the amount of rice land owned was on the border line or even below the subsistence level. The position was, however, further aggravated by inequalities of distribution geographically as well as among different socio-economic groups. A number of sub-divisions were distinctly worse off in having a larger number of families owning less than 2 acres; and the present survey showed that the incidence of the famine was usually most severe in these sub-divisions. This is, of course, just what is to be expected. Regions in which there were more families with rice land below subsistence level were naturally more vulnerable to the famine.

TRANSFER OF RICE LAND DURING THE FAMINE

During the period April, 1943, to April, 1944, about 260,000 families had sold their rice land in full, and had thus lost their only or chief means of livelihood; about 660,000 had sold their rice land in part, and about 670,000 had mortgaged their rice land. In other words 1·5 million families (or one-fourth of the number which had owned rice land before the famine) had either sold in full or in part or had mortgaged their rice land.

Sales in full were most important in families owning less than 2 acres; about a quarter of a million were obliged to do this and had lost their chief means of livelihood. On the other hand only about 20,000 in the middle group (out of 1·62 millions owning between 2 and 5 acres) and less than 4,000 (out of 88,000 families owning more than 5 acres) sold all their rice land.

Sales in part were proportionately least frequent in the lowest group (300,000 families, or 7·4 per cent., out of 4 millions owning less than 2 acres); and most frequent in the middle range (250,000, or 15·3 per cent., out of 1·62 millions owning between 2 and 5 acres), and quite frequent (110,000, or 12·5 per cent., out of 880,000) in the upper group owning about 5 acres of land. Families in the lowest group who

sold their rice land were obliged to do so in full rather than in part. In the upper group, sales in part were mostly due to the very high price of rice land (sometimes 3 or 4 times higher than in normal times), which was a characteristic feature during the famine year. In the middle group, sales in part were probably due either to distress or to the desire to profit depending on the economic circumstances of individual families. On the whole, large numbers of poorer families lost all their land, while some of the richer families made large profits.

The occupational distribution of sales or mortgages is also significant. Mortgaging (7.2 per cent.) or selling rice land in part (9.9 per cent.) was heaviest, but sales in full were comparatively low (2.4 per cent.) among the group "agriculture," showing that there was general impoverishment, but not much of actual pauperization among the cultivating families owning their own land. The group "agriculture and labour," who both cultivate their own land and work as hired labourers, was much more seriously affected (6.0 per cent. sales in full, 7.7 per cent. sales in part and 7.6 per cent. mortgages), showing that impoverishment and pauperization was widespread in this section. The majority of "non-cultivating owners" were well off, so that the proportion of families selling or mortgaging land was low. The group "agricultural labour" and other non-agricultural groups had little of rice land, and did not naturally participate in sales or mortgages.

As already noted, geographical regions in which families owned, on an average, less rice land were more severely affected by the famine. Families owning less land were obliged to sell or mortgage more heavily, which further increased the inequalities of distribution of rice land in the Province.

The most significant fact to be noted is that 260,000 families (out of 6.5 millions owning rice land before the famine) had totally lost their holdings and had thus been reduced to the rank of landless labour. Another fact is worth noting. Out of about 710,000 acres of rice land changing hands during the famine only about 290,000 had been purchased back in the villages. Roughly 420,000 acres of rice land had thus passed to outsiders, possibly "non-cultivating owners" residing in urban areas. Among the cultivators and non-cultivating owners roughly half the land sold had been purchased back. But among families depending on employment as hired labourers only about 10 per cent. of the land sold had been replaced by purchase, so that the net loss was most severe in this sector.

PLOUGH CATTLE

The cattle position was not satisfactory before the famine. The sample survey showed that there were about 7.9 millions of plough cattle in 1943 with a share of about 4½ acres of rice land per pair of bullocks, which, according to many economists, was only just adequate or fell short of requirements. Altogether 500,000 plough cattle had died, while about 940,000 had been sold; only about a fourth (350,000) had been replaced by purchase, so that the net loss was over a million (13 per cent.) during the famine, which was most serious. About 300,000, or 8.5 per cent., of rural families in Bengal had probably lost all their cattle, making it practically impossible for them to carry on agricultural operations on their own. The loss was proportionately heaviest among the two groups "agriculture" and "agriculture and labour," which were mainly concerned with agriculture.

One fact is significant. Sales of cattle largely exceeded purchases, showing that transfers must have taken place not merely from one rural family to another but that large purchases had been made by outsiders (possibly contractors for the supply of meat for army consumption).

ECONOMIC DETERIORATION

An attempt was made to estimate the extent of economic deterioration by the number of families which got transferred from an occupation at a higher economic level to one at a lower level. About 700,000 families had suffered a lowering of economic status with consequent decrease in earning power. Using 5.4 as the average size of the family, it appears that the economic position of nearly 4 millions of persons had deteriorated during the famine.

The rate of destitution (*i.e.*, proportion of persons living on charity) was 1.07 per cent. at the time of the 1941 census; corresponding statistics for 1941 are, however, not available as relevant tables were not compiled. Assuming that the 1931 rate had been maintained, the total number of destitute persons (on the basis of a rural population of 55 millions) should have been about 590,000 in January, 1943. The sample estimate was 750,000, showing that early in 1943 the number of destitutes had already increased by about 160,000. There was a further increase of about 330,000 between January, 1943, and May, 1944. At the normal rate of 1.07 per cent. the number of destitutes in May, 1944, should have been about 600,000; the sample figure was nearly 1.1 millions, showing that about half a million had become destitutes under war and famine conditions in Bengal.

In actual numbers, landless labour had contributed the largest share of new destitutes; other groups in decreasing order of importance were "agriculture," "agriculture and labour," "craft," "fishing" and "trade." "Non-cultivating owners" and persons engaged in "transport" or "husking paddy" were least affected. Proportionately to their total numbers, the groups most seriously affected were "fishing," then landless "agricultural labour" and "craft." This fits in quite well with known conditions in Bengal. Owing to destruction of boats and interruptions in communications families living on fishing and village crafts had suffered very severely.

It is worth noting that economic deterioration was more important than destitution among the two groups "agriculture" and "agriculture and labour" which had land of their own, while the reverse was the case among the landless labour and other non-agricultural groups. Economic deterioration was relatively more important among families living by "trade," "transport," "non-agricultural labour," "service" and "craft," while destitution was relatively more important among families "husking paddy" or "fishing." Non-cultivating owners of land were, of course, least affected. Evidently families which owned land or could live on their assets or those who could secure employment as hired labour (of which there was acute shortage owing to war conditions) were better able to resist destitution, while families in a more precarious position had succumbed more easily to famine conditions.

The chief cause of destitution was death of earning members of the family, and, next in importance, sickness or unemployment of the earners. Compared to the age distribution of destitutes in January, 1943, before the famine, the largest proportion of new destitutes had come during the famine period from younger age groups. The proportion of destitute women was greater than destitute men, especially in the age groups 15 to 50 years. All this has created serious socio-economic problems.

ACCELERATED CHANGES

Even in the pre-famine period (January, 1939, to January, 1943) the proportion of families suffering economic deterioration and destitution (6.8 per cent.) was much larger than the proportion which had improved their economic status (3.3 per cent.); the position of about 1.1 per cent. was not clear. This shows that economic deterioration had started definitely in the pre-famine period, which culminated in the famine itself.

Rates of economic change became far more rapid during the famine. Improvement in economic position during the famine was relatively twice as great as that in the famine period, showing that it had become easier in certain ways to become rich more quickly. This was, however, set off by a three times greater rate of economic deterioration and twelve times greater rate of destitution. The famine period was thus one of accelerated economic changes. Improvement of economic conditions was more rapid, but was restricted to a comparatively small number of families. Deterioration and destitution had become even more violently accelerated, and were shared by a much larger number of families. Roughly 85 per cent. of the families, however, maintained their *status quo*, showing that a large degree of economic inertia had persisted even under famine conditions.

GENERAL REVIEW

The general picture is quite clear. Certain regions were very seriously affected by the famine; others to a moderate extent; still others only to a slight extent. This shows that large regional differences had existed even in normal times, which became further accentuated during the famine.

The poorer sections of the community, especially landless labour, fishermen and village craftsmen, were most severely affected, and many were rendered destitute. Families in middle economic groups who had some land of their own or other assets were naturally less vulnerable. Families in the upper groups were more or less immune and had sometimes even prospered.

There is clear evidence to show that economic deterioration had started even in the pre-famine period; a comparatively small number of families were improving their economic position, while a far larger number were suffering deterioration or destitution. During the famine period the whole process was much accelerated, but the general nature of the changes remained the same. A small number of families became richer, but a much larger number were impoverished or rendered destitute. The famine of 1943 was thus not an accident like an earthquake or a flood, but the culmination of economic changes which were going on even in normal times.

Recently the United Nations Economic Council has decided to set up a special committee to study the problem. I speak as a statistician, and I found that although I approached all classes and races of people I found that my efforts failed to induce the Government of Bengal to take the problem seriously. I feel that facts will not prevent famine, but they help one to take certain measures in time and I do hope that some of the tools which are available will be used in future. My survey was started with a grant, the Government took ten weeks to decide to make that grant; we sent in reports and in September, 1945, we wrote a letter and I received a reply in March, 1946, which showed that they had forgotten they had given a grant towards the making of the survey. They asked for a report and I sent it to them two days before I left. Statistics are a minor detail, but they do help, and I accepted your invitation because of that.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Thursday, July 25, 1946, at the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1, with the Earl of Munster in the chair. Professor P. C. MAHALANOBIS, F.R.S., Statistical Adviser to the Bengal Government, read the foregoing paper.

The CHAIRMAN, introducing the lecturer, said that Professor Mahalanobis was well known in India and in this country as a distinguished statistician specializing in the problems of crop cutting and food production. He was visiting this country as an Indian delegate to the Royal Society's Conference and the British Commonwealth Scientific Conference, and had recently been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He gave evidence before Sir John Woodhead's Commission, and his work on mortality statistics and statistics relating to the consumption of cereals in India was mentioned in the Commission's report.

After the lecture,

The CHAIRMAN said that Professor Mahalanobis had made considerable study of statistical information in Bengal. It was hardly necessary for him to recall the causes of the famine which occurred in 1943; it was sufficient to say that it was the result of the accumulation of many factors, as the Professor had said.

One of the troubles in the old days, as far as he saw during the short time he was

at the India Office, was the system of statistics used. They gave very little information upon which could be based the requirements of India as a whole. When considering the Provinces there was every indication to say that the statistical information of some was extremely good and reasonably accurate, but in others it was either non-existent or useless.

The Professor mentioned during his observations that he believed that something between 500,000 and 600,000 bullocks were sold to Army contractors to be killed and eaten by the Army. He would ask if the Professor could give any information regarding those figures, where he obtained them and whether they were correct for the year 1942 or for the year 1943, or whether for both years.

Had the twelve proposals made by Sir John Woodhead in his report been carried into effect in the Province of Bengal? Could he give some indication of the intentions of the Bengal Government? Irrigation seemed to be one of the vital matters in the future of Indian agriculture.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD said that he had listened with great interest to the paper read by Professor Mahalanobis, whom he had known for several years when he was in Bengal. It was true that up-to-date economic data regarding the agricultural population were lacking, particularly in Bengal and certain other Provinces. The Famine Commission, of which he had the honour to be chairman, had experienced great difficulty owing to the lack of reliable figures of the acreage and yield of the rice crop in Bengal. When he left India he understood that a sample as well as a plot-to-plot survey of the main crops in Bengal had been undertaken, and he hoped that Professor Mahalanobis would be able to tell them what had been the result of those surveys.

He was rather surprised at what the lecturer had said about plough cattle. There had certainly been losses of cattle during the famine and it was true that the supply of cattle from other Provinces had been cut off during the war. But he doubted whether any land had gone out of cultivation owing to a shortage of cattle.

He was in general agreement with the view expressed by Professor Mahalanobis that economic conditions were deteriorating before the war and that the rate of deterioration had been accelerated by the famine. When he went to Bengal, over forty years ago, the Province, particularly in the eastern districts, was a prosperous land, judged by Indian standards. Forty years ago Bengal had a population of, say, about 40 millions, and he had no hesitation in saying that if Bengal's population had remained round about that figure it would be far more prosperous than it is today.

The problem of improving the standard of living in Bengal as well as in the rest of India could not, however, be solved by any single measure. All cultivable but uncultivated land must be brought under the plough and the yield of crops increased by a series of measures. The greater use of organic and inorganic manures, a large increase in the supply of water for irrigation in the western districts, improved varieties and seed and greater protection against pests and diseases. In addition, industries must be expanded in the rural as well as in the urban areas. Then there was the very difficult question of the limitation of families. Indeed, there would have to be an attack on all fronts if economic conditions in Bengal were to be improved.

Another factor in the deterioration in the condition of the agricultural population was the tremendous fall in prices of agricultural produce which took place in 1930 and the years following. It was not always fully realized how hard hit the cultivator was by that fall in prices. He hoped that in this post-war period we would not experience a fall in the prices of the produce which the cultivator has to sell comparable to that which occurred in 1930 and 1931. Such a fall would be disastrous to the agricultural population not only of Bengal but of the whole world.

Sir John Woodhead added that Sir Frederic Sachse was correct in saying that there was a wealth of information available in the Settlement reports, and that those reports had not always been referred to as they should have been. The difficulty, however, was that some, indeed the majority, of these reports were many years old; some districts were surveyed over thirty years ago, and conditions today are not what

they were then. If the record of rights had been revised the records would have been maintained reasonably up to date, but unfortunately the Bengal Government were not able to sanction revisional settlements.

Sir FREDERIC SACHSE said that when he was working in Calcutta with Professor Mahalanobis on data he must plead guilty to never being convinced that it was much better to estimate 5,000 acres of crops than to estimate the produce of 100 acres selected according to scientific knowledge. Professor Mahalanobis had said that the material available for judging the condition of Bengal was meagre, and he was surprised that Sir John Woodhead had more or less agreed with him. He would have said that there were voluminous records in every single department of the Government, there had been many Commissions which had made exhaustive inquiries, but certainly no individual had ever been known to study and co-ordinate them. In Bengal there were documents giving full details of tenancies, their crops and their acreages, and as there were more tenancies than agricultural families there must be records of 14,000,000. The officers supplemented the information by making inquiries about indebtedness and extraneous sources of income of the average agricultural family in the district. Settlement officers had all tried to make an estimate of the income and expenditure of the families in their districts, but owing to the want of co-ordinating direction from the Government, and still more to the insistent demands of the Legislative Council to cut down the costs of settlement, these inquiries did not give the information in a form which made comparison between districts easy. Therefore he thought the statement that the economic information available was meagre was not fair either to the Revenue Department or to the Registrar's Department, or to the Co-operative Department, all of which made exhaustive inquiries in connection with their different functions.

The speaker doubted whether there was anything new in substance in the material which Professor Mahalanobis had described. Ever since the first Act was passed every revenue official and every member of the Legislative Council must have known that between one-fifth and one-third of the agricultural families in Bengal had no security and no rights, and that many of them had not sufficient land to support a family of five. When the land suitable for cultivation remained constant and the population increased so rapidly it must be obvious that the productivity of the land must be increased. This did not occur, and the price of food rose so that none of the families could earn enough to keep themselves.

It seemed to make no material difference whether the figures given by Professor Mahalanobis were within 2 per cent. or 20 per cent. of correctness. There was, however, one vital exception, and that was the exception which gave a ray of hope to Bengal. Professor Mahalanobis had adopted a figure of the average output of rice in Bengal which was very different from that used by others, and he would like to ask Professor Mahalanobis if he based his figures on the crop cut over twenty years, and if so whether he had never suspected that that figure was very incorrect. If he had not had that suspicion, how did he account for the fact that the average output in China was three times as great as in Bengal? and how did he account for the fact that the agricultural families cultivating on a share basis—that is, those who bore all the cost of cultivation and gave half the produce of their land to the landlord—had managed to survive at all?

Professor MAHALANOBIS, in reply, referred to the question raised regarding the sale of cattle to the Army. He had said in his paper "possibly sold to the Army," which was a reasonable inference, although he had no direct information as to the final destination of the cattle. Information was collected by a random sample survey of about 16,000 families spread over the Province; and estimates were made of the number of cattle dying per family or the number of cattle sold per family or the number of cattle purchased per family. On this basis provincial estimates were prepared, and it was found that the number sold was about 940,000, whereas the number purchased back was 350,000, which left a balance of about 600,000 to be accounted for. There was no export of cattle from Bengal. If the margin of error was assumed to be of the order of 6 or 7 per cent. and adopting three times this value

at the outside limit it was clear that at least about 500,000 head of cattle had disappeared. As a layman he made the guess that they were sold to the Army contractors.

As regards the point made by Sir John Woodhead, the only thing he could say was that a large number of schemes had been under consideration by the Government of Bengal for years; but he did not know whether any of them would ever be put into effect.

As regards land under *aman* (winter) rice, the sample survey estimates reached the very high figure of about 240 million acres in the famine year of 1943, but decreased to about 220 million acres in 1944, and 210 million acres in 1945, so that there had been a definite shrinkage in paddy acreage after the famine.

As regards available statistics, he had said that reliable information relating to agriculture was meagre. He had not said that records were meagre. In Bengal a complete record of the area under jute cultivation was prepared for the purposes of the Jute Licences Act in 1939-40, but the material was found to be so untrustworthy that the Government ordered these records to be burnt. Speaking as a statistician, he would remind his audience that voluminous records did not necessarily constitute reliable information.

With regard to the output (rate of yield per acre) of rice he had been asked, as a patriotic Indian, whether he accepted the very low figure of 10 maunds per acre; he could only say this was the value in round numbers obtained from crop-cutting work. He had been reminded that China's production was three times as great. A patriotic Indian might reply that China was independent while India was not, and the difference in yield might be ascribed to the difference in political status. He was not a politician, and would therefore be content by simply stating the facts as he found them.

He would maintain that there were not enough reliable records available relating to the life of Bengal—that is, enough for purposes of planning and development. All planning, after all, was for human beings. In Bengal even the total population was not known with certainty. There was an unexplained discrepancy of several millions between the 1941 and previous Census figures for the Bengal population. He also knew that in 1943 the Government of Bengal were not sure which districts were surplus districts. A settlement, however, accurate and reliable but carried out in 1883, did not give information whether a district was surplus or not in 1943. There was a good deal of information, correct and reliable but out of date. There were voluminous records, recent and old, which were unreliable. This was what he meant: the statistical material when correct was not appropriate, and was meagre when one came down to actual practical problems.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD added that Sir Frederic Sachse was correct in saying that there was an enormous wealth of detail available with regard to settlement, but those reports had not always been referred to as they should have been. The difficulty was that they went back for many years; some districts were surveyed thirty years ago, and conditions today were very different from what they were then. He agreed with Sir Frederic that full use had not been made of the settlement reports, but the Bengal Government could not see its way to reviving them at definite periods. Had this been done, information would have been much more complete and up to date.

Sir ROBERT BRISTOW asked by what process the facts and figures of the expert became the adopted report in the eyes of a Government department.

Sir JOHN HUBBACK, in moving a vote of thanks to the chairman and to the lecturer, said that by his presence Lord Munster had shown his continued interest in India despite his official divorce from that country. He had known Professor Mahalanobis for many years. He was one of the first people he had ever come across who could put up a good defence of the principle of sampling in statistics, and he would congratulate him on that defence.

THE FUTURE OF BRITISH AND INDIAN RELATIONS

BY SIR KENNETH MEALING

It is my privilege to address you on the subject of the future relationship between Great Britain and India. He would be a bold man who would attempt to prophesy the probable course of political events in India after the present stage of transition and when the new Constitution comes into being. In any case a prophet seldom acquires much honour in his own country, and so I will with your permission confine my remarks to certain aspects of the question which, in my opinion, the hard facts may bring to bear, politics notwithstanding, on our future relations with India.

These facts, which before an assemblage such as this require no explanation or proof, are that to Great Britain our trading connection with and in India is of considerable value. Exactly how many shillings per head go into the pockets of every adult man and woman in England as a result of the goods and services we, as a nation, supply to India I do not know, but I am convinced that it is a useful figure, the loss of which we should feel, as it would have a definite effect on our standard of living.

Similarly, the British connection has brought and is every day bringing to India benefits both directly in wealth and indirectly in ways which, although difficult to define in terms of money, are in fact beyond price in terms of progress: the parliamentary system of legislation, the British system of legal administration, currency, the banking system, insurance, industrial management and development, transport, communications, medicine, universities, sanitation, lighting and power—these are part of an incalculably valuable heritage built up in India largely by Britons; and if the new India should decide to cut itself off from the future acquisition and usage of British contacts and developments the loss to India will also be incalculable.

There is therefore no doubt that from both points of view, that of Britain and that of India, great mutual benefit would be lost if for any reason the connection, in so far as industry, commerce, and trade is concerned, were to be destroyed.

I am well aware that certain of the present Congress leaders have asserted again and again that India intends not to be included in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and that the new Indian Constitution will make this quite clear. Well, that may be so; but I believe that when the Constituent Assembly gets down to business there may be enough level-headed members to reach a decision not to resign too quickly from a good club when there is no better one to join. In politics, however, the Indian is no less swayed by sentiment than other races—perhaps rather more—so the issue whether to remain a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, which is likely to be one of the most important decisions of the Constituent Assembly or of the new Indian Government thereafter set up, may not be decided on its merits, for in that case I am convinced there could only be an affirmative decision; but it may be decided on political sentiment, however harmful to India that may be.

The question thus arises, what is likely to be the relationship between Great Britain and India if India remains in the Commonwealth and if she does not? On these issues I hold somewhat optimistic views, because it is my belief that in either case British commerce and industry with India will go on, and indeed expand, as India's population expands. Certain classes of valuable British business in or with India may suffer a sea-change if India leaves the Commonwealth, but in other respects the British Government, dealing with India as a foreign country instead of as a member of the family, may find itself in a stronger position, whilst India would, conversely, be in a weaker tactical position from many points of view. The loss, on balance, would, in my opinion, be India's, and that to a very considerable extent. Thus, to put it shortly, if India leaves the Commonwealth, I believe we should lose something, but India would lose infinitely more.

Nevertheless, we must visualize the possibility, even the probability, of this happening; but there is also the possibility of the new Independent India leaving the

Commonwealth at its inception and then after a few years asking for readmission. Those few years might well be spent by India in confiscating or acquiring without adequate compensation, or driving out by repressive legislation or administrative action, British business established in India. Well, when a man resigns his club it is not always easy to get re-elected, and I suggest that the treatment of Britons and their businesses in India should be made the yardstick should readmission be requested in these circumstances, which I pray may never arise.

This, however, was a digression, for I am convinced that whether India remains in the Commonwealth or not, trade and commerce with Great Britain will go on. I cannot attempt to foretell what will come out of the Constitution-making body, nor whether, when the new India Constitution comes into force, presumably with no Viceroy or Governor-General and consequently no British arms to support the civil power, law and order will be maintained or maintainable. The maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice in a vast population calls for powers of no mean order, and, if I may plagiarize Mr. Churchill's immortal words concerning the R.A.F. in the Battle of Britain, I would say of the 400 millions of India and the 1,000 odd of the British I.C.S. and police in India that never in the history of administration have so many owed so much to so few.

If the new India starts off on the right lines by the use, not abuse, of these faithful servants, then there should be no reason for a breakdown in administration or in law and order. Should it be otherwise, there will be a period in which things will be difficult and trade and commerce both ways will dwindle; but in any case the period would come to an end, and unless India goes Communist and throws itself into the arms of Russia the flow of trade would in due course recommence.

It may be thought that I am painting a gloomy picture. This is not my intention, for I am personally most optimistic as to our future relations with India. I do not ignore the possibilities which the Indian picture presents. It is in spite of these possibilities to which I have referred, because it is a common experience that when men who have raised themselves to public office through the hustings find the burden of responsibility on their shoulders they rapidly become sadder if not wiser men and generally desire to forget many of their earlier pronouncements.

I believe this will happen in India, and that if the leaders can retain the goodwill of the people and really govern at the same time a new era of friendship and mutual benefit and understanding between India and ourselves is there for the taking.

It seems to me inevitable that men who have for years devoted their endeavours to active opposition to the established Government and who, whether by violent or non-violent non-co-operation, have deliberately courted incarceration in gaol, such men who entirely lack administrative experience must be faced with tremendous difficulties, both psychological and practical, when the burden of office falls upon their shoulders. If, in the earlier years, they were to have the help and guidance of a British Viceroy and the I.C.S., as they would have done had Part 2 of the Government of India Act come into force, even under those conditions the burden of the new ministers would have been no light one; but functioning under a new and untried Constitution, with the shadow of the communal problem perpetually overhanging them, their task will indeed be heavy.

In such circumstances I find it difficult to believe that the new Indian Government will deliberately enhance its own difficulties either by jeopardizing India's trade with the British Empire or by taking other action calculated to antagonize the one country best fitted to assist in India's development in the years to come.

It must, of course, be recognized that in the first flush of their acquisition of power, and with their past slogans yet ringing in their ears, before the full implications of their many problems have manifested themselves, the aspect I have just discussed may be ignored and action taken by the new Indian Government prejudicial to our mutual commerce and trade. It is greatly to be hoped that H.M. Government, by strengthening the Departments concerned, will be in a position to discuss frankly and fully with the new Indian Government the consequences of prejudicial action and the great mutual benefits to be achieved by friendly co-operation and the retention of freedom both individual and trading for the peoples of both countries.

I regard, as I think we all do, the coming constitutional changes as the fulfilment of a long-term plan which has been the design and objective of successive British Governments for many years; part of the design was to stimulate in India political ambition, and it was fully realized that this stimulated ambition would result in increasing pressure to expedite the fulfilment of the plan.

This fulfilment is now about to take place, and whether or not the time is ripe only events will show. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and whether the Constituent Assembly can hammer out a Constitution which will work successfully remains to be seen. If it does, and if the new Government of India can handle its heavy burdens honestly and wisely, then this great plan will be crowned with success. If not, then India may be faced with the penalties of failure. To my mind no small factor in this success or failure will be the attitude adopted by the new Indian Government towards the British Commonwealth and Empire, particularly in the fields of mutual commerce and trade.

It is therefore of great importance that our relations with the new Indian Government in these fields should be governed by the exercise of both tact and firmness, and if this is done I see no reason why India and Great Britain should not enter upon a great new era of mutual and prosperous commercial industrial and trading relations.

THE SEVENTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1946

THE year covered by this report was momentous in the history of India and of Burma. It saw the end of the war with Japan and the liberation of Burma after more than three years of enemy occupation. A notable event was the deputation in March of three Cabinet Ministers to India to share with the Viceroy in consultations and negotiations on India's future Constitution. The aim of the Council in arranging meetings during the year was to obtain the most authoritative information available regarding the manifold problems of India and Burma in the post-war world, and to hear the views of those who could speak from recent experience of conditions in either country.

At the first meeting of the year Sir Frederick James, a member of the Central Legislative Assembly since 1932, described the war-time work of the bi-cameral Legislature. While stressing the defects of its working he expressed the view that, in spite of its drawbacks and limitations, it had exercised considerable influence over the Executive Government and had fulfilled a very useful function in the war period. Next in order came a survey of post-war development schemes in the States of Southern India, given jointly to the Royal Society of Arts and the Association by Sir William Barton. Some seven months later he completed the narrative at another joint meeting by a description of similar plans in the States of Northern and Central India. The two lectures brought into strong relief the importance of the part the States will be called upon to play in the economic progress of India.

Towards the end of May the Association had the advantage of a comprehensive view of all-India plans for post-war reconstruction from Sir Ardeshir Dalal, at that time the member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of Planning and Development. He described in some detail the progress so far made in the preparation and co-ordination of official and non-official plans, all designed to raise the standard of living of the people. A month later the position was again brought under review in a paper on "Plans for Raising the Standards of Living in India," prepared by Dr. Parekunnel Thomas, Professor of Economics in the University of Madras and Economic Adviser to the Indian Delegation to the United Nations Con-

ference. In his absence at San Francisco the paper was read on his behalf by Dr. Qureshi, of the Osmania University, Hyderabad.

In September a particular aspect of the same question was presented by Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, under the title of "Planning against Poverty in India: Irrigation and Food Production." In November the problem of providing sufficient food for India's rapidly growing population was discussed by Sir John Woodhead, who had recently returned from his deputation to India as chairman of the Famine Inquiry Commission, 1944-45. The importance of this address has since been emphasized by serious food shortage in Bombay, Madras and Mysore, due to drought in India and the great difficulty of obtaining supplies from abroad. Three addresses on some recent voluntary efforts were given at a meeting in June by speakers well qualified by practical experience in health and social service in the country: Lieutenant-Colonel I. M. Orr and Mr. Howard Somervell, of Everest fame, both of whom had worked for some years in Travancore, and the Rev. J. C. McGilvray, Bursar of the Vellore Medical School, which is being transformed into a great teaching and training medical college.

India's magnificent war effort was described at the annual meeting in July in a notable address by General Sir Mosley Mayne, Principal Staff Officer to the Secretary of State. This account was followed by the memorable story of "Some Aspects of the Campaign in Burma, 1944-45," given by the resourceful commander, General Sir William Slim, at a joint meeting in February with the Royal Empire Society. It constituted a graphic and telling exposition from the lips of a great war leader, and appealed to the expert and to the layman alike. No less valuable was the story of "Transport in India in War-time," given in October by Sir Edward Benthall, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for War Transport and Railways. In March, Brigadier J. H. Wilkinson, Director of Resettlement, G.H.Q., New Delhi, spoke with authority on the plans made and in operation for the resettlement of Indian ex-Service men.

The far-reaching issues of defence which will confront India in the future were examined in a paper read in October by Lieutenant-General G. N. Molesworth under the title of "Some Problems of Future Security in the Indian Ocean." Speaking from the chair Lord Hailey gave reasons for the view that for many years India would be dependent for security on partnership in the British Commonwealth. This and cognate questions were further considered in April in Mr. Ayana Deva's paper on "India's Rôle in Asia in the Post-War World," which elicited a noteworthy discussion.

Following on the story of the Burma campaign given by General Slim, it was thought desirable to have a survey of the position in Burma on and after the resumption of civil government. Accordingly an informative and balanced lecture was given in January by Sir Harold Roper, who was in charge of the fields of the Burmah Oil Company up to the time of the Japanese occupation. In the course of the discussion Sir Alexander Campbell gave the latest information from Rangoon, and two young Burmans contributed interesting speeches. In February Sir Henry Richardson, fresh from the leadership of the European group in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a member of the Conference which the Viceroy convened at Simla in the previous summer, gave a picture of "India in Transition," and spoke on the prospects of a political settlement. Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P., who had just returned from the tour of the Parliamentary delegation to India, made a realistic contribution to the discussion. Less than a month later he gave an important address in appraisal of the work of the delegation. He stressed the need for promptitude in securing Indian co-operation and initiative and commended the decision to send three members of the Cabinet to India for discussions, in association with the Viceroy, with the political leaders.

The views of two communities which have taken a noteworthy part in the development of modern India were placed before the Association. In July Mr. C. P. Lawson, deputy leader of the European Group in the Central Assembly, spoke on "The British in India: their Present and their Future," and indicated the contribution the community could make to well-being in an autonomous India. In November Mr. Frank Anthony, the present leader of the Anglo-Indian community, spoke im-

pressively upon its position in the new India, and said that his people had taken their place in the stream of Indian national life.

In the previous session the Association had heard the system of broadcasting from this country to India described by Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, then in charge of the Eastern Service of the B.B.C. In April of this year Mrs. Winifred Holmes, late B.B.C. (Talks) Producer, and recently returned from India, gave an interesting and constructive paper on "Broadcasting in India."

The chief social event of the year was a Victory reception held in October at the Imperial Institute, South Kensington, attended by some 400 guests and addressed by three outstanding war leaders, Admiral Sir Geoffrey Layton, General Sir George Giffard and Air Marshal Sir William Coryton. The welcome of the gathering to them and the many Indian fighting men amongst the guests was voiced by the President of the Association and by Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India.

Plans made for a reception in January to bid farewell to the Governors-designate of Bengal and Madras, Sir Frederick Burrows and General Sir Archibald Nye, had to be cancelled owing to the Assembly Hall of the Royal Empire Society being required at a few days' notice for the London sittings of the Anglo-American Palestine Commission. It was not possible to secure alternative accommodation at such short notice.

H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda spoke at the annual general meeting, and the President took the occasion to thank him and also H.H. the Maharaja Scindhia of Gwalior for their generosity in making annual grants for hospitality purposes. The help in this matter of the National Indian Association was also gratefully acknowledged.

The increase of membership, following on the losses of the earlier war years, was well maintained, the total number of elections being ninety-eight as compared with the previous year's record of ninety-four. Deaths and resignations, however, reduced the net gain to sixty, leaving a total membership of nine hundred and seventy-nine.

The Association suffered a severe loss by the death of Sir Louis Dane in his ninetieth year. He had been Chairman for nine years and had retired from membership of the Council so recently as the last annual meeting. His interest in the Association was sustained to the last: he was reading our Proceedings in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* the day before his death. The Council also regrets to record the death of the Marquess of Crewe, who had been a Vice-President for a quarter of a century, and of Sir Idwal Lloyd, who was a member of the Council until he left London for the country. Other losses by death included Sir Edward Chamier, Mr. Wajahat Hussain, Mr. Satish C. Mitter, Sir Leslie Hudson, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., and Sir Samuel O'Donnell.

The Council is glad to report that the financial position of the Association is satisfactory. It was able to make a further purchase of £400 3 per cent. Savings Bonds, and to allocate £200 to the Staff Pension and Gratuity Fund, making the total of this fund £700. The receipts from subscriptions reached the largest figure in the eighty years' existence of the Association. Sir Gilbert Wiles and Mr. G. H. Langley again audited the accounts for the year, and the thanks of the Council are conveyed to them.

Sir Ambersen Marten retired from the Council after many years of much appreciated help, and Mr. J. K. Michie resigned owing to the pressure of other engagements. During the year the Council co-opted Sir Jeremy Raisman, Sir Henry Richardson and Mr. M. K. Vellodi, and their election will require confirmation at the annual meeting. The members of Council retiring by rotation and eligible for re-election are: Lady Bennett, Sir Henry Craw, Sir Harry Haig, the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Sir Robert N. Reid, Sir Hopetoun Stokes, and Sir Alfred Watson.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate or candidates for election to the Council at the annual general meeting, subject to fifteen days' notice being given in writing to the Honorary Secretary.

The President, Sir Frederick Sykes, on completion of three years in that office from the date of the annual meeting in 1942, kindly acceded to the request of the Council and the unanimous vote of the annual meeting to retain the position for

another year. The Council takes this opportunity of expressing to Sir Frederick its high appreciation of his ready and valuable services. It desires also to convey its warm thanks to Lady Sykes for her help in many ways.

The work of the Empire Societies War Hospitality Committee continued through the twelve months. During the six years of the organization the Association has been represented on the Executive and Finance Committees by Sir Thomas Smith, to whom the Council is greatly indebted for this service.

The Council participated in preliminary discussions on proposals to set up in this country a committee to promote mutual cultural relations with India in co-operation with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and other similar bodies. The President of the Royal Society and the British Academy invited the Council to nominate a representative on a small Executive Committee, and Lady Hartog agreed to serve.

Many expressions of appreciation of the quarterly *ASIATIC REVIEW*, ably edited by Mr. F. Richter, a member of the Council, reach the office. Members were also supplied with a pamphlet giving a summary of India's war effort, and a twelve-page book list of India and Burma prepared by Sir Frank Brown for the National Book League as a guide to recent works on those countries up to the end of 1945.

The Council has been glad to welcome back its Chairman, Sir John Woodhead, who had been serving in India for over a year as Chairman of the Government of India's Famine Inquiry Commission. The two reports of that Commission have already proved of the utmost value in analysing the causes and circumstances of the Bengal famine of 1943, and in suggesting practical methods for improving the health, nutrition and economic condition of the agricultural population of India. The Council has noted with great satisfaction the high honour of the G.C.I.E. conferred upon him by the King. Since his return to this country Sir John Woodhead has resumed his active interest in the affairs of the Association, and the Council has derived much benefit from his help and guidance.

The Council desires to express its sincere appreciation of the services rendered by the Hon. Secretary, Sir Frank Brown. Sir Frank has been Honorary Secretary for nearly twenty years, and during that long period has worked unremittingly for the Association and devoted a great deal of time to its affairs. The success of the meetings and other functions and the greatly increased membership are in large measure due to his efforts. The Association is deeply grateful to him for all that he has done to further its interests.

ATUL C. CHATTERJEE	} <i>Vice-Chairmen.</i>
T. SMITH	
F. H. BROWN, <i>Hon. Secretary.</i>	

May 23, 1946.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held in the Hall of India, Overseas House, St. James's, S.W. 1, on Thursday, July 18, 1946, at 3.30 p.m., Major-General the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK SYKES, F.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

THE PRESIDENT said: We have apologies for absence on grounds of Parliamentary duty from Mr. R. A. Butler and Lord Scarbrough, both of whom had hoped to take part in these proceedings. To that extent we regret that this annual meeting coincides with the statements being made in both Houses of Parliament on the recently returned Cabinet Mission to India. But the coincidence is appropriate, for this meeting marks the completion of eighty years' continuous effort, in the words of our motto, "to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India."

To that end expression has been given through those eight decades to the views of varied schools of thought, and these have been subject to criticism and free discussion. While we have provided an open platform and have not been attached to any political or other party, there have been occasions of such unanimity of view that representations have been made and action taken with good effect. An outstanding feature has been that of giving all support possible to the rights of Indians lawfully domiciled in other parts of the British Empire. Quite recently we provided opportunities of exposition of claims and grievances to the delegation of Indians from South Africa.

Alike in the political and the social and economic fields, the Association has exercised a strong formative influence on India's progress. From time to time pronouncements of historic interest have been made in our discussions. To give one instance, it was from our platform that the late Right Hon. Srinavasa Sastri, one of the greatest orators of the day, gave the first expression to the claim—now fully accepted but then received as disquieting—that the attainment of Dominion Status by India would not be complete unless she had the same freedom of choice as other nations of the Commonwealth to remain within or stand outside our great league of nations. The progress of ideas as to Indian development in the most varied fields is reflected in the records of this Association through all these years. As an Indian scholar about to embark on a history of Indian political development remarked a short time back, no one essaying such a work can afford to neglect our published records.

My reason for dwelling on this point is that I have a gratifying announcement to make. It is that on his own initiative, and with the cordial thanks of the Council, Sir John Cumming has had under preparation this summer an analytical Subject Index of our Proceedings from 1866 onwards. It includes cultural and social activities and the names of office bearers throughout our history. Sir John is also writing a brief introduction and providing an index of names. It will be some time before this record is available as it will register the Proceedings of these recent months up to and including this annual meeting. The many honorary public services Sir John has rendered in this country since retiring from his distinguished career in the Civil Service in Bengal have included the compilation of valuable bibliographies, and we may be sure that in his hands this record of *Four Score* will leave nothing to be desired in the way of skill in compilation.

We enter upon our ninth decade at a turning point in India's history. At one of our first public meetings, in 1867, Dadabhai Naoroji, afterwards the Grand Old Man of India, lectured on "England's Duties to India." At that time there were no more than the rudiments of representative institutions in the country, and since then we have watched and discussed each step in the political progress which has brought India to the point, following on the Cabinet Mission to which I have referred, of the election by the Indian Legislatures of a Constituent Assembly, which it is hoped will soon meet to begin the work of framing an autonomous Constitution for India drawn up by Indians themselves.

One of the most important obligations of the day for public bodies and private citizens alike is to obtain real knowledge of the facts—that is, the truth—on the great problems with which we are faced. It is only by so doing that we in this country and throughout the Empire can act rightly and with continuity in a combined effort to further peace and sound progress. The war, in which the magnificent forces of India have played so important a part, has been won by co-operation and action towards the ideals which we all have had in mind.

Your Council has presented an encouraging and also interesting report on the work of the year 1945-46. There is no need for me to go through the record item by item. The Report took final shape when the Chairman of Council, Sir John Woodhead, happened to be in Ireland, and hence his colleagues were the more free to express their warm appreciation of his services. (Applause.) It is my pleasure to inform you that they have further shown their appreciation by unanimously re-electing him Chairman for a further term of three years.

I may mention that yet another call has come to Sir John to serve H.M. Government abroad, though happily one which will take him from us for only a short

time. He will be going to Germany to be chairman of a Selection Committee for civil employment there of demobilized officers and men. I understand that Sir Harry Haig, a valued member of the Council, is also going to Germany in a like capacity.

Again this year, as for each of the four previous occasions on which I have presided, I feel the utmost pleasure to state my grateful thanks to our great Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown. (Applause.) No Association could possibly have been better served than has this one since he accepted the office in 1927. My successor and the Association need feel no qualms. Sir Frank is, I believe, a perennial! The figures of membership and of the financial position are indications of his unceasing activity in furtherance of our work. We have also to thank Mr. King for his long and faithful service. (Applause.)

For myself, I revert to the position of a Vice-President, after having the honour of filling the presidential chair for nearly five years. It has given my wife and me much pleasure to serve the Association during this momentous time, first of war and then of transfer to uneasy peace, with all the dislocations brought thereby. We were grateful to receive a warm letter of appreciation on behalf of the Council from Sir Atul Chatterjee. I need not add that our interest in the work of the Association will continue unabated. I am gratified to know that the presidentship passes into the capable hands of Lord Scarbrough. I am confident that the meeting will endorse the nomination of the Council.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND ACCOUNTS

The Hon. Sir ZAFRULLAH KHAN, who moved the adoption of the Report of the Council and Accounts for the year 1945-46, said the motion was to have been made by his friend Mr. R. A. Butler. He regretted Mr. Butler's enforced absence, not only because it deprived the meeting of the opportunity of listening to the observations of a distinguished British statesman, but because both he and Mr. Butler were Punjabis, and in the Punjab they had a very strong strain of provincial patriotism. That might have led to Mr. Butler's absence, because it would not be for the peace of mind of the other Provinces of India that the Annual Report of the East India Association should be adopted on a motion moved and seconded by Punjabis. (Laughter.) There would have been, of course, nothing invidious in that; he would not say (though nobody could stop him feeling it) that the Punjab stood in the van of all the Provinces of India with regard to all that the motto of the East India Association implied. At any rate he could say that it lagged behind no Province in its zeal to put that motto into practical effect.

During the last five years the Association could not have had a better President than Sir Frederick Sykes. His successor, another eminent Indian pro-consul, from the Province of Bombay, would have a very high standard to live up to. So far as the Honorary Secretary was concerned, there had been very few years of his own connection with the Association when Sir Frank Brown had not held that office. Today the name of Sir Frank Brown had become synonymous with the East India Association, and it would be difficult to conceive of the Association without him as its Honorary Secretary. His original selection for that post might have been a matter of choice, but by now his continuance in it had become a matter of necessity; if its standing was to be maintained at its present high level the Association could not do without him.

His own connection with the Association as an ordinary member extended over very many years. He had known the Association almost from the time when he first set foot in England as a student. He had derived great help from its Proceedings, and did not stand alone in that respect. The service that the Association rendered to India was not confined to those who were fortunate enough to be able to attend its meetings; it appealed strongly to a very wide public in India. He was one of the very few who were in the fortunate position of continuously looking at both sides of its activities, and he could give the assurance that they were very highly valued in India. The Association had, during the thirty years or so for which

he had known it, provided a forum for the impartial and objective discussion of almost every subject of importance to India, where all points of view were welcomed and were freely expressed. The Association had no politics, and that was something which was of very great value in the relationship which had existed for the last fifty years between Great Britain and India. Its value would not be reduced in the new relationship which he hoped would be established between this country and his own. It was very gratifying to learn from the Annual Report that the finances of the Association were in such a flourishing condition.

In conclusion, he would like to pay tribute to those responsible for the make-up and printing of the Proceedings. They were so very well edited that they formed one of the best investments possible for those who wished to obtain information with regard to Indian affairs, fresh knowledge and stimulating new ideas on the subjects discussed. He was glad to know that the work of Sir John Cumming would make it easier for people to discover in past volumes of the Proceedings information on subjects of interest to them.

General SIR MOSLEY MAYNE, who seconded, said the declared object of the Association was the promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants of India, and it was the endeavour of the Association to further that object by the promulgation of reliable information regarding India. The lectures and articles appearing in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* were universally acknowledged to be of a very high standard, and those who attended the lectures and those who read the Review were in consequence wiser men and women; but did the wise utterances of the lecturers and the wise articles which appeared in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* really reach the general public, who ought to be taught, and many of whom were very anxious to learn? He thought that the answer was that they did not. The Association produced excellent material which was heard or read by few in England who were not members of the Association, and others who were fairly wise already.

He did not propose to propound a solution, but he would suggest that the Council should explore ways and means of ensuring that the admirable *ASIATIC REVIEW* obtained very much wider publicity in England, and, now that newsprint was less scarce, wider publicity in the daily and weekly Press. He felt that the Association produced admirable stuff, but failed to "get it across" to the people who needed it most. He did not know if the Review had a great circulation outside the membership, but unless it had he hoped that in the coming years this would be achieved in such ways as might be found feasible. He felt that something should be done to induce the general British public to read the *ASIATIC REVIEW* as a mental stimulus after satisfying their other instincts by studying such periodicals as *Men Only* and *Lilliput*.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD said it fell to him to propose an expression of thanks to Sir Frederick Sykes for his services as President during a period of five years, and also to Lady Sykes for all the assistance that she had given to the Association during that period, and secondly to propose that Lord Scarbrough be elected President for 1946-47.

Sir Frederick Sykes had been President for five years, and the Association was deeply grateful for the interest which he had taken in its work and for the time and labour which he had devoted to furthering its affairs. His term of office began in 1941, and it must be particularly gratifying to him, as it was to all the members, that the Association had progressed so greatly during those five years. Its membership was now almost 1,000, and its financial position was better than before the war, and was one of considerable strength. Its prosperity was in large measure due to Sir Frederick's interest in its work and to the assistance which he had given in conducting its affairs. Lady Sykes had also given the Association a great deal of help, particularly in regard to its receptions; he believed that she had attended them all, and her advice and support had been invaluable.

Lord Scarbrough was Governor of Bombay from 1938 to 1943, and it is a pure coincidence that the previous four Presidents had also been Governors of Bombay—Sir Frederick Sykes, Lord Willingdon, Lord Lamington and Lord Scarbrough. Like Lord Scarbrough was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, shortly before the new Government took office a year ago, and, if the electorate had not decided to commit the fortunes of this country to the Labour Party, it was very improbable that the Association would have been able to ask Lord Scarbrough to become its President. That was one benefit which it had received from the present Government.

Lord Scarbrough had placed the Association under a great obligation by agreeing to serve as President for 1946-47. The Council had asked him to be President for three years, but he felt that in view of other demands on his time, particularly in the North of England, he could not at present commit himself to three years, and preferred to leave the question of his continuance in office open until 1947. Members would sincerely hope that at the annual meeting in 1947 it would be possible to announce that Lord Scarbrough had agreed to serve for the full term of three years.

Sir GILBERT WILES, who seconded, said that Bombay had a habit of providing Presidents for the Association, from Lord Lamington to Lord Scarbrough. He had had the honour to serve under them all—eight of them, and, if he might include the gracious lady who presided over the destinies of the Overseas Club [Lady Willingdon], nine. Both the ex-Governors of Bombay who were connected with the resolution which he was seconding had favoured him with their continued friendship after retirement. He had another tie with Sir Frederick Sykes. Sir Frederick was probably unaware that on many occasions in Bombay he had had the pleasure, quite unofficially and unknown to the Governor, of acting as His Excellency. They were somewhat alike in countenance, and he recalled an occasion at a garden party in Western India where he conducted an admiring crowd, all of whom were under the impression that he was His Excellency, on a tour of the gardens. They melted like snow when the real sun came up.

It used to be said in Bombay, "Everybody loved Lady Sykes," and he need say no more than that the same regard was paid to her by all the members of the Association who had met her.

He had served with Lord Scarbrough (as Sir Roger Lumley) for three years, beginning in 1938. They were perhaps the three most difficult years of the whole of his time in India. During those years he was in close contact with Sir Roger, and had the greatest admiration for the work which he did. The Association was very fortunate in having Lord Scarbrough as its President.

The resolution was put to the meeting by Sir John Woodhead and carried unanimously, with acclamation.

The PRESIDENT, responding on behalf of Lady Sykes and himself, said he would cavil at the use of the word "coincidence" with regard to the number of ex-Governors of Bombay who had become Presidents of the Association. That seemed to him to be quite natural, and he suggested that in the official report the word "coincidence" should be deleted. (Laughter.)

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

Mrs. WINIFRED HOLMES moved that the co-option as Members of the Council of Sir Jeremy Raisman, Sir Henry Richardson and Mr. M. K. Vellodi be confirmed, and that the following Members of Council retiring by rotation be re-elected: Lady (Thomas) Bennett, Sir Henry Craw, Sir Harry Haig, Sir Hopetoun Stokes and Sir Alfred Watson.

She had recently been in India, she said, and it struck her that this was the most critical time for their two nations, a time when two old and trusted friends were in danger of growing apart because the circumstances of their lives were leading them into different ways. She felt, therefore, that, as both their civilizations would lose

if that were to happen, the work of the Association was even now than ever before. She would support General Sir Mosley in that the work of the Association could have a much wider public. If the Association were the converted, who knew and loved India, they could not know all about her, they did know something; but there were people in this country who wanted to know about India, but who did not know her as they should, and who would welcome such information. Knowing many Indians and having the pleasure of working with them, especially the younger generation, who were going to be the leaders of the State, that they too would welcome their country being understood better by the ordinary folk of Britain—the students, the working people and the ordinary people generally. She believed that would help to bridge the gap which might otherwise be created. She hoped that the new members of the Council would put their heads together with the other members to see how that could be done.

Mrs. MUNDLE seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Sir KENNETH MEALING gave the address on "The Future of British and Indian Relations," reproduced on page 319. On the motion of the President a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Sir Kenneth. Tea was then served.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association.)

BARODA AND THE NEW INDIA*

BY SIR BROJENDRA MITTER, K.C.S.I.

THE relations between employers and employees in industrial concerns in the State have, on the whole, continued to be harmonious, and our Government are making every effort to maintain them. The employees in the textile mills, etc., continued to receive a fair dearness allowance and bonus. There were, however, some disputes for increase in dearness allowance and rates of wages and for grant of bonus, etc. These disputes were referred to arbitration, and in almost all the cases the arbitrator's award was made by agreement between the parties.

The Government have continued their effort to encourage thrift among the workers. Through the efforts of special officers appointed for the purpose twenty-three co-operative credit and thrift societies of factory workers have been formed with a membership of more than 20,000. The Government have agreed to pay interest at 2 per cent. on all deposits received from these societies.

In respect to the Constitution-making position, relations between the States and British India have been left to be determined by negotiation. Pending the framing of the Indian Constitution and a treaty between India and Great Britain, the States remain under the paramountcy of the Crown. The treaties remain in force till revised in negotiation with the interim Government. And in Baroda the Attached States remain attached without being part of the State of Baroda. All this is liable to undergo material alteration in the near future. In this state of fluidity you will realize that it is not possible to fashion a finite Constitution.

I have appointed a committee to advise me as to the directions in which our Constitution can be liberalized pending the framing of the Indian Constitution. On getting the committee's report I shall formulate my own proposals for submission to His Highness. It may be I shall find it necessary to consult representatives of different interests. It will be realized that whatever the amendments may be they

* Extract from speech in opening the Budget session of the Baroda Dhara Sabha.
VOL. XLII. y

will necessarily be of a temporary character. A Constitution commountcy of the Crown and management of Attached States and would be quite different from a Constitution if Baroda becomes India Federation.

A maximum of 93 seats has been given by the Cabinet Mission as against 287 given to British India. The numbers were fixed on 6 per million of population. How the 93 seats will be distributed at whether all the 93 will be distributed will be matters of negotiation to be appointed by the British Indian members of the Council and the States Negotiating Committee, which has already been appointing Committee of Princes. The terms and conditions on which representatives may participate in the Constituent Assembly are yet uncertain. Whatever they be, the intention of His Highness and of Baroda is that the Dhara Sabha will be consulted, at a special session Baroda subjects will not go unrepresented in the Constituent Assembly be given any seats.

Whether India is going to remain united or be divided, it is going to be part of a big unit in which internal barriers must gradually be removed. Take the economic position. I shall use the word "India" as the big unit, whether it be one or two. Inside this unit, economic discrepancies, whether in the way of taxation level or the opportunities for industrial development, must give way to a closer approximation.

In one of the recent letters of the Federation of Baroda Industrialists to me, a deliberate charge has been made that our income-tax proposals are a mere *pretext* to raise more revenue. No. They are not a pretext, but an open effort to meet increased social services. You, at the last session, pressed the Government to give some measure of relief to the poor primary school teachers. We saw the justice of your request and we gave some relief. It costs the Government Rs. 6 lakhs a year. Again, our poor railway employees found it difficult to make both ends meet. We gave them some concessions, like cheap grain. It costs the Government Rs. 1,71,000 a year. Free ration to our combatants in the Army costs Rs. 7 lakhs a year. Our cheap grain shops cost us about Rs. 6 lakhs a year. It is unnecessary to multiply instances of increased cost which our millionaires characterize as a pretext. I do hope that the answer to them will come from you when you consider the Income-tax Amendment Bill. The cost of living is as high as in war-time, and may continue so for an indefinite period. Which is more important—that our poor subjects should live or that our opulent industrialists should augment their fortunes and not contribute a mite to the general coffers? I utter a timely warning to them. If they do not change their attitude the new Governments in India will not hesitate to nationalize the key industries. We want to develop industries in the State and we are anxious to help. Our captains of industries must realize that they owe some duty to society, which they can easily discharge without any inconvenience. They must not regard themselves as outside and above society. They must also realize that before long they will form part of the big family of industrialists of India and not a small coterie of privileged beings under the protective umbrella of low taxation and large concessions.

From the information in the possession of Government I cannot say that our State is free from this nefarious anti-social evil of the black market. We have, however, been vigilant, and many offenders, including some Government employees, have been brought to book. As you can well imagine, it is not easy to bring the guilt home to every culprit, when many conspire to profit by these activities. The only way in which this evil can be countered is by the willing and active co-operation of the public who are the victims. It is no use denying the fact that such co-operation is not forthcoming in an effective manner. Anonymous representations are frequent but the necessary evidence is fugitive. I appeal to all members to help Government to fight the evil.

THE PORT OF COCHIN: A STUDY IN CO-OPERATION*

BY SIR ROBERT BRISTOW, C.I.E.

THE experiences I have to relate are so unusual and peculiar to India that at one time I asked myself whether they would be of sufficient general interest to justify such a paper as this, dedicated as it is to international affairs. But two considerations prevailed: (1) A timely word of encouragement from your General Secretary, Major Louis Wraft, who wrote:

"I think an address showing the implications, economic and otherwise, of the creation of a great port, is a novel and most interesting subject for the Institute in general and for Durban members in particular."

And (2) the thought that never has there been greater need for co-operation than now; and if I could show how apparently insoluble problems have, in fact, proved soluble when all seemed lost, then perhaps my paper might reach out to wider fields and have some international significance.

I am going to speak of the Port of Cochin, the oldest European settlement in India and its newest major port, situated on the Malabar Coast, 580 miles south of Bombay. It has a rich hinterland and many planting areas, a warm and humid climate, a heavy rainfall and a dense population. It is the largest and the finest natural harbour I have seen, and the noon-day sparkle of its broad and glowing waters, its opalescent dawns and iridescent afterglows are things of pure beauty. I must try to assemble such factors as the way of nature in forming the harbour, its political significance, its earlier history and use, and the business reaction to later proposals, as well as the trials of four separate Governments in finding a settlement. I will give the briefest outline of the engineering features and their economic significance, a short sketch of the railway company's problem as a dividend-paying concern, and some account of the administrative and other bombshells which fell among us from time to time. In conclusion I will offer a summary of the scope of my paper and invite your consideration of a few relevant comments.

A.D. 1300-1900: FORMATION, HISTORY AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Cochin, like most river ports, is the focal point of many conflicting natural forces, ocean currents, wind, littoral drifts, and alluvial discharges. Before A.D. 1341 the huge backwaters reaching from what is now Quilon in the south to Cranganur in the north, a distance of about 108 miles, had, I believe, two outlets to the sea, one at Cranganur at the mouth of the ancient Periyar River and the other at a point considerably south of Cochin. This southerly point gradually advanced northward, the flood waters throwing up year by year a further length of sandy spit. In time, exceptional floods probably reached northward as far as Cochin, and gradually that opening became stabilized and permanent by the advancement of another spit from the north named Vaipin (which means "new accretion"), leaving an entrance only 400 yards wide and varying in depth from about 40 to 60 feet.

There is no historic mention of the name Cochin before A.D. 1399, and the word is said by one authority to be derived from "Kachi," old Tamil, I believe, for "harbour." The Indian State opposite which nature formed the harbour was known previously as Parum-pa-dappu Nad, and had been under the rule of Rajas for untold generations. Almost exactly a century after the first mention of Cochin in history the Portuguese trading fleet under Captain-General Cabral, having been rejected by the Calicut traders, sailed over the bar into Cochin where Cabral made a treaty with the Raja. After many trials and vicissitudes of fortune the Portuguese were suc-

* Lecture delivered to the South African Institute of International Affairs (Natal Branch). Dr. E. G. Malherbe presided.

ceeded by the Dutch in 1663, who in turn gave way to the British in 1795, though the Treaty was not signed until 1814.

From then onwards Cochin remained a port used both by British and Indian merchants. As sailing vessels were gradually succeeded by the deeper steamships, trading vessels anchored about three miles off the coast, and the shipping agents handled the trade in sea-going lighters under sail and loosely constructed of timbers sewn together with coir yarn to provide a measure of flexibility when bumping against the freighters in rough weather. Thus there arose the curious anomaly of a magnificent natural inland port, one of the largest in the world, with 40 to 60 feet permanent depth at its entrance, acting as a roadstead in a country whose protected ports could then be numbered on the fingers of one hand.

Cochin, like all other Indian States, is governed by hereditary rulers under the suzerainty of the Crown, and is bounded at various points by the Indian State of Travancore (chiefly to the south), and by the Madras Presidency elsewhere, with the Arabian Sea to the west. At or near the harbour mouth an area of one square mile is made up of three detached fragments within the Madras Presidency and still under British rule. Of the vast backwaters roughly 120 square miles in extent, by far the greater part lies within Travancore State, which, moreover, is five times larger than that of Cochin and possesses many of its own ports (roadsteads).

Thus, in any modern attempt to transform Cochin into a major deepwater port there were three Governments directly and indirectly concerned and each with a different point of view; while distant but watchful sat the Government of India, in whose hands lay the power of ultimate sanction, for no harbour could be opened out to the deep sea at Cochin except through British waters, and the powers of the Madras Government were in some respects limited. The harbour area, however it could be legally restricted as such, lay in two territories, and to create a statutory port authority meant the passing of identical Acts by the Cochin and Madras Governments and the duplication of administrative departments outside the normal functioning of a port authority and yet essential to it, as, for example, in respect of customs and excise, police, income-tax and the like. The British authorities therefore sought the cession by Cochin of civil and criminal jurisdiction over the port area. The Cochin Maharajah and his Government, with the overwhelming support of his people, resisted it. Moreover, as the discussions developed, there came into view other impediments and objections, those of business interests, those of Governments, and those of existing ports. We must examine these objections separately.

A.D. 1920: BUSINESS INTERESTS

The methods of financing and constructing ports in Great Britain, America, France, India and elsewhere vary considerably. One good rule is that a Government should bear the cost of bringing vessels into harbour by the dredging of adequate channels and that local funds should provide the wharf and other port facilities. This matter is too wide to be discussed in detail; it is enough to say here that in India, with rare exceptions, the trade of the port must pay for all improvements under both heads. The local merchants are therefore concerned with two major principles, first to keep port expenditure as low as possible and, contrariwise, to make as much profit on the private handling and storing of goods as may be legitimate without overloading selling prices beyond an established norm. Hence, when a Government intervenes by adding facilities in the interests of the general community (and with the concurrence of the port authority), the local merchants have to ask themselves to what extent increased dues will add to normal selling prices or reduce their own handling and storing profits. They are concerned also with two other business apprehensions: first, the improved facilities might become so attractive as to invite more competition from outside, and second, their own premises might be found out of date and remote from a new and better centre of activity. These are comprehensible and legitimate business considerations: What the shipping agents desired so ardently was the dredging of a safe "pool" in the middle of the harbour, where ships could lie at buoys, so that they as lighterage contractors would retain their

cargo-boat traffic to and from the shore; whereas the Madras Government, taking a longer view, sought a scheme in which ships would moor direct to wharves and alongside railway trucks, thus facilitating and encouraging easy transit from producer to ship and from ship to consumer.

Moreover, the trade of the Malabar Coast had been handled at other roadsteads, chiefly in British India and Travancore, *where the same Cochin shipping agents operated*, either from their secondary branches or their principal offices. If Cochin became a sheltered harbour it seemed almost inevitable that, at least in the monsoon season, from June to September, traffic would be diverted by rail or backwater to Cochin's new wharves, and the agents at these other roadsteads would thereby lose their profitable handling and other fees and charges as they would in any case at Cochin. Further, the shipping agents were paid a percentage of the freight charges levied by shipping companies on exports, and if the port were so improved as to effect a quick "turn-round" of shipping at all times of the year (in contrast with the delays often experienced at a number of open roadsteads) then a demand for a reduction in freight rates, to Europe especially, might reasonably follow, and here again the agents would lose appreciably, especially if the trade of *many* roadsteads were collected at the *one* port which could logically demand cheaper freights commensurate with its improved facilities.

In other words, the Malabar Coast had built up a "roadstead" tradition natural to its disabilities. Without any preconceived intention it just happened that the trade was being handled and rehandled in the most expensive way. It had probably been so for centuries, and the shipping agents' claim was, in effect, that a prescriptive right had been established and that their interests were properly "vested" by use and custom.

A.D. 1920-1921: THE INTERESTS OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT

There was good reason for sober review and enquiry by this Government in 1920. From time to time after 1870, and even before, opinions had been sought from experts, none of whom had given an unqualified expression of belief in the possibility of dredging and maintaining a deep approach channel from the open sea. A submerged bar of heavy sand guarded the entrance and beyond that lay miles of soft mud. Inside the bar a shallow plateau of heavy sand stretched towards the harbour entrance. Was it really possible to dredge a deep three-mile channel through such obstacles and keep it navigable during the monsoon periods? Would not the heavy waves and groundswell, which were notoriously severe, cause rapid silting in the channel even if none was deposited by the long ebb tides? Would not the removal of a considerable portion of the bar itself allow the bigger waves and groundswell to enter the harbour with greater freedom and so change it from a magnificent mooring area to one of doubtful utility?

And that was not all. For seventy years there had existed what came to be known as the "battle of the groynes," a dispute among experts as to the best method of stopping the erosion of Vaipin, the natural sandspit which constituted a northern breakwater arm to the harbour system. If this were washed away the harbour as such would no longer exist. The Civil Engineer recently transferred from the Admiralty was confident that he could overcome all these difficulties, but he was not yet forty years of age, and were they, as guardians of the public purse, to accept his word against the strong body of doubtful or adverse opinion which preceded it? Again, even admitting that with his more modern knowledge he might be right, was it not probable that the estimates of a professed optimist, like so many others of their kind, would be greatly exceeded, and prove to be beyond the financial resources of the port, which were admittedly very moderate?

So much for the engineering aspect, but as a Government they had also to consider the effect of a growing port at Cochin against certain roadsteads on the east coast of India, and especially against the old port of Madras and the stability of Madras as the capital city, largely dependent as it was on the stability of its useful but not too prosperous port. The Madras shipping agents and merchants had been quite explicit in their views. As one of them put it to me :

"Here we are, with trade declining, and no visible chance of recovery. We can hardly pay our way as it is, and now there is this proposal to make another major port not wholly in British waters and probably not wholly under British control."

Such were the major doubts and objections which the Madras Government had to consider in 1920, and which led them to appoint (at my own suggestion) a representative committee of sixteen persons for the purpose of obtaining an opinion on the points at issue. In addition, they agreed to try my plan for the prevention of further erosion along the strip of coast which acted as a breakwater to the harbour on its north side.

The *ad hoc* Committee, as it was called, held many meetings and sub-committee meetings, and reached certain conclusions which were carried *nem. con.* Its members discussed much of the ground already described and agreed to the development of the harbour according to a plan, evolved during and out of their deliberations, whereby wharves and warehouses with rail and road bridges to link them to the mainland would be constructed, *provided* that the shipping agents were allowed to handle traffic from moorings in stream up to a maximum of 500,000 tons per annum—a generous estimate of the then existing trade.* They submitted estimates and financial proposals as well as a preliminary plan. It was an excellent example of co-operation and compromise which astonished all who were watching events, for an agreed solution had been reckoned in the highest degree improbable.

The report of the *ad hoc* Committee enabled the Madras Government to come to grips with the problem. Here at any rate was an agreed and comprehensive scheme. And a month or two later, after the monsoon storms, we were able to report complete and obvious success in stopping the erosion at Vaipin, another solid gain. We had thus taken two very stiff fences within those first six months, but Government spent another six months in weighing up all the chances and looking to the future. Briefly their conclusions were:

(1) On the engineering side they wanted more proof of the practicability of dredging and maintaining a deep approach channel across the open sea, and so approved the execution of certain experimental plans submitted to them which, it was hoped, would settle the matter;

(2) On the financial and administrative issue they invited co-operation of the Cochin and Travancore States.

We were instructed accordingly as to (1), and on the second point Government set out on the difficult task of framing an agreement which would satisfy all parties and secure the approval of the Government of India as well. On the general question of private interests and the affairs of other ports they took the broad view that Cochin harbour, if it could be developed as suggested, was an asset of so much importance that it could not be allowed to remain in its rudimentary condition; that British India as well as the States of Cochin and Travancore needed industries and communications as well as a modern port to support their rapidly growing and literate population, and that in the event of war a harbour at Cochin might prove invaluable. It was the only port in India on the *direct* far-east route from Aden, and could provide in time fuel and water, fresh provisions and safe refuge from submarines. It could accommodate seaplanes and airplanes as well as all kinds of ships, including large men-of-war and passenger vessels. It was the only deep port between Bombay on the west coast and Madras on the east (omitting Goa, which, of course, is Portuguese); and the business interests would have to adapt themselves to a new order, as happens everywhere else when occasion demands.

At this distance of time it is clear that the Madras Government, with His Excellency the late Lord Willingdon both as Governor and active mover in this matter, handled a difficult problem extremely well.

* It may be mentioned here that the import and export trade of Cochin was roughly balanced in *value* but not in quantity, exports being one-fifth in weight but five times in value over imports.

A.D. 1921-1924: THE INTERESTS OF THE INDIAN STATES

The financial and administrative agreement to which we have just referred was not negotiated without delay and difficulty, and its scope is so broad that only an outline sketch can be given here. On the political side Lord Willingdon was convinced that sooner or later pressure would be brought upon the Government of India, possibly by business interests at Bombay, to abort the proposals, and he desired the added support of the whole countryside if and when matters reached a climax. The Madras Government, moreover, were not prepared to take the responsibility of financing the whole of the development; the two Indian States would have to pay their share. On the other hand, if the experimental work proved successful, Madras was willing to take responsibility for financing the next stage, the major dredging works, provided they could first borrow from the Government of India if necessary, and then receive equated payments from the port authority over a redemption period of thirty years. As it happened, the cost of these major dredging works was estimated at a figure within the port's financial resources, given a moderate increase in the landing and shipping dues, and the Madras Government were in a fairly safe position.

Eventually the two Indian States and Madras each agreed to pay from current revenue a third of the cost of the experimental works recently begun and a third of the development costs after the major dredging was completed and the harbour brought into regular use; but for the later payments the Indian States desired to be recouped, and the only financial source appeared to be the customs revenue. Until then this had been divided equally between Cochin State and the Government of India, but it was agreed that ultimately the nett total of dues collected on the back-water system should be shared equally, each party taking a third, including Travancore. At that time this third share represented a not immoderate rate of interest on the estimated contributions by the two States.

Indian Cochin, however, raised a serious issue over a new point. In the scheme put forward by the *ad hoc* Committee, a large reclamation of 640 acres of new land (afterwards increased to 850) figured as a most attractive asset to the port finances. The State now claimed this prospective land as their own property because it was to be made in their territory, thereby completely upsetting the balance of financial stability which the Committee's proposals undoubtedly guaranteed. The Madras Government, however, agreed to the State's contention provided that a part of the land was retained for "harbour purposes" and the State paid the "cost" of making the remainder. The terms "harbour purposes" and "cost" were not defined. Otherwise Cochin State stood for "the scheme, the whole scheme and nothing but the scheme," but Travancore agreed somewhat reluctantly, or so it seemed. Their position was certainly difficult. They already possessed at Alleppey, Quilon and elsewhere certain roadstead ports under their complete control, and these ports, or some of them, were in competition with Cochin, and with strong European support. It seemed anomalous even then that Travancore could shake hands on one side and challenge with the other, and on this point as well as many others the agreement provoked a grim smile from those who saw its technical ambiguities. However, the Government of India was nominated by all parties as sole arbitrator in the event of disputes, and it was generally felt that, somehow or other "*alles sal reg kom*," as they say here: all would come right in the end.

Actually the agreement served a very useful purpose, even though certain crucial difficulties relating to the dispute about civil and criminal jurisdiction and dual control were perforce left over for the time being. Thus, following a hard won and somewhat uneasy and tentative solution from the engineering aspect, there followed an equally uneasy and experimental agreement administratively, but in each case nothing more could be done at the time. From the beginning Cochin seemed "born to trouble as the sparks fly upward."

A.D. 1921-1924: AN UNTOWARD INCIDENT

Trouble, indeed, and of a much more serious order was brewing elsewhere. Under instructions from the Madras Government my department was then investigating the

possibility of deepening the sea route between Ceylon and India, so that vessels proceeding to and from Madras and Calcutta could pass direct through the Palk Straits and thus avoid the longer journey round the east coast of Ceylon, often a very rough one. It was an attractive proposal, and entailed the cutting of a deep channel, preferably passing through the island of Rameswaram, an old proposal previously explored by the South Indian Railway Company, because it had a bearing on the prospects of a somewhat unremunerative section of their railway. Rameswaram Island is connected to the mainland of India by a railway bridge at Pamban and then juts out toward Ceylon, the railway terminating at a place called Danaskhodi, where a ferry service to Ceylon takes over the traffic.

The objects of my survey were first to ascertain whether such a canal and new sea route were practicable, and second, if so, what the cost would be compared with the probable receipts. There was no suggestion on the part of Government that the proposals for Cochin would be affected; it was an entirely separate matter dealing with entirely different lines of policy relating to east coast matters, not west coast. However, certain business groups in Madras and elsewhere got together and framed proposals whereby a *port* would be built on the *canal*, and a concession obtained for its working, after construction by a private firm who were also interested in the proposal. Funds were to be provided by the group under certain guarantees from Government, and the outcome would be the gradual transfer of a proportion of Sour India's trade to a railway port on the canal and the decline or closing down of other ports, including Cochin, which it was said in some quarters might then be superfluous as a major port. It was a far more revolutionary proposal than that of Cochin and promoted entirely by private enterprise. A provisional estimate had been given to the promoters based on certain speculations as to the nature of the ground to be excavated, and the figure looked very promising.

However, as our survey proceeded, it became clear that this preliminary estimate, while agreeing with one made several years before by a railway engineer, was far too optimistic. Part of the dredging would have proved difficult and costly, and there were complications and hazards which our comprehensive survey revealed only too clearly; the southern foreshore was rapidly accreting, sand dunes moved forward across the line of the canal, the southern entry needed breakwaters, and mists of doubt hung over the costs of maintenance. In the end the capital charge was estimated at double the original figure, and more than double the estimate for dredging the approach channel at Cochin. This in effect killed the proposal, though not without serious opposition and very unpleasant consequences personally. In some ways, however, it was a valuable experience, for the ways of big business were never quite so mysterious afterwards.

Meanwhile the experimental work at Cochin was proceeding steadily with the old plant available (all rather undersized), and after the monsoon of 1923 we were able to report progress. On every count technically we had no doubt that the results were satisfactory and justified the prosecution of the major dredging scheme, but after full consideration the Madras Government wisely decided to obtain another opinion. They forwarded the papers to an influential committee of three experts in London, where again the proposals were subjected to searching scrutiny, and I was minutely cross-examined for ten days before securing what, in effect, amounted to unanimous approval. This occurred in July, 1924, and marked the end of our second big step forward, as it marked also the end of Lord Willingdon's term as Governor of Madras. But he was to come again as Viceroy many years later, and once more bring his powerful aid at a critical time.

A.D. 1924-1933: THE MERCHANTS' REACTION

I must pass rapidly over the years 1924 to 1930. Shortly, a powerful dredger discharging through a long pipeline arrived at Cochin in May, 1926, and after a brief set-back established a deep-water channel out to sea in March, 1928, besides creating a large area of good land inside the harbour and deepening the mooring areas. It was a dramatic success, and the dredging staff, working on a bonus system, broke every known record for dredging output combined with low cost. To this day I know of

no better dredging combination than the *Lord Willingdon* and its pipeline at Cochin. As an example of its efficiency and that of the Indian dredging crew (under British supervision), it sweeps the outer channel free from silt in three weeks' work every year, the quantity being about 2,000,000 cubic yards, and the cost about a penny, or little more, per cubic yard measured *in situ*.

This success, however, had the result of reviving business apprehensions in Cochin and elsewhere as to the effect of a completed Cochin on the economic *status quo* of South India, and a determined attack was made, first on the harbour staff after the setback previously mentioned (which entailed nothing more serious than the re-design and renewal of the ball-joints connecting the units of the pipeline), and then on the principle of development outlined in the four party agreement, to which the merchants' representatives at Cochin had previously subscribed in 1925. Unfortunately the world slump in 1929-1932 coincided with the new development and hit some of the firms rather severely, so that as the designs for the conversion of the harbour into a first-class modern port proceeded it was only too evident that nearly all the merchants of the south-west coast were again up in arms. The main cause of contention, as before, was the deep wharf, the construction of which would cut out lighterage traffic within the harbour in respect of rail- and road-borne merchandize. To support their case the merchants insisted that Cochin would not create new traffic but would merely divert it from other ports, whereas all the information available from world sources indicated that a definite and often remarkable impetus was given to a port once new industries were assured of good rail and wharf connections.

The dispute was further aggravated by the sudden appearance of the South Indian Railway Company as yet another opponent and one also directed by a home board. What the railway company feared was a short-circuiting of their goods' traffic. In their case the loss was likely to be increased by the fact that, if goods were railed to any wholly British port on their system, the company took the whole of the profits, but if taken to Cochin the trains would have to pass for sixty miles over the Cochin State Railway, and although the same company worked and were paid for working this line, only a portion of the *profit* would then fall to their credit. Similar objections arose in other railway quarters. The Madras Government took it all very calmly and called yet another large conference of all interested parties to discuss the matter *de novo*. The late Sir Krishnan Nair, law member of the Madras Government, presided very ably and affably, and after much plain speaking on all sides, blandly put certain motions which were carried and which secured the principle of extension as proposed, but on a reduced scale.

This, however, was succeeded by much more important discussions on various questions concerning port boundaries, civil and criminal jurisdiction, customs administration and the like, during which the Cochin Chief Minister, a European officer of the British Service seconded to Cochin, was pressed on all sides to agree to a cession of Cochin territory for the purpose of jurisdiction. His reply was that while a single jurisdiction might well be preferable, for political reasons it was not possible and there was an end of it. The matter would have to go to the Government of India. These discussions were all so contentious that the phrase "and so we have reached another impasse" became a common one.

A few months later the designs and estimates for the amended works proposals were submitted in Madras to a third conference. They were approved in principle and referred to the committee of experts who had been appointed to consider the original scheme more than eight years previously. Fortunately the intense opposition provoked had necessitated an abundant supply of corroborative data, and the committee had no difficulty in confirming the general lay-out with certain technical modifications which I could accept. Thus was the way clear at last for action—as it seemed.

A.D. 1933-1936: SOME MORE BOMBSHELLS

In a last effort the merchants of the port and some of their allies made an attempt in 1933 to throw over their agreement of only two years previously, but the Madras Government were "tired of these tergiversations" and had no difficulty in rebutting certain mathematical fallacies upon which the claim was built. Meanwhile, however,

the Government of India, watching and waiting at New Delhi, had been reconsidering the problem from other angles. Like the Madras Government, its senior officers had grave doubts as to the possibility of working such a harbour smoothly on the basis of divided jurisdiction, but even more important to them was the question of its finance and the repayment of loans. Under the old four party agreement the Governments of Cochin and Travancore, it will be remembered, were each to contribute towards the cost of the final works, and for this they would receive a yearly payment of one-third of the nett customs receipts, which in 1922 represented a not immoderate rate of interest. But meanwhile the increased trade of Cochin and the expansions in the scope and scale of all-India tariffs had resulted in a remarkable multiplication of these receipts. Such a radical change had not been foreseen, and resulted in a financial absurdity which was clearly outside the spirit and intention of the original agreement.

This development, however, was not entirely unexpected by my department, and we had actually raised the question of the financial anomaly in one of our contributions to the discussions two years previously. Now we were at liberty to prepare and put forward schemes for solving the problems raised by the Government of India. Our plan for a redistribution of the customs receipts by substituting a maximum limit to the third share and a small percentage thereafter, was accepted; our plan for a unified port authority was not. Once again the steady persistence of His Excellency Lord Willingdon, now as Viceroy, prevailed in the end and with the ardent co-operation of a new Cochin Diwan (Chief Minister) a scheme of double jurisdiction with safeguards was finally evolved in 1935. Thus ended five years of continuous effort which taxed the patience and resource of my headquarter staff almost beyond endurance and brought upon us the concentrated and objective criticism of four Governments besides the not-so-objective criticism of every vested interest directly or indirectly connected with Cochin.

A.D. 1936-1941: JOURNEY'S END

From 1936 onwards I was appointed Administrative Officer for the Government of India as well as Harbour Engineer-in-Chief. In that year the Central Government took all major ports under their direct purview, including Cochin, and set up an advisory committee of eleven members to assist in its management. I was made chairman of this committee, and from the outset treated it as a statutory Port Trust, though, in fact, it had no statutory powers. It was most representative; there were two members appointed by each of the three Governments (the control of Madras had passed to the Government of India), two from various municipalities, two from Chambers of Commerce, British and Indian, and myself. The Government of India nominated the agent to the South Indian Railway and the port officer as their representatives, and the two Indian States of Cochin and Travancore sent senior officers, who were changed from time to time. From what has been said it will be realized that there were few members with common interests, and we tried to find a reasonable compromise for every contentious matter. Where agreement seemed lacking we avoided snap divisions and let time do its work one way or another. We got along very well on the whole, and the Agenda and Minutes of the years 1936-1940 provide most instructive reading as to the problems which face a new major port. Meanwhile, the new works were all proceeding smoothly and rapidly, but in 1937 came a threat and a great anxiety beyond anything previously experienced. One of the largest "Malabar mudbanks" (which have existed from time immemorial off the south-west coast of India) suddenly lunged itself southward and invaded our long approach channel. Foot by foot, rapidly and inexorably the channel silted, and presently our reserve of extra depth specially allowed for monsoon silting was filled up three months before the normal end of the silting season. The Bibby Line passenger vessels, which had started to call regularly, found themselves by the good fortune of consistently favourable tide levels, just able to navigate the channel safely. But the situation was tense. Such a development at Cochin was believed to be unprecedented in history, although exhaustive research discovered similar movements, but on a minor scale. Once again my department were involved in crucial investigations, and once again an

advisory committee (consisting this time of one experienced civil engineer and two well-known geologists) was set up in London at my request to consider our reports and documents. After the closest investigation and important research carried out at Rothamstead, the committee accepted our conclusions as to the cause and nature of the invasion, besides adding a most illuminating commentary on the whole subject, and further experience showed that the danger was neither irremediable nor so serious as had been feared. But the year July, 1937, to July, 1938, was fraught with deadly anxiety, lest, after all, Cochin was doomed to extinction or financial ruin.

The following year brought the war and with it the postponement of our economic hopes, coupled however with the complete military justification of all our efforts, for with the fall of Singapore Cochin became a bastion of India and the Commonwealth, with consequent naval, military and air force developments. If it had been created for that and for no other purpose its price was insignificant in the scale of war expenditure. The whole of the harbour work, dredging and all other plant, bridges, railways, stations, roads, buildings, wharves, a small dry dock and slipways, staff and equipment, cost less than £1,500,000, and we had saved, after twenty years of intermittent capital work, some £94,000 on our original estimate of 1920, which included the same or equivalent items. All this work was done departmentally by Indians with a handful of devoted British engineers in charge, who were assisted by equally devoted Indian assistants in the upper grades. They all worked together like Trojans, and no praise is too high for them. And by 1945 the trade had trebled itself. My deputy, Mr. D. G. Milne, C.I.E., succeeded me in 1941.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The history of Cochin port thus affords an interesting example of economic evolution, beginning as usual with the adventure of private enterprise on a small scale and ending with private enterprise still operating, but within, and according to a key plan of facilities ordered by Government for national reasons and in the interests of producers and consumers rather than intermediary agents. It is also, I believe, a unique example of co-operation and compromise between four Governments and the whole of a large business community, and casts much light on the following questions:

1. To what extent should private enterprise and vested interests be allowed to gain a hold on the direction of public facilities such as ports and railways?
2. At what point is a Government justified in assuming control over such facilities and under what terms?
3. What are the probable consequences of such intervention, and, arising out of these three points,
4. What are the fundamental considerations which should govern the creation and co-ordination of all communications—economic, financial and administrative?

After what I have written you will not expect me to labour the first three points. Cochin tells its own tale. But as to the fourth you will no doubt be asking yourselves where should such Government intervention stop? In what measure is any Government sufficiently qualified, even with advisory assistance, to prepare a key plan of the proper functions of all trade routes, roads and railways, canals and rivers, shipping, sea ports, and air ports, etc., showing both their inter-relationship and separate spheres of action? I know of no subject other than industry itself which is so wide and elusive and so much in need of sober research, not only in separate countries, but in the whole of the British Commonwealth as well. We need most urgently co-ordinated action between the Government services, the professions, and private business interests, in order to find the most practicable scheme of land, sea and air collaboration, one which will combine a maximum of efficiency with a minimum of cost. If it were a Mulberry or a Pluto I suppose we should get it. It is a matter of equally grave import.

A step in this direction seems to be overdue, and it is in this stepping forward, I think, that we advance towards that social security of which we hear so much. Social security cannot be forthcoming from an Act of Parliament any more than we can achieve peace by passing a vote in the local Vestry. The release of *primal energy* in

deadly form makes it axiomatic that world potentialities need a civilized world control; and on this principle our Commonwealth will be immeasurably stronger if its communications are unified. Politically, also, nothing could be more desirable.

Such are a few of the constructive suggestions which seem to arise from my paper, and which I would submit for your consideration. With the world in ferment as it is we obviously need to have great patience and to keep our tempers; but we also need a live initiative and steady persistence, and we may have to take risks. "My admirals," said Napoleon, "win no victories, because they have not learnt that to win victories one must take risks." Another brilliant Frenchman, you will remember, said of a certain problem: "If it is only difficult it is already done; *if it is impossible it shall be done.*" Or, finally, as we used to say at Cochin, "There is always a way," and it was always so. But, alas, not without deeply regretted casualties. Four of my most devoted staff died as a result of their laborious and exacting work; never did men bear the heat and burden of India more than these, and I record their names in sorrow and gratitude: Mr. John White, dredging superintendent and chief engineer, pipeline; Khan Sahib Biccū Bala, chief dredging master, *Lord Willingdon* dredger; Rao Sahib Sambandam Mudaliyar, senior staff officer and secretary; Mr. Panchipekesan, office manager, engineering accounts section.

BRITISH CO-OPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE INDUSTRY

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM BAND, D.SC., F.INST.P.

THE AMERICAN DRIVE IN NORTH CHINA

AT the present time the rehabilitation of North China is almost entirely an American responsibility. The repatriation of Japanese troops is being arranged for by American transport; conciliation between the Chinese Communists and Nationalists is being promoted under American leadership; the distribution of relief is being supervised by American personnel; equipment required for the rebuilding of essential services is coming from the United States of America and will bear American trade-marks.

All Western groups in China fully realize, of course, that their future opportunities in that country will depend fundamentally on the goodwill of the Chinese people. While accepting their responsibilities in North China, the Americans have naturally gone all out in every possible way to win that goodwill.

On paper the "Open Door" policy is still accepted by the Americans, and they have no more extra-territoriality rights than any other Westerners in China today; and yet to all appearances the "good old times," when British trade was flourishing in Tientsin, seem in danger of becoming just so much past history. Among Britain's "Old China hands" there are some who suffer from Ameri-phobia, and who look upon the present turn of events in the Peking-Tientsin area as spelling the end of British trade interests in North China. The thesis of the present memorandum is, on the contrary, that the establishment of goodwill between China and the Americans is not only not detrimental to British interests, but, if taken in the proper spirit, can do nothing but good all round.

Let us, in short, welcome, as do the Chinese themselves, the splendid work that America is attempting towards setting the Chinese once again upon their feet; meanwhile, let us also prepare ourselves to do a beneficial business with 450,000,000 more prosperous customers. If this involves friendly rivalry with America, what harm can there be in that? It is an American conviction that freedom to compete is the very life-blood of a progressive community. To the American, at least, there is nothing inconsistent between friendly rivalry and co-operation; they are the same

thing looked at from different points of view. We should be prepared to co-operate with America in that sense.

CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

Nor will the Chinese object to such co-operation. It has been a cardinal point in all Chinese foreign policy since the foundation of the Republic to play one foreign power off against another. Too much American influence in China will be just as distasteful to the Chinese as too much British influence, and it will not be very long before the Chinese will be encouraging British contacts so that friendly rivalry between us shall work to their benefit.

CHINA'S MAJOR INDUSTRIAL NEEDS

The field for development in North China alone is almost inconceivably vast. The writer has a painfully vivid picture of that field. To reach safety from Peking my wife and I had to walk over 1,100 miles of mountain footpaths, passing through over 500 villages. Yet for only a few miles was it possible to use a respectable cart-track; and in all that distance we saw only three motor roads and one single-track railway—operated and patrolled by the enemy. This was in the Provinces of Hopei and Shansi, which, for China, are comparatively well industrialized. Imagine a region more mountainous than North Wales, double the area of Great Britain, without a single motor road or railway!

The major needs for development are obviously: (1) road and rail construction; (2) irrigation, river conservation and flood control; (3) electrical power; (4) co-operative farm mechanization; (5) geophysical prospecting and mining. These are roughly in order of priority for North China, but they apply in general for the entire country.

No foreign power is in a position to develop all these things for the Chinese purely as a piece of philanthropy. The Chinese will have to do most of the work themselves, and they are planning to do so with technical assistance from abroad. They will succeed only in so far as the projects are supplied with adequately trained personnel in ever-increasing numbers. It is, in fact, well appreciated that the basis of success in their industrial revolution is popular education in science and technology.

The Chinese are a conservative people. Their political revolution has been going on since 1911, and they are still at the preparatory educational stage where cultural foundations are being carefully laid. Even the Chinese Communists believe that China has yet to go through a stage of capitalist private enterprise to build up the industrial revolution. Therefore there is no time like the present. If we can establish British contacts with China's drive for popular technical education we shall be getting in on the ground floor as it were. There may not be so much chance for "flag-wagging" through the windows, but there will be a very real opportunity to establish a solid friendship on the best possible foundation.

CULTURAL LIAISON AS AN INVESTMENT

Channels for vigorous co-operation in this educational campaign already exist, first in our Christian schools and colleges throughout China, and also in the more recent cultural mission of the British Council. The writer has spent seventeen years with one of the leading Christian universities, and during that time was for one year seconded to work with the British Council's mission in Chungking.

The British Council's mission is frankly propagandist in the best sense. The enthusiastic pioneer work of the scientists and scholars on that mission was warmly welcomed by the Chinese. It was a first-class investment if measured in terms of the goodwill secured thereby for Britain in China. But the British Council is an official body, and so limited to work through official channels; while it performs a most valuable function, it is not enough.

The Christian schools and colleges, on the other hand, have had to face a different kind of disadvantage. While they have remained free of political and diplomatic ties, they have had to overcome Chinese suspicions of their original religious

proselytic objectives. But it is now generally acknowledged that educational missions, like medical missions, in China, are themselves worthy Christian enterprises for the sake of their own immediate objectives quite apart from the evangelical opportunities which they undoubtedly present. While there is and always will be a strong nucleus of missionaries on the staff of all Christian institutions in China, whose main purpose is evangelical, there are others who have been attracted to educational and medical work in China as in itself a direct expression of Christian idealism.

This broadening outlook has carried the Christian movement in China a long way towards actual leadership of the nation's re-awakening, and has predisposed the Chinese to accept our work as disinterestedly for the good of the Chinese people. This was especially true of our war-time experience. From the beginning of the conflict our staff and students took a zealous part in the campaign, which eventually drove the Chinese Government, against the advice of its best military experts, into armed resistance to Japan. After 1937 our students trained for war service. In Peking we made use of our neutrality rights to stay in enemy-occupied areas between 1937 and December, 1941, and trained Chinese patriots for resistance right under the noses of the Japanese. Our students were smuggled through the Japanese zones to join up either with the guerrilla movement in the neighbouring mountains or with the national war effort in the south-west. The Chinese are more than grateful to us for that work and for the risks we ran in continuing it to the last moment. After Pearl Harbour our Western staff were interned, and many of our Chinese professors were arrested and tortured.

I believe that largely through this war-time experience the Chinese have come to accept the Christian groups in their country with unreserved cordiality. Never before has there been such an opportunity and such a clear challenge to Christian leadership as this goodwill represents. The Chinese have come to identify our Christian idealism with all that is best in their own enthusiasm, first for national survival, and now for social reform and reconstruction of a democratic China. Before the war the Christian universities were hard pressed in their endeavour to maintain academic standards in equipment and personnel as compared with those of the Chinese national institutions. But China has been exhausted by eight years of war and fifteen years of enemy occupation. The sums allocated for educational rehabilitation, even though they amount to as much as 5 per cent. of the national income, are pitifully small compared with the need. During the post-war period, therefore, the Chinese are looking rather towards the Christian universities for the fullest possible co-operation. Among the leaders of these universities there is a full appreciation of this challenge and abundant enthusiasm to meet it in the best spirit. What we need is adequate financial support.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN NORTH CHINA

Peking has always been and always will be the cultural capital of the country. Before the war there were in and around Peking more than six complete universities, many technical colleges and a large number of high schools. The student population must have been of the order of 100,000. With the Japanese invasion of 1937 only the two missionary universities were able to continue. Extensive damage was done to the other universities, and severe losses were inflicted upon their equipment and personnel. Our British-linked "Yenching University" was not closed down until December 8, 1941, when we in turn suffered damage and loss. On October 10, 1945, school opened again for freshman classes on our campus even before the Japanese had locally been disarmed; full college work is expected to begin in September this year.

After the national colleges had been closed down by the Japanese in 1937 we started at Yenching pre-engineering courses as part of our work in chemistry, and physics. During 1940 and 1941 the writer was responsible for the administration of these technical courses. It is now planned to continue this work with financial support from Chinese business interests, and it is here in particular that Britain could play a much more effective part. It is the official policy of the university to

welcome contributions from British firms to our physics and chemistry laboratories, and to co-operate gladly with those firms in using these services to their advantage as well as ours.

The Institute of Physics (London) has recently given the writer an informal assurance that they will accept his supervision of the technical courses to be offered at Yenching, so that Chinese students could be entered as candidates for the British National Certificates in Applied Physics and Laboratory Arts, awarded jointly by the Institute and the British Ministry of Education. There is no doubt that our technical students will be well enough trained to compete on favourable terms for these certificates, specially if we are adequately provided with *British equipment in our laboratories*. This scheme should therefore prove a valuable link between China's technical world and British industry.

It is rather obvious that at present the plans for training China's future technical personnel are very largely American in outlook, and tend naturally to favour the development of intimate contacts only with American industry. But the writer feels confident that if the opportunities outlined here are seized with sufficient promptness and vigour this tendency can be very completely corrected. If, for example, the pre-engineering sciences, physics and chemistry, including also mathematics, could be explicitly British contributions to the training scheme, there is every reason to believe that Yenching University's Science College would become a first-rate example of Anglo-American co-operation for China's reconstruction.

THE CHALLENGE TO BRITISH INDUSTRY

In this report emphasis has been placed upon North China and Yenching University, because that is closer to the writer's personal experience. But it is obvious, that schemes of international co-operation depend for their success chiefly upon accidents of available individuals. At each of the Christian universities throughout China there are groups of British professors who find co-operation with their Chinese and American colleagues both congenial and stimulating. If these British groups are not given full financial backing we shall be lost in a flood of American philanthropy, and before many generations of students have passed through our laboratories China's engineers will have come to regard Britain more as an historical curiosity than an active ally.

If we are given full financial backing from British firms we can, on the other hand, guarantee that as American plans for the development of China's industries proceed, British contacts and British prestige will proportionately increase. By thus establishing ourselves at the outset we shall be able to make a full and acknowledged contribution to the whole structure of the Chinese industrial revolution.

Associated with Yenching University in the north are the Mukden Medical College and the Cheeloo University at Tsinan in Shantung. At Tsinan an excellent meteorological observatory was maintained in connection with their rural reconstruction research projects. The Cheeloo Medical College has also won a high place in the esteem of the Chinese.

In South China, Fukien Christian University and Lingnan University (Canton) both do science work of a calibre and local significance similar to that of Yenching. Fukien is particularly strong in industrial chemistry, while Lingnan was noted for its agricultural work and economic biology research. In Central China there are Ginling Women's College and Nanking University at Nanking, and Hua Chung University near Hankow, all doing their first-class scientific work; Nanking has an especially fine agricultural college whose work for China can be compared with that of the U.S. State Department of Agriculture for America. In West China, where the need for industrial development is so immense, we have both British and Canadian associations with West China Union University at Chengtu. Here the Agricultural Department is doing excellent practical work for the welfare of the people of Szechuan Province, and the School of Pharmacy was the first, and still the best, school in the whole of China.

In all these British-linked universities in China British staff members co-operate in China's technical training programme. In all of them there are similar forceful

reasons for greatly strengthening British contributions as a sound investment for the future of British relations with China. Every one of these universities can become excellent examples of Anglo-American co-operation towards the development of modern Chinese industry, the birth of a prosperous, free, united, democratic China.

If any British firms would welcome further information regarding the Christian Universities of China they should correspond with the Secretary of the China Christian Universities Association, 25, Charles Street, London, W. 1.

PROGRESS IN THE PRINCIPALITIES

BY A CORRESPONDENT

I.—HYDERABAD

As the principal adviser of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, Sir Mirza Ismail takes administrative responsibility in the premier State at a juncture of singular importance in the history, not only of Hyderabad itself, but of all of the Indian States, and of India generally. For in this year of grace 1946 the Princes and political leaders of India have a rendezvous with Destiny, and the outcome of their joint deliberations will determine the fate of their common motherland for generations to come. It will fall to Sir Mirza Ismail not only to bring into operation the new Constitutional Reforms recently promulgated, but also to give practical expression to the spirit in which they are to be applied, it being hardly necessary to stress that the interpretation given by the Executive to a legislative advance of this character is hardly less important than the terms of the enactment itself.

In regard to domestic affairs, the States are as fully entitled to freedom from external intrigue or intervention as are the Provinces in British India, and, unless that is fully recognized, the emergence and development of an Indian Union or Federation may be dismissed as a vain hope. "There have been times," as the then President of the Hyderabad Executive Council, Nawab Sir Sa'id-ul-Mulk Bahadur of Chhatari, remarked a short time ago, "when, faced with active hostile intervention in our internal affairs, we felt that the obligations of a good neighbour were not realized by some at least of the neighbouring Provinces." Hyderabad herself has always carefully avoided "interference or partisanship of any kind in the internal affairs of British India," and insists that this attitude should be reciprocated. As the President also affirmed: "Hyderabad will not stand in the way of fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of British India for political and other freedom." Nevertheless, "it would be a great national calamity if, in the passions of the moment and lulled by the sense of false security which our narrow escape from wholesale invasion and the subsequent victory of the United Nations have created, we ignored among other things the advantage of a free and equal partnership in the Commonwealth such as Canada and Australia enjoy.

"In the uncertainties of the future that partnership provides within the larger but more fixed company of the United Nations a community of interests among different and widely scattered peoples, free in every aspect of domestic and external affairs, and a guarantee of security such as no single organization is yet capable of providing." It can hardly be said that the Paris Peace Conference has made these comments less pertinent.

Meanwhile, without neglecting political influences either within its own borders or immediately beyond them, Hyderabad is forging ahead with projects of economic development which the Industrial Delegation now in Britain is doing much to promote. In a recent issue of *Hyderabad Information*, outlining some of the courageous developmental schemes now in hand, it is recognized frankly that industrially the State "is not as well advanced as it should have been. Whereas in British India

capital investment in industries is a thousand million rupees, working out at Rs. 25 per head, in Hyderabad it is only 80 millions or Rs. 5 per head. . . . Under these circumstances, if Hyderabad is to exist as a modern State in the present-day world, it will be necessary for it to develop its industries and agriculture by tapping all its potential resources—mineral, water, soil and power." Practical schemes now await implementation, tracing their origin back to the appointment of a Post-War Planning Board, with a full-fledged Secretariat, in 1943. Especially welcome is the recognition that agricultural and industrial development are interdependent and therefore must proceed hand in hand. Plans so far submitted embrace a wide field, and cover education, public health, the training of personnel, irrigation projects, the establishment of new industries and the rehabilitation and expansion of cottage industries. Those most closely concerned in the formulation and furtherance of these schemes have been as ready as more detached observers to welcome the advent of Sir Mirza Ismail as affording the best possible assurance of vigorous and sustained action designed to assure these schemes the fullest and most speedy implementation.

II.—MYSORE

If we may regard food production and the acquisition and distribution of imported food supplies as Mysore's most urgent and important problem at this period, then she is fortunate in finding as Dewan, in succession to Mr. Madhava Rau, a statesman with such a wide range of experience in Indian and international affairs as Sir Ramiswamy Mudaliar, who has recently taken charge. As Mr. Madhava Rau recalled in an address to the Mysore Representative Assembly, the rainfall in the State during 1945 was the lowest on record for many years, the average for the year being 29.49 inches compared with the thirty-five years' average of 37.73 inches. The consequent short fall in the production of food grains in the State was over 300,000 tons, or nearly 40 per cent. of the total production in normal years. In some areas the loss of crop was, of course, far greater than this average figure, and it became necessary to supply food grains, not only to the landless classes, but to a very large number of agriculturists who were unable to raise food crops sufficient for their requirements. On the other hand, procurement has been less than in previous years, individual surpluses being much fewer and smaller in size.

The population affected by the adverse seasonal conditions is about 3.3 millions, of whom 1.2 millions have to be supplied with food grains for the whole year and the rest for about six months. Imports fall heavily below needs, even on the basis of the attenuated ration to which the population are now reduced, but Government are doing their best to make the available stocks and resources go as far as possible and to see that they are distributed equitably. Substitute foods like gram, potatoes and groundnut are being issued to supplement cereals. In order to popularize the use of wheat, its selling price has been reduced from 3 seers to 4 seers per rupee, the difference between cost price and selling price being borne by Government. Government have unhesitatingly followed a policy of subsidizing food supplies. In a year of drought it is obviously difficult to raise any summer crops; nevertheless, special efforts have been made to encourage the cultivation of quick-growing food crops where conditions are favourable.

In Mysore, as elsewhere in India, one effect of the present shortage has been to impart a powerful new stimulus to irrigation projects in every category. There is a keen desire in some parts of the State to install electrically driven pumps for lift irrigation, and everything possible is being done to meet the demand. A subsidy for sinking irrigation wells has proved popular, one of the conditions being that only food crops should be grown on the land irrigated by the wells during the next three years. Larger schemes are also being pushed forward, irrigation projects receiving the highest priority in the post-war reconstruction schemes. Of the twenty-nine irrigation works included in the five-year programme approved in 1944, sanction has been accorded to ten to bring 40,000 acres under irrigation. The agreements facilitating utilization of the waters of the Tungabhadra are about to be ratified, and the Mysore Government hope to be shortly in a position to undertake the Lakkavalli

project, which is designed to irrigate 18,000 acres and generate power to the extent of 17,000 h.p., and the Tunga project, which will irrigate about 27,000 acres.

The approved long-range plans of agricultural improvement aim at stepping-up the production of paddy by 500,000 pallas in five years and include schemes for large-scale distribution of improved seed, manure and agricultural implements, manufacture of compost from agricultural waste, provision of a tractor service, improvement of agricultural instruction and training and the formation of a Board of Agricultural Research. Some of these schemes are already in operation.

III.—BARODA

During his viceroyalty Lord Linlithgow missed no opportunity to impress on the smaller Indian States the desirability and the importance of the creation of joint services where their individual resources were inadequate to sustain an adequate standard of administration. Current political trends in India appear likely not only to accentuate the soundness of this advice, but to accelerate its adoption, and it is therefore opportune to note the progress of the most important initial experiment undertaken in this direction.

As the Dewan of Baroda, Sir B. L. Mitter, K.C.S.I., observes in his administration report for 1944-45, now available, "there has been no event in the recent history of Baroda of greater historical significance than the attachment of some 250 States, talukas and estates of Gujarat and Kathiawar, occupying more than 6,000 square miles, on area almost as large as the State itself. If the States are to make their influence felt in the polity of India they must so adjust themselves as to form units as nearly equal as possible in size, population and economic and cultural development to the Provinces of British India. The very small States, in themselves, lack the essentials for such development, and unless they seek to acquire the power of such growth by voluntary association with States like Baroda, they can have no place in the future. 'The firm establishment of conditions in which these areas will secure and enjoy full opportunity for progress and development' is the object underlying the new relationship, and the Baroda Government are pledged to see that no effort will be spared in its realization."

There is ample evidence in Sir B. L. Mitter's report to justify his claim that this pledge is being fully redeemed. Special financial grants have been made, including for rural development and the education of the children of the chiefs and talukdars, and the whole administration of the attached area has been reorganized. Two special officers, with deputies, have been appointed to assist them. A special department under the Commissioner of Agriculture has been created for rural development and the extension of the co-operative movement. A judicial service for the exercise of residual jurisdiction has been established, the police force has been enlarged, and various departments such as public works, sanitation and education expanded to meet the needs of the attached areas.

The social services, for which the State is justly famous, are being rapidly extended to these areas. Compulsory education has been introduced in some areas and panchayets organized in some villages. Dispensaries and maternity hospitals and clinics have been sanctioned, and the services and the medical and educational institutions of the State thrown open to the people on the same terms as are enjoyed by the subjects of the State. Loans have been advanced to units which were heavily indebted to free them from usurious creditors. In the schemes for post-war reconstruction, also, ample provision has been made for the development of these areas by building roads and railways and opening dispensaries, rural reconstruction centres, etc.

This latter provision is of special importance, inasmuch as during the last three years the Baroda Government, in common with other administrations in India, have been evolving plans directed towards doubling the standard of life in ten years. Inevitably such a programme involves mainly a wide intensification of current activities in terms of education, communications, improved agricultural out-turns, industrial development and so forth, and Baroda, as the Dewan says, is fortunate in that sixty years of regenerative efforts and achievements have laid the foundations of progress.

Of industrial schemes of the first order the most important is the erection of a two-unit shipbuilding yard at Port Okha capable of constructing four ships annually of 8,000 tons each. The textile industry, already the most important, is to be reinforced by the construction of ten to twelve new cotton mills. Sir Cyril Fox, who made a special geological survey, suggests that there are possibilities of developing glass manufacture of a high order, ceramics and coloured cement. In order to assist industrialists, it is planned to establish industrial areas in Baroda, Kalol and Billimora, which will be provided with railway sidings, roads, electricity, water and labour housing facilities. Furthermore, negotiations are in progress for taking electric power in bulk from the Bombay grid system from 1947, and in this case the Baroda plant will function as a standby plant.

IV.—BIKANER

At the Budget session of the Bikaner Legislative Assembly the Finance Member revealed that a special Development Fund has been created to finance the five-year Development Plan of the State, that the share of the Bikaner Government in the Bhakra Dam scheme of the Punjab Government will be 7 crores, for which preliminary work is going on, and that the State's investments from accumulated surpluses in Government of India securities exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores.

When finished the Bhakra Dam—which the end of the war has enabled to proceed—will irrigate about 2,000 square miles in Bikaner and bring prosperity to thousands of cultivators and to the State. "Together with the Gang Canal Area, one of our vital and important assets," said the Finance Member, "it will remove once and for all the spectre of famine or scarcity in the State, and also meet the demand of the growing population of the State."

Bikaner, as one would expect, is making generous provision for ex-service men now returning to civil life. A scheme sanctioned by His Highness the Maharaja guarantees the returned warriors reservation of certain posts in civil departments to the extent of 25 per cent., various concessions to enable them to settle down as prosperous agriculturists, such as grants of land in the fertile Canal Area at easy prices payable in six annual instalments, laying out of an ex-servicemen's model village where land may be granted to them without the liability to pay land revenue for five years, grant of interest-free loans repayable in easy instalments, and facilities for the education of their children and for training in agriculture.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANGLO-TURKISH ALLIANCE

BY PROFESSOR NIHAT ERIM KOCAELI

(Deputy, Member of the Foreign Affairs Commission)

THE tripartite alliance between Turkey, Great Britain and France, signed in Ankara on October 19, 1939, for a period of fifteen years, is an achievement which can be expected to play a part of first-rate importance in the post-war political combinations, as it has during World War II.

When we examine this alliance from the point of view of the imponderables which Britain is attached to in her international relations and of the real Turkish interests and ideals of peace, we cannot abstain from arriving at the conclusion that the close relationship between Turkey and the British Commonwealth will increase from day to day and give fruitful results.

In fact, a Turkish-British alliance is a necessity arising from geographical and historical conditions. The Turks are aware of the fact that Great Britain, during the second half of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century—that is,

back in the period of the Ottoman régime—had made great efforts to prevent the Ottoman Empire from being destroyed. Britain has always given the Ottoman Empire a helping hand as long as the latter could stand on her feet by some kind of support. Yet, whether it be due to historical necessities or to the delay in understanding the course of world affairs, the Ottoman Empire was shattered under several natural or artificial causes.

The situation had changed again as the Turkish War of Independence ended successfully and a "National State" was established to meet the present conceptions and political necessities. The Treaty of Lausanne, dated July 24, 1923, is a document which marks the beginning of this new era and which brings about new possibilities in Anglo-Turkish relations.

The Turkish Republic has never deviated, in her foreign policy, from the principles she set in the days of her foundation. The major ones among these principles were to establish a modern State within totally national boundaries (that is, on the territories which originally belonged to Turks and where the population is 99 per cent. Turkish), and, in order to attain that goal, to follow the policy of peace at home and peace abroad.

In accordance with the main principles of this policy, Turkey, during the years following 1923, has signed pacts of friendship with all her neighbours.

The second step in the *rapprochement* between Britain and Turkey was the pact of friendship signed in 1926, with the United Kingdom as the mandatory of Iraq. The fact that the two Governments, with great foresight, have solved the Mosul oil problem definitely, and have established a cordial friendship between themselves, was so important as to constitute a turning-point in the world of Eastern politics.

From the time that Turkey became a member of the League of Nations, by 1932, her contacts with Britain increased gradually. With the Nazi régime coming to power in Germany, and owing to both the secret and open agreements that could easily be realized among the dictatorial régimes because of their common goals and methods, the peace-loving countries of the world were forced to come closer to each other.

Especially Italy's assault on Abyssinia, regardless of the League of Nations, had worried the real lovers of peace.

As a result of Mussolini's Fascism the political balance in the Mediterranean and the Near East was facing great dangers. This new situation accelerated the *rapprochement* between Turkey and England, both of whom are directly interested in this region. King Edward's visit to Atatürk in the summer of 1936 was an open expression of the steadily increasing friendship between the two countries. Although no political treaty existed between the two countries, Britain helped the economical development of Turkey by opening a credit.

This credit and the help of the British experts made possible the establishment of the heavy industry in Turkey.

The identity of views between those countries which were not pleased with the order established after World War I. began to crystallize. Many intrigues were being fostered by the Axis. Hitler, without giving consideration to any moral principle, repeated one *fait accompli* after the other.

The years 1938 and 1939 witnessed many events, all of which could have been a cause for World War II. It was time for the countries to choose their camp and their part. For Turkey this camp had been decided long ago. The republican Government decided to take the side of the Powers who believed in preserving the peace, in following the path of right and justice and a friendly policy between all the nations of the world. The negotiations taking place between the Turkish and the British representatives in Ankara in the spring of 1939 resulted in the Declaration of May 1, 1939. This Declaration was the herald of a triune alliance. Indeed, the two Governments declared that there was an identity of views between them, and that they decided to sign a final long-term agreement. In addition, they declared that if before the signature of the agreement hostilities broke out in the Mediterranean region as a result of aggression, the two countries would collaborate and would be ready to give every possible support to each other. They announced openly that neither this declaration nor the forthcoming agreement was directed against any third power.

From this date on the close relations that have been established continued without break. In the month of August there happened an event over which Turkey had to think a lot: on the occasion of Ribbentrop's visit to Moscow the German-Soviet Non-Aggression and Neutrality Pact was signed. Considering the geographical position one would think that the signing of such a treaty by Turkey's northern neighbour with Hitler might cause Ankara to follow an absolutely neutral policy, if nothing else; and even those who had great experience in political affairs had claimed at the time that the only course for Turkey to follow was this policy of neutrality. Events continued to occur that would apparently prove them right—on the morning of September 1, 1939, the Second World War began with the crossing of the Polish frontiers. This innocent country had been overrun, within a few weeks, by the invading armies coming from east and west.

The Ankara Government wished to show her faithfulness to the policy she followed since the establishment of the republican régime, proceeding towards the destination she had set out for, with the declaration of May 1. It was necessary not to sacrifice the principles, however terrifying the temporary crises of the day were. The Turkish peaceful and humanitarian ideals did not allow Turkey to remain an observer at a murder scene, and especially to become the helper of the assassin. The Turkish character is one that always desires to help the innocent, the just and the one who is in the right. So, after the solving of some technical problems, a tripartite pact between Turkey, Britain and France was signed in Ankara on October 19, 1939.

The reason necessitating the signature of this pact had been explained as an expression of the desire to establish mutual assistance, to resist aggression and to sign a pact in compliance with their interests of national security. The signatories had undertaken to help each other when confronted with an aggressor, to run to one another's aid, utilizing all that which is in their power, and had laid down the procedure according to which this co-operation was to be carried out under all kinds of probabilities.

From this date onward England's policy towards Turkey and Turkey's policy towards England were kept within the frame and the necessities of this alliance. In order to give Turkey any other kind of assistance and to get her Ally ready to face all sorts of probabilities that might arise, England gave Turkey a credit and as much help as her own war efforts would allow her, and also helped her to equip her country as well as her army to answer the requirements of war. Thanks to her wise and firm policy against the aggressor nations, Turkey never became a burden on her Ally. Some circles criticized from time to time Turkey's political attitude towards Germany; but now that the war is over, being able to look at things in a more objective way, one can point out with satisfaction that Turkey has always avoided any step that might have jeopardized her alliance or left it inert. On the contrary, the policy Turkey followed succeeded in stopping the German advance at the Thracian frontier in 1941 and 1942, and, according to the British Press, also strengthened Great Britain's position in the Near East. From day to day this fact is diminishing the bitterness felt in this country towards the unjustified criticism made against Turkish policy during this war.

We would also like to express our thoughts on this important subject. President İsmet İnönü declared on November 1, 1945, in the Turkish Grand National Assembly: "In being able to remain a bulwark protecting Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Palestine, the Suez Canal and Egypt, Turkey rendered the greatest possible service to Great Britain and her Allies that could have been expected from this alliance. It is no matter of coincidence that Hitler's armies did not march through Asia Minor, but the result of the Turkish Government's untiring and hard efforts. The Turkish Army was kept mobilized, and its entire strategy was organized to meet a possible German attack."

There were some people who asked after 1943 why Turkey did not take an active part in the war. The President's speech answered these questions. He said: "Turkey entered the war immediately after she was asked by her Ally to do so." If she had entered the war prematurely the German as well as the Bulgarian Armies could have invaded Thrace, because the Anglo-Saxons had no intention of opening a front in the Balkans. The task of expelling the Germans from this region would

have fallen to the Soviets. Thus Britain would have had not only to drive away foreign armies from Greece but also from Thrace.

In short, the alliance between the United Kingdom and Turkey has been highly effective and productive during the war.

The war has ended; though the world-peace has not been established, a new era has started. The alliance between Britain and Turkey has been signed for fifteen years. Therefore both Governments have legally undertaken the same obligations towards each other. If one signatory Power should need help, the other is under the obligation of giving it. The legal standing being such, let us consider the matter from the point of view of bringing in harmony the principle *Pacta sunt servanda*, and the rule *Rebus sic stantibus*. Should we analyse the Turkish-British relations from this point of view, what result would we get? Nothing is changed and nothing will be changed as far as Turkey is concerned.

This country has, from the ideological viewpoint, a wholehearted belief in the principles of liberty and democracy represented and defended by Britain. The republican régime has been established with the aim of transforming Turkey into a national unity, adapted to Western civilization.

The works achieved in this country, in spite of all sorts of difficulties, within a period of nearly twenty-five years, have attracted the admiration of neutral foreign observers. But the duty is not yet accomplished. On the contrary, a great deal more has to be achieved. Attempts are being made in the field of culture, the results of which will be seen in fifteen years' time. Efforts are being made to develop agriculture, to establish an industrial potential to a certain extent, and to achieve the development of the country in general. The war, however, has somewhat hindered all these, and now an endeavour will be made for a speedier realization of the plans and programmes. But for the accomplishment of these things foreign aid is required, both in capital and specialists. And, above all, the solution of all these problems depends on there being peace and security. Hence, Turkey has to maintain a policy of absolute stability and security, and keeping away from all sorts of adventures. This necessity is an imponderable of the Turkish foreign policy.

For this very reason the motto which had been accepted, or, better, discovered, by the far-sighted Government official on the day of the establishment of the republican régime still keeps its value after the Second World War. It is: "Peace at home, peace abroad."

While keeping up with this policy, Turkey will co-operate, naturally, only with those Governments who think like herself and who do not cease to be faithful to the principles and codes to which she herself is bound. There is no need to give an explanation about the direction in which British foreign policy is developing. The peoples of the British Commonwealth have spent, in their effort to overcome the invaders, all the resources of the kingdom, to a degree of nearly exhausting them totally, and are recorded in the annals of history as the great heroes of World War II. The British Government, which has not abstained from thinking of the basis on which the peace is to be built, even during the most violent periods of the struggle, has become the pioneer of the United Nations Organization by repeating the principles of the high ideals of the Atlantic Charter, together with the United States of America.

There falls now upon the shoulders of every nation a duty as hard as the winning of the war: to establish a fair peace status and to maintain it. We believe that this hard task, which is at the same time an honourable one to the same extent, will be accomplished through the co-operation of justice-loving nations. The Government of the United Kingdom gives courage and strength to the nations who have united with her under the same ideal, with the policy she has been following since the San Francisco Conference.

Turkey is determined today, too—very much as at the time when she, believing in the principles Britain defended and especially in the heroism of the British people, had not hesitated to sign a pact with Britain as the 1939 tempest was approaching—to do all that she can, so that the alliance in question may develop in compliance with the aforesaid peace ideal and that it may give beneficiary results for both countries concerned and for humanity. The British nation is known by her nobility, perfec-

tion of character and perseverance. The Turkish nation, on the other hand, is famous for her benevolence, fortitude, dauntlessness in face of danger, and devotion to her rights and liberty. The only outcome of the alliance of the two characters that agree with each other so well was "good results," both for themselves and for the other peace-loving nations. This will be the same in the times that lie ahead.

BROADCAST TALKS ON TURKEY

I.—TURKISH TOBACCO

BY T. VERSCHOYLE

TOBACCO was introduced into the Ottoman Empire early in the seventeenth century, and its cultivation commenced in 1687 by order of the then reigning Sultan Suleymen II. Ever since that date tobacco-growing has remained in the hands of small farmers in certain limited areas, with the accumulation of a wealth of knowledge and experience unequalled in the cultivation of any other crop in this country. The crop in all its aspects comes under the Ministry of Customs and Monopoly. There are three principal tobacco areas: the Ægean coast, with Smyrna as the centre; both coasts of the Marmore (including Thrace); and the Black Sea Coast, especially in the neighbourhood of Samsun and Trabzon. Tobacco is also grown in scattered areas along the southern border, but these are of less importance. Formerly some of the finest tobacco grew in Macedonia, its original Turkish home; but, in the exchange of population over twenty years ago, the immigrants brought with them to Anatolia both seed stocks and experience.

This is not the place or the occasion to discuss the origin and development of the numerous types of tobacco to be found in Turkey. It is sufficient to recall that the large local variations of climate and of soil in this country have, of course, been a principal factor in the emergence of the present sharply distinctive types. Roughly speaking, at one end of the scale are the light yellow, small-leaved, mild and aromatic Ægean tobaccos typical of dry conditions; and at the other end the dark red, large-leaved, strong tobaccos of the humid Black Sea coast. The Marmora district represents a transition area, although it has also special types of its own. Probably the finest of all the tobaccos are grown in the Samsun area, for so closely do they approach the ideal in every desirable quality that they can be smoked straight, without blending. Their nicotine content is as low as one-quarter of 1 per cent.

About twenty years ago a tobacco institute was established with the aim of improving and standardizing the large number of types then existent. The institute moved into its present quarters near Istanbul in 1935, and it is now engaged on the second part of its programme—standardization. Seed grown at the institute or one of its three branches is issued to selected villages in each of the twenty tobacco districts, where it is grown under strict supervision. The produce of these seed farms is then distributed throughout the district, and it is hoped to repeat this distribution every three years. By 1951 all tobacco villages should be growing one or other of the forty-odd standard types. The institute is extremely well equipped and run, and, as one of its activities, it holds four-year courses for the training of tobacco experts.

I shall not touch on the cultivation, but will pass on to the harvesting and curing, for it is in these processes that Turkish tobacco differs so markedly from the American sorts. Just as with tea, the leaves are individually plucked, starting at the bottom of each plant, and finishing with the terminal leaves three or four weeks later. The leaves are threaded on strings and sun-dried, a process that takes another two to four weeks, and they are ultimately brought into a central village for inspection and purchase by the local buyer of the Ministry. In some districts the strings of dried leaf are packed as such for forwarding to one of the curing houses; in others the leaves are arranged in small packets within the bale in a variety of ways.

At the curing houses every leaf is inspected and sorted into one of five grades for the particular type of tobacco. The graded leaf is rebaled (a term that often includes individual packing of each leaf) and stacked for fermentation. Fermentation takes place in store during each of three successive summers, the bales being frequently turned, and the temperature being carefully controlled. The ripe leaf is again inspected before final storage, or before blending. Thus, throughout the whole process neither is any form of artificial heat applied, nor is there any form of adulteration. By the way, it is rather interesting to note that one of the principal adulterants of American type tobacco, liquorice, is grown on quite a large scale in Southern Turkey solely for export to America.

Most of the labour in the sorting rooms of the curing houses is female. In the largest house in Istanbul there are about a thousand women workers out of a total of 1,500. Not only is special clothing, with changing rooms and bathing facilities, food and a canteen provided, but there is a first-class crèche for the smaller children, with a doctor and nurses in daily attendance. Each child has its own locker and toys in a large play-room; special food is provided, and when I visited the crèche all the children were fast asleep in an afternoon siesta in their cots. Of course, one could eat the proverbial dinner off the floor in the crèche, as anywhere else in the building.

I will end this brief review of Turkish tobacco leaf by emphasizing its distinguishing features. First, we have the carefully bred strains of seed selected to suit the climate and soil of the particular district to which it is allotted, and the particular qualities which are desired. Secondly, we note the individual attention given to each single leaf between the time that it is plucked and time that its curing is completed, for it is submitted to at least four inspections. In fact, in view of the atmosphere of real craftsmanship which surrounds Turkish tobacco, you will agree, I am sure, that it may properly be designated the Rolls-Royce of all tobaccos.

II.—A JOURNEY IN NORTHERN TURKEY

By Miss H. E. M. CAMPION

MODERN Turkey is a land of contrasts. Fine modern concrete buildings and tarred roads are found side by side with peasants' huts and mud tracks. The latest types of passenger aircraft touch down on well-laid-out airports, while a short distance away the farmer is returning home in his ancient bullock cart. On the modern State farms tractors and the newest scientific devices are used to promote bigger and better harvests, while in the village fields the labourers leisurely follow their old ox-drawn ploughs. These contrasts fascinate the traveller, and remind him not only of present-day improvements throughout the land, but also of the ways of life of other days.

When I journeyed from Ankara to Sivas in Central Turkey a short time ago I felt very strongly the fascination of this blend of old and new. An up-to-date plane flew us eastwards over the bare brown hills and winding green valleys of Central Anatolia, where the peasants were labouring to bring in and thresh their corn harvest. A two-hour flight brought us to Sivas, the centre of a Province and a modern industrial town. But it is not only this by any means. Historically it has always been important, as its ancient wonderful buildings bear witness. The finest of these are the Selçuk medresses, with their lovely doorways and slender minarets adorned with blue tiles.

From Sivas we went to Amasia, one of the most picturesque towns of Turkey, built along the rocky gorge cut out by the Yeşil Irmak. The ancient fortress, which Tamerlaine besieged in vain for seven months, and the magnificent tombs of the Kings of Pontus hewn in rock, show the importance of Amasia in past eras. The present-day town, with its white houses overhanging the river, its fine streets and bridges, and busy market, indicates that it has by no means lost its significance in the Turkey of today.

The country round about is lively. The fertile valleys through which the Yeşil Irmak and its tributaries flow are intensely cultivated by the peasants up to the slopes of the rocky hills. By an ingenious arrangement of modern waterwheels along

the rivers they bring up never-ending streams to the higher levels, and are thus able to use otherwise barren land. These people are wonderfully kind and hospitable. Time and again, when we went out into the country, we were met by farmers who offered us grapes, peaches, and, above all, the famous Amasia apples. These are the best in Turkey, and originally came from English stock. All the fruit here is very good, and an especial delight to the thirsty traveller.

Our next stopping-place was Samsun, a thriving port on the Black Sea coast. It is a comparatively modern town, but outside it are some mounds recently excavated by the Turkish Historical Society, which show that this region was inhabited in the very earliest times. Now Samsun is the centre of tobacco production. In the late summer the leaves are picked and carefully threaded, and hung up to dry in the hot sun on walls and on special frames. At night, lest the cold should injure them, they are carried into sheds. In passing through the villages at this season it is interesting to see the golden brown festoons of tobacco leaves fastened across the grey stone houses. When the leaves are dry they are made into bundles and sold. Then they come into the factory for processing before they are made into cigarettes in the country or exported. We were lucky enough to be shown just such a factory. Large numbers of women are employed, who dexterously unthread the tobacco leaves and grade them according to their type and quality. This is a skilled occupation, and it is fascinating to watch the rows of white-clad girls and women working so busily at their tasks. After the grading has been accomplished the tobacco is cleaned, and is once again sorted before being done up in bales. These bales are kept for a year or so before being exported, and care has to be taken to keep them at an even temperature in special warehouses.

Our trip from Sivas to Samsun was not long, but it showed us much that was essentially Turkish. Bare rocky hills and fertile valleys; fine modern streets and ancient historical buildings; hard-working hospitable peasants and industrious factory workers. These are contrasts that strike the traveller and make him wish to know more intimately this lovely country and its inhabitants.

III.—SPRING IN ANATOLIA

By D. W. JAMES

SPRING, of course, is finished now in Ankara. The "forty days' rain"—or, more properly, "forty afternoons' rain"—ended officially on Palm Sunday, though this year was unusually wet and rain continued even into June. But you can say that with the first of June the halcyon Anatolian spring is over and the summer sun will begin to scorch away the colour from the landscape and to reduce the hills and valleys to a pastel picture of blue and grey. The process, though delayed this year, is settling in, and before the colours fade I want to tell you a little of the wonder of this Anatolian spring.

Spring to me began on February 20, when, with snow still on the ground, I met a ten-year-old friend of mine returning from a walk with a magnificent bunch of crocus he had found in one of the tree-sheltered valleys that lead out of Ankara. I set out myself the following week-end to see what signs of spring I could find, and I came back with two varieties of crocus, the yellow *ankyrensis* and the purple *micranthus*, and the crocus-like *marendera sobolifera*. (You mustn't think that because I may toss off the Latin name of a plant or two I am a botanist: these names took me much labour to find, mainly through picking the brains of my botanist friends, for the books on the subject of the flora of Anatolia are admitted to be insufficient even for an amateur.) There is the survey by Dr. Mrause, which is a compilation, not intended to be exhaustive, of 800 species he found round Ankara. There is the great work of Dr. George Post, on the flora of Palestine, Syria and the Sinai—exhaustive for these countries, but not touching Anatolia. And for those who care to read Latin and have access to a complete library, there is Boissier's monumental work *Flora Orientalis*. But until the work now being undertaken by one of Turkey's leading botanists appears, with its exquisitely coloured illustrations, there

is no complete and authoritative work available to the enthusiastic amateur. However, I suppose it is not really very necessary for the enjoyment of the Anatolian landscape to be able to name all the flowers accurately by their botanical name, and if a *glaucium* species is called loosely a poppy, little harm is done. In fact, I think the Turkish peasant gets more enjoyment out of the flower by calling it *gelineik*, the "little bride," than do we pseudo-intellectuals who graduate from "poppy" to "horned-poppy" and then to "*glaucium grandiflorum*."

This by the way. We were talking of spring. In February, while the last rash skiers are risking their bones over the thinning snows of the surrounding mountains, round Ankara the snow is disappearing, and exposing to view not the soft tender green of new grass, but the burnt-up reddish earth, sprinkled only with dead thistles and teasels. This lack of early spring grass may make the landscape look bleak for a few weeks—but it has a most important effect later on. For whereas in England the most flowered pasture or hillside is a composition of green spangled with the colours of the flowers, in Anatolia when the spring gets underway the landscape is a composition of colour picked out with occasional green. This effect comes later, in April and May, but even in March one sees whole sheets of golden yellow against the reddish earth—the golden yellow of the little hyecoum. The barren earth begins to be pricked out with minute white sandworts, speedwells, the pretty little *androsace*, and by mid-March whole areas are becoming white with the first of that prolific and maddeningly complicated family, the *crucifera-allysums* and shepherd's purses. (Later, this family is going to scent whole acres round Ankara with a fine night-stock—*matthiola bicornia*.)

The countryside is beginning to take on colour. Now is the season (if you can pick a day after a fine spell, when the abominable Ankara mud, which should be exported in large quantities as an excellent glue, has dried a little)—now is the season for country walks. Out to Dikmen, a long lazy shoulder of a hill crowned by a lone holy tree, where you may find the first Star of Bethlehem, and the first grape hyacinths. Out to the lakes, Emir Gölü and Mogan Gölü, where you may find March flowers like the water crowfoot, and where you may sit for hours watching the best collection of water-birds outside St. James' Park—storks nesting on the chimneys of the little village of Gölbaşı: herons—the proud purple one and the hunchback night heron: hawks aplenty—the March herrier sailing over the reeds, and the kestrels nesting in the eaves: even the shy bittern allows himself to be seen.

Or you can go out to the sharp triple-point of Hussein Gazi and look for—and find—frillaries, both *persica* and *green*. A red fox starts up fifty yards ahead of you: a hare only a yard ahead. This is a fine season, early April. The air is cool and fresh and invigorating, and the country, just beginning to be coloured, invites you. But next month, May, is the season of colour.

By May the really vivid flowers are out, forming huge carpets of colour, acres in extent, over the Anatolian landscape. Even on a short walk round Ankara you can see the whole of a hillside scarlet with poppies, while the opposite side of the valley is blue with borage. Take the train to İstanbul, and it is an experience more vivid—and possibly even more unreal—than the most gorgeous of Fitzpatrick's celebrated travelogues in gorgeous technicolor. The corn is up by now, green and gold, sometimes sprinkled with scarlet poppies, sometimes with blue cornflowers. Last year's fallow lies lilac and magenta with great splashes of larkspur and dead nettle. The most enormous toadflax—larger than an English garden snapdragon—forms blocks of lemon-yellow alongside the railways. In the marshes grow yellow iris—not singly, but in bold masses. Up the hillsides the wild thyme puts a lace veil of lavender over the grey rocks.

And to complete the coloured picture are the summer birds. The most spectacular is the roller, a blue-green and dove-coloured bird as vivid as a kingfisher. You cannot imagine a richer sight than a roller, tumbling his acrobatic way across a field of larkspurs and poppies! Then there is the rose-coloured pastor, a decorative and gregarious flyer, who streaks across the yellow fields with translucent salmon-coloured wings spread wide. You had a talk a few weeks ago on the birds of Anatolia, so I shall say no more about them beyond these two.

This, then, is the painted landscape you may expect to see any spring in Anatolia.

At least, this is how it strikes me, as a poor amateur painter, a very amateur botanist and ornithologist, and the father of an enquiring child for whom answers must be produced. And this, I think, is how it will strike the tourist, who, now that communications are opening up again, will begin to come to Turkey. Already you can enter Turkey by two railways—from Greece to Istanbul, and from Syria to Adana and Ankara. You can come by airline from Egypt via Cyprus, and soon possibly from Athens. Or you can come by steamer from Greece, Palestine or Egypt. Travel in Turkey is comfortable, and hotels in the principal towns excellent.

IV.—FISHING AT BOLU

BY H. B. FRENCH

I HAVE fished for trout in many rivers in the British Isles and other parts of the world, but I cannot remember having a more pleasant and successful fishing week-end than the one I recently had at Bolu, one hundred and seventy-odd miles north-west of Ankara.

I was indeed fortunate in being asked to join a party of friends, all members of the various British services in Ankara. The five of us sat down one Thursday evening and made plans for an early start next morning at six. Having arranged our kit, collected stores, cooking utensils and all the other equipment required for the trip, we went to bed, arranging for the one and only alarm clock to go off at five next morning. We had the two cars packed by five-thirty, then breakfast and off. Dawn was just breaking, as we sped down the deserted streets, and then, leaving Ankara, we passed the airport just as the sun was rising. What a grand morning it was, fresh without being cold, typical autumn weather, and about as perfect as you will find it in any part of the world. The road all the way to Bolu is mainly good—at least for anyone of motoring experience—and we arrived there without mishap round about noon. My host paid a visit to the Vali or Governor, and must have been a very welcome visitor, as I watched him, with my tongue hanging out, carrying a bottle of "Scotch"! The inhabitants of the town got a lot of amusement, and I got a lot of embarrassment, at seeing me wearing shorts. I shall most definitely not wear them next time. Leaving the village of Bolu and passing through lovely wooded country for some thirty miles, we turned a corner and there was the lake! A lovely stretch of water, some 400 acres in extent, wooded down to the water's edge. It did not take us long to unpack the cars and get ourselves settled in the Rest House, and then out with the fishing tackle for the evening rise. Three of us went out in a rowing boat, taking it in turn to row, so we had two rods always fishing. Half an hour's rowing was the rule, but if anyone caught two fish in succession he then took the oars. Not knowing the best stretches we milled slowly round, disturbing the water as little as possible with the oars. "Your rowing is hopeless," said mine host; "you are frightening the trout for miles around." "No," said I, "you want to change your cast and put on brighter flies. Anyhow, my half-hour is up; I'll show you!" Then his rod nearly bent double, the argument finished and we were all tension. Slowly the fish came in, fighting all the way. "Don't hurry him, don't hurry him, let him tire himself out," we called. He came, a nice, well-conditioned rainbow trout skilfully landed by Brownie. Only a half-pounder in perfect condition, and what a game fellow he was! We landed half a dozen more by dusk, then a dip in the lake, supper and bed. Next morning I was rudely awakened to find I had overslept and missed the early morning rise, and half a dozen "rainbows" were sizzling in oatmeal, carefully tended by John, who rightly brooked no interference. A dull, cloudy day with plenty of mist, reminiscent of the Scottish lakes—"just the day," we said. Off we went, and that day we landed a couple of dozen, averaging just over half a pound, the biggest about one and a quarter pounds, but in poor condition. We had got the right "flies," Teals, Butchers and Zulus being effective—plenty of red and tinsel. The next day it was the same story: we landed another couple of dozen. The great moment of the day occurred when a lady member of the party landed seven fine trout in three-quarters of an hour; she had never held a

rod before! That made we fishermen keep severely quiet! Later on the same lady got herself—I mean her line—hopelessly entangled in weeds, and we shouted copious advice, but she paid no attention; her luck and she actually not only succeeded in landing three pounds of weeds but a three-quarter-pound “rainbow” as well.

On occasions two fish were landed at the same time, and on our last day we had two boats as our party had received a reinforcement.

As we only had one landing-net we had to use a small wicker basket in the second boat, but our naval friend used it to great purpose when one of us, half asleep, hooked a fish. Half out of the boat, I hung on to his hind leg while he manœuvred the basket under the fish. Up it came, complete with fish, but, also to our surprise, with a second fish on the tail fly! Well, I leave you to imagine what happened! Anyhow, we landed both. In the middle of all this my jacket caught fire. I had rammed my lighted pipe in my pocket! However, a bucket of water put the fire out, and very nearly extinguished me as well. In all, we caught sixty-nine trout, ninety per cent. of which we ate for breakfast and supper. None of us wanted to return next day, including our car, which refused to start until she had been towed a couple of miles. I think we all have the right to put our names in *Who's Who*, with the added recreation—Fishing.

THE NEW CHINESE AMBASSADOR

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT)

No Chinese Ambassador has ever known London so well as Dr. Cheng Fai-ting, or F. T. Cheng, as he prefers to be called. As a youth, studying law at London University, he knew it in the splendid days before the first World War, when the cinema was still a curiosity, and great comedians like Dan Leno and Marie Lloyd (much appreciated by the young student) upheld the traditional English comic stage against alien crooners and “coal-black mammies.” He saw the Zeppelins, hateful fore-runners of the atom bomb, come down in flames over Highgate. With his young wife and children he braved the U-boats in the North Sea on his return to China in 1917. More recently he knew London in the feverish, unreal peace of the 1930's, when the Chinese Art Exhibition (at which he was Special Commissioner) seemed to supply the only touch of sanity amid degraded verse, obscene statuary and “factory” architecture. Now he has come back to a London very different from the regal city he first knew, shabby and neglected, bewildered and uncertain, bound in the thousand chains of austerity and bureaucratic restrictions.

One may be sure that London has a specially warm corner in the affection which life has taught Dr. Cheng to extend to all mankind. Acting on select natures, the practice of law, the wide experience it brings of the infinite frailties and helpless foolishness of men and women, cannot but induce a deep tolerance and sympathy for one's fellow-creatures. And Dr. Cheng is a great lawyer. He was Quain's prizeman at London University, where he took a brilliant degree, and was the first Chinese to write “LL.D. London” after his name. Having been called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, on his return to the Far East he practised in the Hongkong Courts with marked distinction for three years till 1920.

Then came a period in Peking as Judge of the Supreme Court, member of the epoch-making Law Codification Commission and Law Professor at Peking University. He left Peking just before the last great war lord, Chang Tso-lin, fled to his death in Manchuria and the Nationalist armies marched triumphantly in; and for three years he practised law in Shanghai. Afterwards he was in Nanking as Vice-, sometimes Acting-, Minister of Justice and Judicial Adviser, until in 1935 he came to London for the Art Exhibition, from which he was appointed a Judge of the International Court of The Hague. It is to the credit of the Germans that, when they invaded Holland in 1940, they treated the Judges with due respect and had them conveyed safely to Switzerland, where Dr. Cheng and his family remained

until this year, when he flew back to China for a brief visit before taking up his post in London in succession to Dr. Wellington Koo.

But whatever qualities Nature and the law together may have given Dr. Cheng have been broadened and deepened by his life-long devotion to the teachings of Confucius, from schoolboy days in Canton, where his father was a prosperous merchant, and Hongkong, to the weary war years in Switzerland, when he completed the book *China Moulded by Confucius*, which tells better than any with which the present writer is acquainted what Confucianism is. Christianity apart (and Confucius, be it remembered, pointedly avoided religious instruction), there is no system of ethics that contains higher or more practical guidance for what a man should be in himself and towards his neighbours. The *chün-tzu*, as visualized by Confucius, master of himself alike in prosperity and adversity, courteous and considerate to all about him, is indeed "the very parfit knight and gentleman."

It is no exaggerated compliment to think that Dr. Cheng comes very near to this ideal. He is not a professional diplomatist (London is the first post of the kind that he has held), but, to adapt the words of the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, "*il fait de la diplomatie sans savoir*." Chinese wit, the law, and perhaps some of Confucius's repartees have given him remarkable skill in parrying awkward questions, but with the friendliest air in the world. A tall, burly man, he is dignified without a trace of assumption. No one would dream of taking liberties with him, and no one would have the least sense of restraint in talking to him. He loves to entertain; he is a delightful talker and possessed of the keenest sense of humour.

There is no doubt that General Chiang Kai-shek used much thought in picking out an Ambassador specially likely to be acceptable in London; and London will not fail to appreciate that thought and the result of it.

THE BASIS OF AN INDO-BRITISH TREATY*

BY K. M. PANIKKAR

INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS

THE question has to be considered at the very beginning as to why there should be an Indo-British treaty, a long-term agreement between England and India, which would necessarily limit the initiative of both countries and tie them together in a partnership which might not be welcome to either. Is there between the two countries that range of interdependence which makes such a development inevitable? Is there no other alternative which will serve the interests of either party better? Unless these questions can be satisfactorily answered, the mere fact that India is now within the British Empire, and, therefore, from the point of view of peaceful evolution, a partnership between the two will be the most satisfactory process of development, will not carry conviction, however reasonable such a point of view may be. Indian nationalists fervently desiring independence, and unhappy in their present relations with Britain, will have to be satisfied that it is in the *interests of India* to have such a long-term agreement, and that there is no better alternative open to them. Equally, the British people have to be satisfied that, in undertaking new commitments in the East on the basis of a free and independent India, they have no better alternative for safeguarding their position. The inescapable necessity of such a treaty is, therefore, the first thing to be demonstrated.

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to consider some of the more

* This article is the text of the introduction by the author of *The Basis of an Indo-British Treaty*, and is reproduced with his permission, and acknowledgments to the Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi. It is published by the Oxford University Press.

important factors in the world situation today. That situation has now assumed a pattern which obviously necessitates a reconsideration of political systems which have come down to us. In the nineteenth century the accepted ideal was a comity of nation-States. Within the framework of that conception it was possible for big States, as well as small ones, to co-exist happily on the basis of a nebulous but well-recognized code of international law. In fact, the principles of international law which developed from the time of Grotius, and the growth of the small state of Holland, postulated the existence of such States, and provided for a world-order on the basis of equality of all States. That era finally ended in 1914, and the attempt to revive it in the peace treaties that followed the first Great War was the result of the inevitable time-lag in the acceptance of revolutionary changes in ideas. The end of the present war has exposed the nakedness of the situation. There are only three Great Powers, and the claim of France to be a fourth is accepted only as a matter of courtesy. The Charter of the United Nations is based on a realistic acceptance of the difference.

More than even the striking disparity of military strength, the changes brought about by the new weapons, atomic bomb, propellant artillery, air-power, etc., have made the power of nations dependent on their scientific organization, extent of space, and widespread national efficiency. In the period before the recent war it was possible for a nation like Japan, with limited homelands, to be a Great Power. In fact, in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, compact territory, if organized efficiently, was an advantage. Prussia in her war against Austria demonstrated it. But today space is an essential factor in national strength, in combating the atom bomb and propellant artillery. The small nations have ceased to count, and can exist only under the protection of Great Powers.

A third point which needs to be emphasized is the change in geographical conceptions brought about by the growth of air-power. The arrangement of power in the past was only with reference to land and sea. The air played no part. Today it is different. We have to adjust our geography to the conditions of air-power. In a recent contribution General F. S. Tuck has tried to work out the revolutionary implications of air-power on geography and national power. The abolition of frontiers as we know them, the pattern of invasion directly in the heart of a State (as in Holland in 1940), the ineffectiveness of narrow seas for protection—all these clearly mean the doom of the small State.

More than all this, the three Great Powers have not only taken up their positions, but defined their areas. America's supremacy is hemispheric and is not immediately open to challenge. The position in the Eurasian continent is what is of vital and immediate importance to us. Here the heart of the continent has expanded from the Pacific to the Adriatic, and controls the Baltic. For the first time after what turned out to be the abortive attempt of Jenghiz Khan, the Heartland of the Eurasian continent is united under one iron control. The genius of Mackinder pointed out long ago that the power that controls the land mass from the Carpathians to the Pacific will have established an impregnability in power, an extent of space which cannot be penetrated, and a strategic position which can strike anywhere it chooses. That power today is organized not in the primitive manner of Jenghiz, with bandaged horsemen for communications and catapults for artillery. It is industrially powerful, closely knit, capable of the highest reaches of science in every sphere, and with its military forces at a high pitch of efficiency and prestige.

The transformation of the steppe land from mere space into a seat of industrial and military power which Mackinder foresaw has already taken place. The old weakness of the Heartland, that its centres of production were situated in areas vulnerable to external attack has been overcome, in the first place by a dispersal of industries necessitated by the German invasion and secondly by the complete elimination of Central European Powers. Today the Heartland has taken up its position as the one organized land mass in the Eurasian hemisphere.

As against the heart of the continent, so organized, the previous Great Powers of Europe have become puny States. The only land-power which could have organized a continental resistance has been destroyed, and Russia has made it amply clear that they will not permit the revival of a new Reich. In effect, only what the geo-political thinkers call the Rimland is left outside.

The power of Great Britain always lay on the Rimland, based on Portugal, Gibraltar and Malta. So long as Asia was unimportant, this gave her the necessary power of offence and defence. Today the position is completely changed. The organization of the Rimland, if based on England alone, will be insufficient against the power of a great continental nation, not dependent on sea communications and self-sufficient in every respect. If the maritime areas of Rimland have to be organized, it can only be with the assistance of a large land mass which is oceanic in its interest, and which can be made reasonably safe from air-power. The organization of maritime areas is possible only on the basis of an Anglo-Indian Treaty. The great land area of India organized to a high pitch of industrial efficiency at one end, and Great Britain at the head of a Western Bloc at another, can keep the maritime areas together. There seems to be no other way. From the point of view of Britain, the necessity of an Indo-British alliance is clear. Without it her position in world politics will be untenable.

It may be argued that, if Britain developed her African territories which lie closer to her, she could obtain the space power required for her greatness; that, with the utilization of the material resources of Africa, the disparity of power can be redressed. A closer examination will show that such a scheme is impracticable. In the first place, while the African territories may be unapproachable to the continental power of Europe, equally they are in no position to form a base for an approach to the continent. Thirdly, in the present state of African peoples, the organization of African man-power, on the basis of a sense of national freedom, scientific efficiency and local leadership, will take a very long time. A final, and to my mind conclusive, argument against the African alternative is that it must lead to an abandonment of Southern Europe and perhaps of the Mediterranean. The Russian claim to the "freedom of the Dardanelles" and to bases on the African shore has shown that she is already determined to press for equal status in the Mediterranean. It is essentially the claim to cut the Rimland into two, and thereby prevent the organization of the maritime areas into an independent State system. An African policy, leading to the surrender of the Mediterranean area, will be suicidal.

If, from the Western point of view, an alliance of Britain with India is necessary, it is equally so from the point of view of India. It is clear that, without such an alliance, India must inevitably fall within the orbit of Russia. Why should it not be so? it may be asked. The reason is simple. So far as Russia is concerned, the Indian Peninsula is merely a Rimland area, of no particular importance to either her strength or her position. India's organization as a Great Power is of no vital concern to Russia. India's weakness and backwardness will not materially affect her, any more than the weakness of Mexico affects the United States. All that Russia will be concerned with will be to see that India does not join any other group. On the other hand, in the organization of a maritime State system, India will be one of the pivotal areas. It will be in the interests of all her associates that she is strong, well organized, industrially advanced—in fact, a nation in a position to play her rôle in the world. A weak, ineffective and industrially backward India cannot be a prop of the alliance, for, without India being such a prop, the alliance must fail. In her own interest, therefore, India has the best chance for fulfilling her national destiny as a partner in the maritime State system.

The essential fact is that India is a maritime State with a predominance of interest on the sea. She is the one true Rimland, whose continental affiliations are comparatively negligible. From the continental point of view of Eurasia she is only an abutting corner, walled off by impassable mountains. From the sea and air point of view, on the other hand, she is one of the great strategic centres. * From the maritime point of view she is claimed to be an "air island." She is the natural air transit centre of the maritime areas. To the maritime State system India is invaluable. To the continental system she is unimportant.

Therefore, it goes without saying that India's true interest lies in the capitalization of her national and positional importance, and not in being absorbed within an orbit where she will not count. She can ensure future peace and work out her destiny as a Great Power only in such an alliance.

THE INDIAN STATES IN THE FUTURE

BY PROFESSOR K. R. R. SASTRY

IN addition to the eleven Provinces there are in India 601 Indian States governed by rulers big, medium-sized and inconsiderable. These cover an area of 712,508 square miles, while the Provinces have an area of 1,006,171 square miles. They vary in size, population, revenue and level of internal administration.

They range in importance from Hyderabad with a population of more than 18,000,000 to the tiny principality of Bilbari with a population of 27. The 283 Kathiawar States, excluding 9 large States, have a total revenue of Rs. 135 lakhs. The area of 178 of these States is from 10 to 100 square miles each; 202 States in India have each an area of less than 10 square miles, and 139 less than 5 square miles; 70 States have each an area not exceeding 1 square mile.

In the days of the East India Company these States increased in number owing to the policies of subsidiary alliance, subordinate co-operation, mediatization and imperial consolidation pursued towards them. Their independence was impaired, however, by a gradual change in the policy of the British Government in India. Many Indian States had maintained an independent existence for hundreds of years, and some States, including Travancore, Jammu, Orchha and Hyderabad, and many of the Rajput States had never been conquered or annexed.

With the remains of sovereignty intact, with Rulers who have some of the rights of foreign potentates while travelling abroad, and their people, like their cousins across the all-too-thin frontier, are British-protected subjects while travelling outside their States, the status of Indian States may be described as quasi-international.

The territory of Indian States is not British territory; the subjects are not British subjects. The States are political communities. The laws of England do not apply to them; they are outside the jurisdiction of the British courts. They are internationally subordinate to the authority of the Crown. In cases of grave misconduct of a Ruler the Crown, under its prerogatives, has taken action extending in some instances to deposition.

The problem of Indian States under the pending Constitution is twofold. Firstly, reduction in their number by absorption of small units so that there may be proper administration on modern democratic lines. Paramountcy has become a huge hospital with a number of patients undying but suffering from incurable diseases. The second need is the evolution of the Rulers into constitutional monarchs of the number of States that can survive. These States, which vary in size and standards of civilized administration, have to be reduced to a manageable number to become useful units of the proposed Indian Union.

The Cabinet Mission proposals contemplate a union including British India and Indian States. The Executive and the Legislature at the Centre is to be constituted from British Indian and Indian States' representatives. The States are to retain all subjects and powers not ceded to the Union. "Paramountcy" is to be handed back. The question is how to reduce their number. A small committee of the British Cabinet can go into the facts and regroup these States, pensioning off the very small ones and amalgamating others either into Indian Provinces or adjacent States.

The students of the problems in India have much to gain by digesting the wise words of Hamilton and Madison in the *Federalist*! History has taught through the U.S.A. that the only way of reconciling *different races* and varying units to a common effective life is through Federalization. Such is the lesson to us in India of Washington (where I am writing), the great and noble capital of the U.S.A.

SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF RECOVERY IN THE GREAT EAST*

BY NADJAMOEDDIN DAENG MALEWA
(Indonesian Trade Adviser in Macassar)

AFTER the Japanese capitulation the native Chiefs in South Celebes practically unanimously resolved that the primary necessity was to rehabilitate the territories ravaged by Japanese misrule and, as far as concerned the future political status of Indonesia, quietly to await developments, trusting in the Royal Declaration. This did not indicate by any means that Indonesians took no interest in the political aspects of the situation. The urge towards independence exists particularly amongst responsible Indonesians in South Celebes and elsewhere to a greater extent than many people think. Nevertheless, what we very naturally reject is chaos, which does not accord with the "adat" (native law) deeply ingrained in the Boeginese and Macassarese. The vast majority aspire towards independence and self-determination, but trust in the Royal word.

I will begin by drawing attention to the fruits of the good co-operation between the Indonesians and Dutch since the capitulation.

Economic Commission.—The day on which the internment camps were thrown open—namely, September 4, 1945—a group of Dutchmen formed the Economic Commission. The Commission immediately assumed leadership in economic matters in consultation with the Government. Co-operation with the Indonesians was established, and when the first detachments of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration occupation troops arrived a few weeks later the work in Makassar was in full swing. The Dutch—enfeebled by years of suffering—put their shoulders to the wheel side by side with the Indonesians.

There is no necessity for me to describe the difficulties encountered. Work had to be carried out in the most primitive conditions with makeshifts in a bombed part of the town. Nevertheless, we progressed slowly but surely. Thanks to the common-sense leadership of Dr. Lion Cachet, an agreement with the South Celebes Chiefs came into being on January 1, 1946, whereby various misunderstandings which had arisen since the liberation were removed. On this date Dutch and Indonesians stretched out the hand of friendship to each other, and the moment when the Netherlands and Indonesian Anthems were played was unforgettable. It was a symbol of the new relationship—it marked a milestone, a new process of development full of great possibilities—the ultimate end of which will be an Indonesia politically and economically free. We are of opinion that through co-operation Nationalism can best be served in a worthy and practical manner.

In referring to the possibilities which the Great East and Borneo offer for economic rehabilitation, we would, in the first place, draw attention to the fact that, apart from the exploitation of the treasures of the earth (oil, minerals, etc.) and a single European agricultural undertaking, these territories are great producers of exports grown by the Indonesians themselves. Important export produce such as copra, rubber, gums, resins, coffee, rattans, sea shells, etc., before the war jointly contributed to an important extent to our favourable trade balance.

The Resumption of Exports.—In contrast with exports from Java and Sumatra, many of which cannot be resumed until extensive capital equipment (paid for by scanty foreign currency) is installed, exports from the Great East and Borneo can be resumed almost immediately.

Short-term possibilities are great—very great—but although the resumption of exports offers opportunities without large investments of capital, the resumption of exports is to a large extent dependent upon imports. No matter how one goes about it, reciprocal import-export trade cannot take place without the provision of sufficient

import goods. It would be ideal if we could obtain import credits on the condition that equivalent quantities of export products were delivered within a specified time.

The Great East is pre-eminently a land of seafarers. A large proportion of the inter-island sea transport is by prahoe (native boats), and it is to be deplored that this means of transport has suffered from the war.

THE DOLL

From the Persian of Minuchihri († c. 1041)

“JAMSHID's daughter is living yet”—
 So I read in a book to-day.
 “Above eight hundred years it will be
 In her dark prison she lay;
 In the house of the worshippers of fire
 She stands like a cypress-tree,
 Nor sits her down, nor ever at all
 On a pillow her side rests she;
 Never of food nor drink she takes,
 Nor her lone, long silence breaks.”

Now as I thought upon that screed
 It brought me small merriment;
 Swiftly as one that maketh trial
 To the ancient house I went,
 And I saw a house all of black stone,
 And a hoop its passage bent.

With magic craft I opened the door,
 And a fire like gold I lit,
 A lamp I took, like a dagger's haft,
 Golden the flame of it.
 And in the house I saw there stood
 A doll, and its breasts were round
 Like a camel's humps, by the love of God;
 No gold or gems I found,
 But earthen girdles seven or eight,
 On its head was a fine veil hung;
 Its belly swollen, as great with child,
 Its brow like a broad palm sprung.
 Much dust was gathered upon that brow,
 On the head was a clay crown put,
 Thick as an elephant's thigh its neck,
 Round as a shield its foot.

As a sister to a sister runs
 So loving I ran to her,
 And I gently took from her brow that veil
 Finer than gossamer;
 With my sleeve I softly swept her face
 Of the dust and ashes grey,
 Like a warrior's helmet from her head
 I took that crown of clay.

Beneath the crown was a mouth agape,
And a throat below the mouth,
And her lips were thick as a negro's lips,
Or a camel's in the drowth.

Sweet musk was her breath, as frankincense
Smoked in a brazier;
With the love of a dark-eyed fairy fey
I was seized by the wine of her,
And I ravished her, my maiden fair,
And a cup of her wine I drew
Whereof on my palm trickled a drop,
And my palm like Kawsar grew;
And I smelt my hand, and of that scent
Like jasmine my every hair;
And I set my lips to the goblet's rim,
And sugar I tasted there :
A prince I was, and a thousand joys
On that day my soldiers were.

A. J. ARBERRY.

THE MENACE OF MUSCAT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

BY LAURENCE LOCKHART, PH.D.

MUSCAT has played a great part in the history of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea and she has as well exerted much influence upon the course of events in East Africa and on the western seaboard of India. Her importance was due partly to her strategic position commanding the approaches to the Persian Gulf, her possession of one of the few good harbours of Arabia, and also to the bold and enterprising spirit of her rulers and inhabitants.

The Portuguese under Albuquerque, realizing the potentialities of Muscat, seized it in 1507 and fortified it very strongly, particularly after the temporary occupation of the place by the Turks in the middle of the sixteenth century. Formidable though the Portuguese had made Muscat, their driving force and morale ebbed slowly away in the first half of the seventeenth century, and in January, 1650, the forces of the Imam of Oman, Sultan ibn Saif I (1649-68), succeeded in capturing it, after having previously expelled the Portuguese from Sohar and other places on the coast of Oman.

Under Sultan ibn Saif, Oman entered upon an era of great prosperity; it was in his reign that the foundations were laid for the sudden and startling expansion that shortly afterwards took place.

During Sultan ibn Saif's Imamate both the English and the French noted the strategic importance of Muscat. In 1659 the Presidency of the English East India Company at Surat formed the plan of securing possession of Muscat. With this port in their hands they would have a safe base for their shipping, thus not only benefiting their trade on the west coast of India, but also enabling them to strengthen their position in the Persian Gulf, where their Dutch rivals had of late gained much of their share of the trade. The English would, moreover, be better able to exert pressure on the Persian Government, and so exact their share of the customs receipts at Gombroon (Bandar Abbas). With this end in view the Company sent an

emissary to Muscat to negotiate with the Imam, but he, not very surprisingly, refused to entertain the idea of cession.

In 1667 de Lalain, who was one of the envoys whom Colbert had despatched to Persia three years previously in order to negotiate for the grant of commercial privileges for the newly formed *Compagnie des Indes*, advocated the seizure of Muscat and its retention as a naval base. In view of subsequent events, it is to be noted that neither the English East India Company nor de Lalain made any mention of naval activities, whether piratical or otherwise, by the Muscat Arabs. In 1670, however, the well-known French missionary, Père Raphaël du Mans (who had already been resident at Isfahan for twenty-six years and was destined to remain there until his death in 1696), reported to Colbert that the Portuguese in Persia were then being much troubled by the Arabs of Muscat, "qui, avec les navires qu'ils ont pris sur eux, en diverses rencontres, se sont rendus puissants et fascheux sur mer."* In that same year the Arabs, doubtless using the captured vessels, made a descent upon the Portuguese settlement on the island of Diu. In 1673 the Portuguese declared war upon the Imam of Oman, but, although they kept a fleet in the Persian Gulf based on the port of Kung (where they had made their chief settlement in Persia after their expulsion from Hormuz in 1622), they made no attempt to attack either the Arab warships or Muscat itself. The Arabs, for their part, likewise showed no inclination for bold tactics. The probable reason for this hesitation is that neither side felt sufficiently confident of victory to put the matter to the test of battle.

Under the Imam Saif ibn Sultan I (who died in October, 1711), Oman, and with it Muscat, became extremely flourishing, and the Imam himself amassed a huge fortune. It was during Saif's reign that the Muscat Arabs first embarked upon their piratical ventures, whilst at the same time continuing to harass their inveterate foes the Portuguese. Between 1693 and 1698 a series of naval engagements took place; although the Portuguese had rather the better of the majority of these encounters, they failed decisively to defeat the Arabs or to prevent the latter from inflicting very serious loss upon certain of their settlements. For example, in the middle of January, 1695, the Arabs, taking advantage of the temporary absence of the Portuguese fleet from the Persian Gulf, sent five large ships, carrying in the aggregate 1,500 men, to attack Kung. Meeting with scarcely any opposition, the Arabs pillaged the settlement and captured a richly laden Armenian ship which was anchored off the town. The booty taken in the course of this raid amounted in value to 60,000 tomans (equivalent at that time to nearly £200,000). When news of the raid reached Bandar Abbas, fears were entertained there that it would also be attacked; indeed, if an anonymous French source† is to be believed, the Imam wrote to Shah Sultan Husain of Persia after the raid demanding the same rights at Kung as those enjoyed by the Portuguese, and threatening, in default of compliance, to attack and sack Bandar Abbas. However that may be, the Governor of Bandar Abbas was so alarmed at the situation that he approached the local Agent of the English East India Company and pointed out that, as the English and Persians were allies (this was doubtless an allusion to the joint operations against Hormuz and Qishm in 1622), it was only fitting that vessels of the former should now assist the latter by repelling the Arabs if they attacked the town. The Agent, however, refused to take any action, and tersely drew attention to the fact that the Persian Government's payments of the Company's share of the Gombroon customs receipts were three years in arrears. Nevertheless, the situation soon became so menacing that the Agent, fearing lest the Persians, baulked of their hopes of obtaining succour from the English, might turn to their rivals the Dutch, suggested to the Council at Surat the expediency of selling some small cruisers to the Persians. Although the Council realized that the Dutch might, as the price of their intervention, gain great privileges from the Shah, they decided not to interfere, as the Arabs had not up till then done any harm to English

* The text of this letter is reproduced by C. Schefer in Appendix XVIII to his edition of Père Raphaël du Mans's *Estat de la Perse en 1660*; the passage quoted is on page 326.

† *Relation de la Mort de Schah Soliman Roy de Perse et du Couronnement de Sultan Ussain son fils* (Paris, 1696), p. 89.

shipping or trade. By the close of 1695 the situation showed no signs of improving, and Captain Brangwin, the Agent, reported that the Arabs were still acting against the Persian trade and predicted that they "would prove as great a plague in India, as the Algerines were in Europe."*

The Dutch proved as unwilling as the English to render assistance, but the Persians succeeded in getting some rather ineffectual help from the Portuguese. When the Arabs learnt what the Portuguese had done they hastened to take reprisals. Dividing their fleet in two, they sent one squadron to the East African coast and the other to India. The first of these squadrons landed troops near Mombasa, which they captured from the Portuguese after a siege lasting two years; while the second portion of the fleet sailed east and destroyed the Portuguese factory at Mangalore.

Notwithstanding the refusal of the Agent of the East India Company to lend shipping, Shah Sultan Husain requested the Isfahan representative of the Company to furnish naval assistance against the Arabs, promising that, if the Company would send a fleet and troops to co-operate with his own forces in the reduction of Muscat, he would, on the fall of that place, grant the Company the same privileges there as those that they enjoyed at Gombroon. As the Company had neither shipping nor troops to spare for such ventures at that time, the Agent had to give an evasive reply.

In consequence of the refusal of the English and Dutch to assist and of the failure of the Portuguese to lend effective aid, the Persian Government, in the summer of 1699, decided to turn to France for help; by this time news of the conclusion of the treaty of Karlowitz had just reached the Persian capital. At that juncture a mission from the Pope, Emperor and other European potentates was at Isfahan and was on the point of leaving for India;† attached to this mission was the Abbé Gaudereau, a French Orientalist of some note. Muhammad Mu'min, the I'timadu'd-Daula, handed the Abbé a memorandum for transmission to the French authorities at Surat. In this memorandum the Shah, besides proposing the establishment of trade on reciprocal lines between Persia and France, expressed his desire to enter into an alliance with the latter for the conquest of Muscat. He stated that 30,000 Persian troops would be required for this enterprise and that a French squadron would be needed to convey them to the scene of action. He further proposed that the cost of the expedition should be shared equally by the two nations, and that everything found in Muscat should likewise be shared between them. Of the four main forts guarding Muscat, the two on the landward side would be given to the Persians, while those facing the sea (namely, al-Jalali and Marani) would be allocated to the French.

These proposals were a good deal more favourable than those which had previously been made to the English, but nothing came of the matter. In the first place this memorandum does not appear to have been sent on from Surat to Versailles (there is no trace of it in the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, and Gaudereau had, some fifteen years later, to give the French Court the substance of it when Muhammad Riza Beg, the Persian Ambassador, was about to be received by the King and his ministers). Secondly, even if this document had reached France, it is unlikely that the French Government would have been willing or able to accede to the Shah's request, as France became involved in the war of the Spanish Succession in 1701, and it was not until after the signature of the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt that she could (as will be seen below) seriously entertain the idea. It is true that in 1708, when the French envoy Michel was at Isfahan negotiating a treaty of friendship and commerce, the Persians raised the question of the Muscat alliance, but they merely did so verbally, and the project formed no part of the treaty that was subsequently signed.

In the meanwhile the Arabs, encouraged by their successes, had, in the words of the President of the East India Company at Bombay, "become extremely insolent

* Bruce's *Annals of the Honourable East India Company*, vol. i, p. 198.

† This mission was headed by Monsignor Peter Paul, the Archbishop of Ancyra and Vicar Apostolic for the dominions of the Mughal Emperor.

and (were) deterred only from making attacks on the Company's shipping by the impression that they were too strong to become easy prizes."* At the beginning of 1705 the Court of Directors of the East India Company informed the Bombay Presidency that the existing war in Europe "alone prevented them obtaining men-of-war to clear the Indian seas of the pirates or sending soldiers for the Bombay garrison. They should employ every effort, when peace should be restored, not merely to render that garrison respectable, but to equip armed ships to clear the seas and to root out that nest of pirates, the Muscat Arabs."† In March that year two Muscat vessels attacked the Company's ship *Murvil* when she was on her way from India to the Persian Gulf and captured her after a stiff fight.‡ This was the first occasion on which the Arabs had interfered with one of the Company's ships. Notwithstanding this incident, Captain Charles Lockyer was able to visit Muscat in the following May. He stated that the place was

"so well improved by the Arabs since they got it out of the hands of the Portuguese, that it is become a Terroure to all the trading People in India."

The Arab ships, he went on to say, were built at Surat. In all there were 14 warships and 20 merchantmen; one of the former had 70 guns and none had less than 20. Powder, however, was scarce—

"yet they are the profusest People in the World in wasting it on all Occasions. . . . Their Colours are red, which they display in Streamers and Pendants at every Yard-Arm and other remarkable Part of their Ships. Whence the Fleet made a very pretty Appearance at our first Entry into the Harbour."§

The Imam Saif ibn Sultan I died at his capital city of Rustaq on October 4, 1711. His successor, Sultan ibn Saif II, went even further than he had done in strengthening the fleet and in waging war upon his enemies. In so doing he spent not only all the money that his predecessors had saved, but also large sums that he had borrowed from the funds of mosques and *auqaf* (pious endowments).|| He was a determined foe of the Portuguese and Persians. Captain Alexander Hamilton,¶ who was at Muscat in 1721, gave the following description of the Arab fleet as it had been during his reign (Sultan ibn Saif died on April 20, 1719):**

"In Anno 1715 the Arabian Fleet consisted of one Ship of 74 Guns, two of 60, one of 50, and 18 small Ships from 32 to 12 Guns each, and some Trankies or rowing Vessels from 4 to 8 Guns each, with which Sea Forces they keep all the Sea-coasts in Aw, from Cape Comerin to the Red Sea. They often made Descents on the Portuguese Colonies on the Coast of India, destroying their Villages and Farms, but sparing the Churches. . . . They kill none in cold blood, but use their Captives courteously. . . .

"Ever since the Portuguese left Muscat to the Arabs, there has been continual War, but in the main the Arabs have been the Gainers, yet they have been obliged to buy Ships of Force to confront the Portuguese at Sea, and to keep their Coasts free from Insults. Their Fleets have often met, and had some Engagements, but few Ships have been taken or sunk on either Side, but Merchant Ships of both Sides have been taken.

* Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 439.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 537.

‡ Charles Lockyer, *An Account of Trade in India*, p. 209.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

|| C. Guilain, *Documents sur l'Histoire et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, Part I, p. 526.

¶ He is not to be confused with his namesake, also of the East India Company, who, a century later, was interned in Paris during the Napoleonic wars. He taught Sanskrit to his fellow-prisoners, one of whom was Schlegel, the German philosopher and poet.

** *A New Account of the East Indies* (London, 1730), vol. i, pp. 50 and 51.

"The Portugeze use their Captives with great Severity, making them labour hard, inure them to the Discipline by the Whip; but the Arabs use theirs with very much Humanity, only making them Prisoners at Large, without putting them to hard Labour, and allow them as much Diet Money as their own Soldiers receive. . . . And if any of the Portugeze are Artificers or Mechanicks, they may freely work at their Trade, to earn Money to redeem themselves."

After the accession of this energetic Imam it was not in the least surprising that the Persians should once more make a bid for French support. As the war of the Spanish Succession was at last over, there seemed to be some likelihood that France would be able and willing to come to the rescue. Accordingly, the Persian Court despatched a certain Muhammad Riza Beg as Ambassador to France ostensibly to secure the ratification of the treaty concluded by Michel in 1708, but in reality to seek for French naval co-operation against the Muscat Arabs. After an adventurous journey Muhammad Riza Beg landed at Marseilles in October, 1714, and reached Paris on February 7 of the following year.

Throughout his discussions with the representatives of the French Government he carefully refrained from putting into writing anything connected with the Muscat scheme, doing everything by word of mouth.* The offer which he was authorized to make was identical with the proposals in the memorandum which had been entrusted to the Abbé Gaudereau in 1699. The French negotiators, whose main object was to secure a new treaty on more favourable terms than those of Michel's instrument of 1708, made effective use of the promise of aid for the Muscat affair to extort concessions from the Ambassador. They informed him that the affair was not one that could be lightly undertaken and that it would be necessary to send a special envoy to the Persian Court to discuss the details. By reason of his expert knowledge a naval captain named Geraldin was selected as Ambassador; his orders were to study conditions in Persia and to examine most carefully the arrangements to be made with the Persians, in order to ensure success. Etienne Padery, a naturalized Frenchman of Levantine Greek origin, who had been for twenty-five years in the service of the French Embassy at Constantinople, and who had accompanied Muhammad Riza Beg to Europe, was to travel with Geraldin and act as his assistant and interpreter. Geraldin was on the point of leaving for Persia when the death of Louis XIV (on September 1, 1716) threw matters into confusion. One of the consequences of the aged king's death was that Geraldin's appointment was cancelled. When, shortly afterwards, Muhammad Riza Beg left France for his native country, he took with him, it is true, a new treaty of friendship and commerce, but he had nothing tangible to show on the subject of Muscat, the main purpose of his mission. He never reached Isfahan, because, on setting foot on Persian soil, he heard that his patrons Muhammad Mu'min and the Khan of Erivan had been deprived of their offices, and, conscious of having exceeded his powers in the matter of the new treaty (which was very favourable to the French), he took his own life.

Although Ange de Gardane, the Chevalier de Sainte-Croix, who had been appointed French Ambassador to Persia and Consul at Isfahan, and who left for the Persian Court not long after the departure of the ill-fated Muhammad Riza Beg, took with him no instructions regarding the Muscat affair, it soon became evident that the French Government had by no means abandoned the idea. In a document entitled *Mémoire pour les Affaires de Perse* that is preserved in the archives at the Quai d'Orsay,† the Muscat project is dealt with at some length. Much stress was laid on the Persians' complete lack of sea power; for this reason, it was said, the Shah—

"n'est pas en Etat d'Empescher ce Petit Prince (i.e., the Imam of Oman) de fermer quand il voudra le Sein Persique, de piller les ports de Benderarabassy et de Congou (Kung) et de semparer (sic) de L'Isle de Barrain où se fait La Pesche des Perles. C'est pour le prevenir que le Roy de Perse veut faire une Ligue avec la France pour prendre La Ville de Mascatte."

* *Papiers de Padery*, in the Archives Nationales, Paris (A.F. IV, 4c dossier, fol. 32b).

† A.E., Perse, vol. v, fols. 123b-126a.

Then followed the same terms as those previously mentioned. The writer of the memorandum thereupon proceeded to set forth the great advantages that would accrue to France if the plan were successfully put into execution. The French would acquire the same rights as those formerly enjoyed by the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, obtaining large sums in shipping dues and a share (with the Persian Government) in the pearling industry at Bahrain. Moreover, by taking Muscat (there was no mention of any sharing of authority there with the Persians), the French would become masters of the entire trade of Arabia Felix and of that with India, as well as much of the Persian trade. Furthermore, Mombasa would fall into their hands, thereby opening the way to Ethiopia.

The Persians' fear that the Imam's forces might seize the Bahrain islands soon proved to be well founded. In 1717 Sultan ibn Saif sent an expedition to the islands, which seems to have accomplished its task with little or no difficulty. In the same year the Arabs took the islands of Qishm and Larak, and in December they laid siege to the fortress of Hormuz. As before, the Persians were gravely handicapped by their lack of a fleet, and it seemed for a time inevitable that they would lose Hormuz. In that event, with Qishm and Larak already in their possession and with their existing bases on the Arabian coast, they would become masters of the entrance to the Gulf.*

Greatly alarmed at these disturbing developments, the Shah appealed to the Portuguese for aid. In response, they despatched eight ships to Kung in March or April, 1718, where they embarked a Persian force and transported it to Bahrain. The Persians appear to have had as little difficulty in regaining the islands as the Arabs had in seizing them in the previous year. In July, 1718, they were able to raise the siege of Hormuz, doubtless with Portuguese naval assistance.

In answer to another appeal by the Shah later in the year, the Viceroy of Goa promised to send a fleet consisting of six warships and two fireships to destroy the Muscat pirate fleet and to take the town itself. There was some delay in the despatch of these ships to the Persian Gulf, apparently because of a dispute between the Portuguese and the Persians as to the terms of payment.† This fleet or a portion of it reached Kung in the summer of 1719; although no combined operations against Muscat itself resulted, the Portuguese inflicted a defeat on the Arab fleet and forced it to take refuge in Ras al-Khaima. In a further action off that port the Portuguese were again victorious. Although neither the Persians nor the Portuguese seem to have realized it at the time, the moment was propitious for a concerted attack on Muscat. The redoubtable Sultan ibn Saif had died on April 20, 1719, and civil war between rival claimants to the Imamate soon resulted in a weakening of the Omani power. This opportunity was not taken, and, in consequence of the continued failure of the Portuguese and Persians to come to terms, the fleet of the former left the Gulf in October without accomplishing anything further.

Feeling that they could use the promise of naval aid against Muscat as a means of inducing the Persian Government to ratify the treaty of 1715 (which Gardane had been unable to do), the French Government sent Étienne Padery to Persia in the spring of 1719 in the dual capacity of negotiator in regard to the Muscat affair and of consul at Shiraz. In the instructions that were handed to him before his departure, it was stated that he was to negotiate with the Shah's Government respecting the taking of Muscat in conformity with the proposals that Muhammad Riza Beg had made to Louis XIV. The Shah, it was laid down, was to send to France sufficient money to pay for the fitting out of the fleet and to provide 30,000 men or more if required.‡

Padery, who was delayed for some months at Shamakhi by disturbances in the Province of Shirvan, did not reach Qazvin (where the Persian Court then was) until August, 1720. Soon after his arrival he had a private interview with Fath Ali Khan Daghistani, the I'timadu'd-Daula, who asked him whether he had any memorandum or letter from the French Government respecting Muscat. Padery replied in the

* *Nouvelles de Perse*, September 15, 1718, in A.E., Perse, vol. v, fol. 192b.

† Report by Gardane dated October 30, 1719, in A.E., Perse, vol. v, fol. 251a.

‡ A.E., Perse, vol. v, fols. 252b-256b.

negative, saying that it had been deemed injudicious to put such matters in writing. Padery remained some months at the Court. While there he learnt that the Persians were once more endeavouring to come to terms with the Portuguese over Muscat. According to his own account he was instrumental in bringing about the failure of these negotiations. As Fath Ali Khan had many enemies at Court, and as the Portuguese were not popular, it is very likely indeed that Padery may have succeeded in causing this scheme to miscarry. On December 9, 1720, Fath Ali Khan's enemies, having convinced the credulous Shah that the Minister was plotting against him, caused him to be deprived of his high office and arrested on a charge of treason. Not long afterwards Padery left for Shiraz to take up his post as consul. While on the way he met Lutf Ali Khan, Fath Ali Khan's nephew, who had been deputed to lead the Persian troops in the proposed Perso-Portuguese operations against Muscat, and who had recently inflicted a defeat upon the Ghalzai Afghans. The very next day, according to Padery, Lutf Ali Khan was arrested and disgraced, and his army was disbanded.*

Notwithstanding their repeated failures to come to terms over the Muscat question, the Persians and Portuguese made one further attempt to reach a settlement in the early summer of 1721. On June 10 Gardane reported from Isfahan that the Persians had to pay the Portuguese 21,000 *écus* (approximately £1,150) for their past services and for inducing them to provide shipping for the Muscat expedition.† Later in the year Padery evidently heard of this development, for he left his post at Shiraz and hastened to the capital, much to Gardane's disgust (there was no love lost between the two). Soon after his arrival Padery had a very favourable interview with Muhammad Quli Khan, the new I'timadu'd-Daula. In a despatch to his Government Gardane stated that he had heard that Padery had again been promising to provide both royal and company ships for the Muscat venture, and added that he (Gardane) feared that if the Muscat Arabs learnt of this offer they would retaliate by attacking French shipping.‡

Padery had a further interview with Muhammad Quli Khan at the end of November, when they discussed both the Muscat venture and the ratification of Muhammad Riza Beg's treaty. As regards Muscat, it was agreed that the Shah would write to Louis XV respecting the arrangements to be made. If the French would furnish from ten to twelve ships the Persians would for their part provide the necessary land forces, and the French and Persian commanders would act in concert with each other. The booty taken would be equally apportioned; if the value were not high enough the Shah would make up the difference. The Persians would require five or six months' notice of the arrival of the French fleet, in order to get the army ready for the expedition and to collect supplies. At the same time the Shah announced his decision to ratify the 1715 treaty. Although the French thus succeeded in gaining their end without giving any *quid pro quo*, their triumph availed them nothing; with the Afghan capture of Isfahan in October, 1722, the Safavi dynasty fell, and the 1715 treaty became virtually a dead letter. Owing to the chaotic conditions that prevailed for some years in Persia, the French trade with that country, like that of the English and Dutch, was brought almost to a standstill.

To turn to Oman, the civil war that had broken out between the rival Hinawi and Ghafiri factions on the death of the Imam Sultan ibn Saif II continued to sap the strength of the country, with the result that the piratical activities of the Muscat Arabs greatly declined. Their ability to prey upon shipping was further reduced by a violent storm in August, 1723, which wrecked 21 of their vessels in Muscat Harbour. Thereafter, their attacks on shipping in the Gulf and its approaches were rare and sporadic, and they ceased altogether in 1737, when Nadir Shah took advantage of the situation in Oman to intervene and temporarily to occupy the country. Muscat had ceased to be a menace.

* A.E., Perse, vol. vi, fol. 400b. The consequences for Persia of the disbanding of this force were tragic in the extreme.

† *Ibid.*, vol. vi, fol. 70a. The sum mentioned seems to be very much on the low side.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. vi, fol. 108a.

THE MALINO CONFERENCE AND AFTER

BY BARBARA WHITTINGHAM-JONES

(The author has just returned from Indonesia)

THERE is an ancient prophecy in Java, known as the Djojobojo legend, which modern Indonesians have much in mind just now. Djojobojo was a Javanese king who lived in the twelfth century and predicted in writing, which still survives, the subsequent course of the history of Java. The prophecy was, of course, expressed in symbols in a way that resembles in some degree the prophecies of the pyramids in Egypt. Much of what Djojobojo foretold has already been fulfilled. He predicted, for example, the coming of the Dutch, the "Orang Belanda," the British period under Raffles, the return of the Dutch after the Napoleonic wars, the inventions of modern science—the steamship, the steam train, the aeroplane, also the telephone and wireless telegraphy—and he even predicted finally the way in which the "yellow race" would conquer the island of Java and drive out the Dutch. But the yellow conquerors, he added, would only remain for *seoemoer djagong*—that is, the lifetime of *djagong*. What exactly *djagong* means no one knows. It may mean corn or a cock. If the phrase was intended to mean the lifetime of corn it would imply a period of only three or four months—the time from seed-time to harvest—a period which many people at the time thought would be the limit of the Japanese occupation. If on the other hand it was intended to mean the lifetime of a cock it would imply a period of several years. The prophecy continues that after this period the invaders would be driven out and the white race would return, though their return would be accompanied by bloodshed, hunger and sickness. In the vivid Javanese metaphor the woman at the well would be washing her rice with a spear watching over her—the spear being a symbol of famine and strife. But the most remarkable part of Djojobojo's prophecy is at the end, when he said that Java would gain her freedom and prosperity in the year 1864 of the Javanese calendar, which in our calendar is the year beginning in November, 1945.

There is also another prophecy known as the Goa legend attributed to Botolempangan, a holy man and a hermit, of the Kingdom of Goa in South Celebes—the kingdom in which the recent Malino Conference was held. Like Djojobojo, Botolempangan predicted the coming of the yellow race and the expulsion of the Dutch. But at this point the Goa story diverges. According to Botolempangan the Dutch would only be driven as far as Lae-lae, two small islands just outside Macassar harbour—this metaphor being interpreted to convey that, though they would be driven out they would not be away long. The prophecy concluded that the Dutch would return—this time not to rule but instead to help the people to rule themselves.

The contrast between the respective ending of the two legends is significant. While the Java story tells about a time of bloodshed and want following the Japanese occupation, with Java finally acquiring her freedom when it ends; the Goa story, on the other hand, foretells that after the eviction of the Japanese the Dutch would return to help the people and that peace would be restored. It is curious that this difference is exactly reflected in the present situation. For, whereas Java, though still in the grip of civil war, has established "Meredka" wherever the red-white banner of the old fourteenth-century Majapahit Empire flies; in Celebes, the centre of the area reoccupied by the Dutch, the foundation of a new kind of Dutch and Indonesian co-operation has been laid at the Malino Conference held last July.

The Dutch East Indies, since their liberation from Japan, have been split up into three main groups. First, there is the Republic of Java, which was proclaimed by Soekarno its President and of which Soetomo Shahrir is Prime Minister. The negotiations, of which so much has been heard during the past year, have been chiefly concerned with the future of Java, where the interior is wholly in the hands of the Indonesians and the Allied-held areas are confined to the three ports of Batavia, Surabaya and Semarang, and Bandoeng, the former seat of the Government.

Secondly, there is Sumatra, the richest island of the Indies, whose allegiance the Republic claims, though neither Jogjakarta nor the Allies exercise any practical authority (except for the British-held ports of Medan and Sabang), the whole country being the prey of mutually hostile revolutionary factions. Thirdly, and lastly, there is all the rest: Borneo and what the Dutch call the "Great East"—that is, Celebes, the Moluccas, the Lesser Sunda Islands (the chain of small islands reaching from Bali to Timor) and Dutch New Guinea. Here the Allied authority was re-established in time to prevent major disturbances, and the work of reconstruction under Dutch administration is now in full swing.

It is from these scattered islands east of Java—an area known to the Dutch as the Outer Islands—that the Malino Conference was summoned. Although before the war the Outer Islands were politically undeveloped, the striking thing which Malino revealed is the strong and unanimous demand, even from the more backward regions, for a substantial measure of self-government. It is remarkable how politically self-conscious these countries have become, not only in their demand for more freedom from the Dutch, but also for more autonomy among themselves. Nationalism in the Outer Islands is as deep and sturdy as in Java. In the Outer Islands, however, it is less doctrinaire and more realistic, and specifically acknowledges the practical necessity of co-operation with the Dutch, at least for an interim period; while in Java the Republicans appear more and more to be retreating into a dream world remote from practical possibilities. By their achievement at Malino the Outer Islands have introduced a new factor into the negotiations between Jogjakarta and The Hague, and for this reason Malino seems the best starting-point for an examination of the Indonesian question at the present moment.

The Malino Conference, the first of its kind ever held, was summoned by Dr. van Mook, Lieutenant Governor-General of Netherlands India, for the purpose of inaugurating some form of representative government in the Outer Islands, hitherto under direct or indirect Dutch administration. To Malino, a hill-station forty miles inland from Macassar and 3,000 feet above sea-level (under the Japanese an internment camp for women and children and by far the best until it became instead a leave centre for Nip officers), accordingly came thirty-nine delegates, representing 12,000,000 people and 70 per cent. of the total land surface of Netherlands India. The delegates were sent from fifteen constituent areas—West Borneo, South Borneo, East Borneo, Banka and Billiton, the Riouw Archipelago, South Celebes, Bali and Lombok, Timor, the Minahassa, the Sangir and Talaud Islands, the rest of the Residency of Menado, the North Moluccas, the South Moluccas and New Guinea. They were chosen by a variety of novel and ingenious methods especially improvised by the Netherlands Indies Department of Civil Affairs, especially in places where no representative body of any kind formerly existed. Where representative councils were already in existence, such as in the Minahassa, South Celebes and several parts of Borneo, the delegates were chosen by these councils, the councils themselves having first been reconstituted by elections, as in South Celebes, Bali and Lombok. In other territories a body of voters was especially improvised. For example, in one sub-division of Banka Island the Government nominated forty of the leading inhabitants from ten different villages to assemble at a preliminary meeting where the task of selecting delegates for the forthcoming conference was explained to them. Each little team then returned to its own village and there selected forty more individuals, who in turn from among themselves elected one representative to attend another central meeting of the sub-division. These ten then chose one representative to serve on a council from the whole island at which the actual delegates were finally chosen. Certainly the Civil Affairs Department spared no pains to make Malino as genuinely representative as circumstances permitted and, having regard to the size of the area, the total absence in many places of representative machinery or precedent, and the urgency of the occasion, it difficult to see how this initial conference could have been better chosen, though the next conference to be held at Den Pasar in Bali should, as there is every indication that it will, be more representative and even broader based.

At Malino three main decisions were unanimously adopted. These were: first, the organization of a United Indonesia, *Indonesia Sariikat*, later to include Java and

Sumatra, in the form of a federation; second, the maintenance of lasting co-operation between the Netherlands and Indonesia; and third, self-government within the component units of the federation to be established.* In deciding upon a federal structure, as recommended by Dr. van Mook in his opening speech at Malino, the Republican dream of a unitary State ruled from Java was decisively and deliberately rejected. That the Outer Islands fear and resent the idea of domination by Java was very evident both in public session and in private conversation. Hence their insistence that the Republic should enter the Federation as one of several units and not the Federation be absorbed by the Republic. But one obstacle of a different nature threatened in the early stages of the Conference to frustrate realization of the federal idea. Before Malino, separatism was stronger than nationalism, and certainly stronger than any desire for political unity. A fortunate accident, however, did much to overcome this difficulty. Originally summoned for July 1, to allow the necessary preparations to be completed, the Conference at the last moment was postponed until the 15th. It so happened that most of the delegates were already assembled at Macassar and during the fortnight which elapsed they had an opportunity of getting to know each other and of discussing their political problems informally, which quite by chance unexpectedly paved the way for joint action when eventually they came together in the Conference Hall.

So gradually the federal idea of merging their local identities in a larger unity, also on a nationalist basis, took hold, and the narrow provincialism which filled many delegates at the outset expanded into the conception of a great Indonesian national State. Even so, there were still many who pressed for the Federation to be made up of a large number of small units, and it was with some reluctance that van Mook's declared preference for a small number of larger units eventually prevailed. Small units, he argued, would lack the strength and man-power necessary to enable them to stand on their own feet. So the Federation, as adopted at Malino, will consist of four States—Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Great East—with possibly a fifth if the Lesser Sunda Islands succeed in upholding their claim to rank as a separate State independent of the Great East. Banka, Billiton and the Riouw Archipelago declared their intention of ultimately forming one State with Sumatra. Regarding New Guinea, the Papuan representative, the first of his race ever to take part in a political conference outside his own country, urged that New Guinea be no longer part of the Sultanat of Tidore or treated by the Ambonese as a sort of colony of their own. The significance of this demand was explained in his further suggestion that the name Papuan be abolished, because in the language of Tidore it means slave, and that, while the name of the country shall remain New Guinea, its people shall be in future called Irian, meaning "Warm Climate." Within these major constituent States the smaller local units will retain their individuality based on existing historic, ethnological, economic and cultural divisions. They will, moreover, acquire a new and substantial measure of autonomy based wherever possible on the native *adat*, the immemorial and universal fabric of society throughout the Malaysian world. There remains the nature of the relationship between *Indonesia Sarihat* and the Netherlands. A formal resolution declared that this should be laid down in a statute which would also establish a separate constitution for the Netherlands and for Indonesia.

The final decision to remain within the Dutch hegemony or to declare for complete sovereign independence should, it was resolved, be postponed until after a trial or transition period of ten years. During this period of co-operation within the Kingdom, United Indonesia would be able to "create the necessary political, economic, social and cultural structure and to gain for itself the indispensable governmental apparatus, without which she cannot make a free and independent decision." At Malino the great majority of delegates expressed their wish to remain within the Dutch Empire under the House of Orange as an equal partner of the Netherlands, but a minority declared for a relationship established by treaty instead of by statute, thus identifying themselves with the demand of the Republicans, and it remains to be seen which view prevails at the forthcoming Conference at Den Pasar.

Thus was laid the foundation for a new self-governing State composed of some three thousand-odd island countries known to the world for three hundred years as



THE TYPE OF COUNTRY IN THE SOUTH CELELES IN WHICH MALINO IS SITUATED.



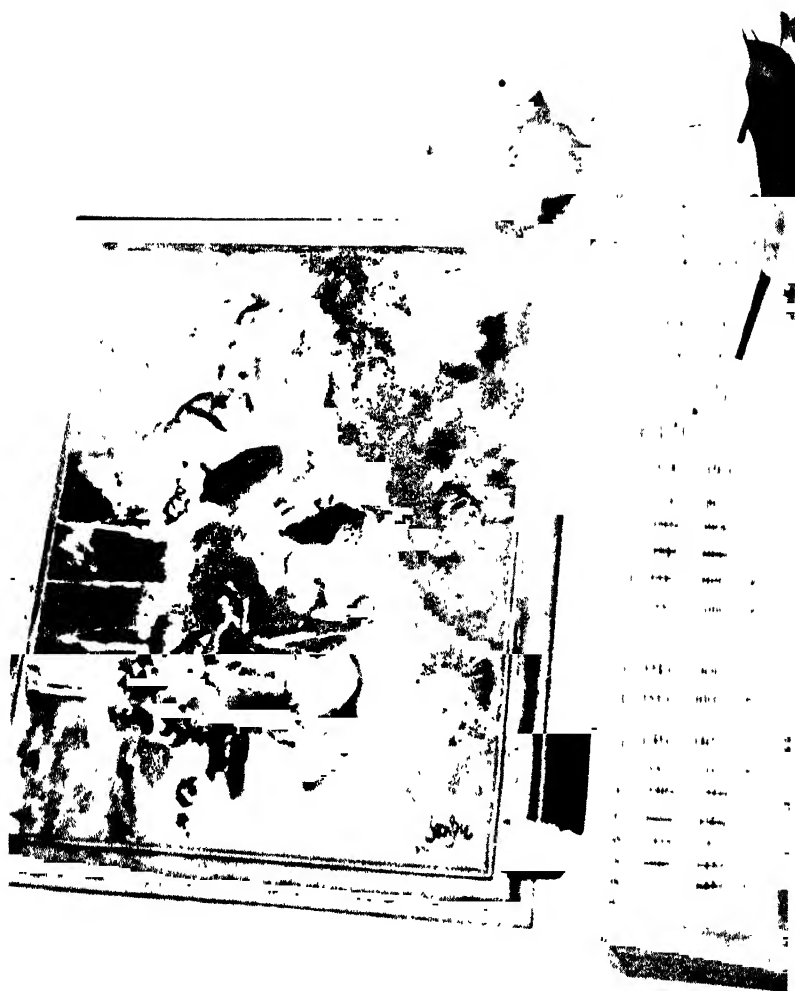
MALINO CONFERENCE, JULY, 1946. A VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE IN SESSION.

PLATE II



DR. H. J. VAN MOOK, PHOTOGRAPHED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE
AT MALINO

PLATE IV.



MR. SUTANO SHAHRIR IN HIS LIBRARY AT BATAVIA.

the Netherlands East Indies, eventually to take its place in the modern world as the national entity of *Indonesia Sariikat*. The significance of the Malino Conference is, I think, difficult to exaggerate. As a result of Malino this vast scattered area is now of its own will linked together in a single self-made political organism, which came into being as an expression of the irresistible surge of nationalism now aflame throughout the length and breadth of Indonesia. Unheralded, unheard and almost unnoticed, Malino has established an historic landmark alike in the political evolution of Asia as in the fast-changing relations between the West and the East, for which there is no parallel even in the diverse story of our own British Commonwealth.

This achievement was a great triumph for Dutch policy—greater than perhaps the world yet realizes. But, above all, it was a resounding personal triumph for Dr. van Mook, whose handiwork it mainly was. His firm but friendly and receptive handling of the actual discussions (he took the Chair throughout), his knowledge of Malay (many of the delegates spoke only their own language), his sympathy and understanding of the people whom it has been his lifework to serve and progressively to emancipate, his easy accessibility outside the Conference Hall, especially during meals and at the common mess, which he shared like everyone else, his sheer, hard-headed ability earned him an unexpected personal ascendancy which by general consent revealed him as a real father of his people.

Malino sets the seal on the liberal and imaginative colonial policy by which van Mook made his name the only name in Dutch politics, apart from van Kleffens, of international status, a name which, if only the reactionary elements in Holland and the Indies had the discernment to see it, is their solitary talisman against an impression still widely held in the New World that the Dutch attitude towards Indonesia is that of an unbending "herrenvolk," intent simply on restoring the *status quo* of the pre-war Indies. Happily his success at Malino appears to have strengthened his position at The Hague, and if the new Commissioners-General lend added weight to his policy the prospects of an agreement with the Republic should brighten. Insufficient authority, lack of support at home and bitter personal criticism for which in this country you would have to go back to the days of Gillray and Rowlandson to find a parallel, have been a grievous handicap to his handling of the negotiations with Shahrir throughout the past year. Another handicap in the eyes of his critics is his invariable habit of seeing and appraising every political event and situation only in the long and the broad view. During those four years of exile which he spent shuttling between London, Washington, San Francisco and Brisbane, van Mook acquired an international outlook as well as an international status—a quality he also shares with Shahrir. But this very quality which has greatly helped to draw the Dutch Governor-General together with the Republican Prime Minister has its disadvantages in that it tends to alienate both from the mass of their own side. For van Mook, as also indeed Shahrir, is so far ahead of his own people as to be almost unrepresentative of them. Yet without this quality he would never have become, as in fact he has become, the principal instrument of the unity of these 3,000-odd islands of the Indonesian Archipelago.

There is, of course, a difference (though not a conflict) in their respective approach to the international sense. While it impels Shahrir to admit that "single-handed Indonesia lacks the power to bring about the collapse of the [American-British capitalist and imperialist] world which would create complete freedom from us," adding that freedom from the Dutch, if attained under the present economic system of the world, would be independence in name only; van Mook, on the other hand, also seeing Java as but a segment of the world system, holds that just as British, French and Dutch co-operation are essential to create the Western European Union now increasingly recognized as vital to our common security and indeed to the whole cause of Western democracy, so also a common policy should be pursued by the same three Powers in the East, both among themselves and towards native nationalism in their respective "colonies" now on the highroad to full-blown nationhood.

Though Vice-President Hatta voiced the attitude of Jogjakarta in asserting that Malino was held "at the point of the bayonet," and though Republicans generally took the line that it was merely an assembly of yes-men and stooges, Rosihan Anwar,

correspondent of *Merdeka*, the chief Republican newspaper, who was present at Malino throughout, acknowledged that "Dr. van Mook has had success in Malino. He has succeeded in showing that not all the seventy million Indonesians stand behind Soekarno. He was able to demonstrate to foreign countries that the Republic no longer has the right to act as spokesman for the Outer Islands, that the ideals of Indonesia not necessarily should be obtained along the revolutionary way, but that the foundation of those ideals is the Dutch Commonwealth."

Inevitably, as the first inter-insular conference ever held in the Indies, Malino was an elementary affair as conferences go, and the next assembly at Den Pasar, due to meet towards the end of this year, may be more robust and express a more sharply defined attitude towards the Republic. Certainly it will be more self-confident for the Outer Islands, which hitherto were feeling rather neglected while Java held the limelight, since Malino began to feel that it is they and not Java who are setting the pace alike in political and in economic reconstruction. Already a committee of seven members is sitting in Batavia to draft a Constitution for the Federation, and this draft will be presented to the next Conference at Den Pasar for amendment and adoption. It will not, however, become law until after a settlement has been reached with Java and Sumatra, when this provisional Constitution and perhaps also a separate provisional Constitution for the Republic will be discussed at a Commonwealth Conference of the whole Realm and the resultant recommendations finally submitted to the States-General.

FRANCO-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS

By P. T. S. J.

(The author was British Observer in Hanoi from October, 1945, to the end of June, 1946.)

PRIOR to the Japanese invasion in 1942 Indo-China was a French colony in the fullest sense. The power of the French Republic was vested in the person of the Governor-General whose seat was in Hanoi. Responsible to him were the Chief Residents of the theoretical protectorates of Tonkin, Annam, Laos and Cambodia and the Governor of Cochin-China. In addition to them each small Province had its own Resident. In Annam, Laos and Cambodia the Kings remained, but in all cases power was in the hands of the French officials.

After their comparatively unopposed occupation the Japanese were content at the outset simply to use the country as a base for their military activities and as a source of supply of certain essential commodities, mainly rice. They did, however, from the beginning encourage nationalistic tendencies amongst the natives, and engaged in extensive propaganda to this end. Early in 1945, having won the Emperor Bao Dai over to their side and obtained the submission of the Kings of Laos and Cambodia, they were ready to evict the French. This they did by their "coup" of March 9, when they suddenly attacked the French garrisons and threw out all European Government officials, replacing them by natives of their own choice. Thus it was at this time that the republic of Viet Nam came into being, having at its head the Emperor Bao Dai. A period of violent repression of all things French ensued. It became a capital offence for any Frenchman to possess arms, all military personnel were treated as prisoners of war—in the Japanese meaning of the word—and in general the lot of the French population was far from happy.

At the Potsdam Conference it was agreed that, as the French were not in a position to return to Indo-China immediately, the Chinese should occupy that part lying to the north of the sixteenth parallel and the British the area to the south. It was clearly stipulated that these occupations were purely temporary, and the function of the occupying forces was to collect and dispose of Japanese prisoners of war and to maintain law and order until such time as they were relieved by the French.

In the south, British forces under General Gracey landed at Saigon, set up an Allied Control Commission, and reinstated the French régime. Towards the end of the year Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu arrived as Haute Commissaire de la République and French troops were landed in considerable strength. The King of Cambodia announced his willingness to enter into negotiations, and an agreement was reached which gave to the natives a considerable degree of self-government with French Advisers on the higher levels only. By the end of February, 1946, most of the British troops had re-embarked and the French were again in full control of Cochinchina.

British policy was conducted on the principle that as the Annamite régime had been placed in power by our enemies, the French were the legitimate rulers, and for this reason were reinstated. In the north, however, the Chinese adopted an entirely different line. Claiming that, as the government of the country was entirely an internal affair and not their concern, they supported the newly formed Viet Minh party, Bao Dai having abdicated when the Japanese surrendered, leaving M. Ho Chi Minh as President. There followed a period of five months, during which the French in the north suffered worse treatment at the hands of the Annamites than during the Japanese occupation. In Hanoi their troops were confined—disarmed—in the Citadelle. "Hostages," many of whom were killed, were taken at regular intervals. Scarcely a day passed without a murder or attempted murder being perpetrated, and the property and persons of the French civilians were "requisitioned" or just robbed indiscriminately.

At this time the French Government was represented in the north by a Commissaire de la République, M. Jean Roger-Sainteny, although he was not at the outset recognized by the Chinese authorities. It was undoubtedly this man who, although accompanied only by a handful of young officers and not always fully supported by his own Government, was able by his own great personality to prevent the situation degenerating into a massacre of the white population.

The situation outlined in the preceding paragraphs was due, not entirely to any deliberate intent to cause hardship to Europeans on the part of either the Chinese or the leaders of the Viet Minh party, but because the former wished to remain absolutely neutral in all Franco-Annamite affairs, and the latter had no effective police force and were too uncertain of their own position in the saddle to undertake violent action in defence of the French.

From the moment he arrived M. Sainteny started conversations with M. Ho Chi Minh in order that a peaceful agreement could be achieved and to convince him of his Government's sincerity. The task, however, was indeed a hard one. One got the impression that the President was unable to control the more advanced groups of his own party, in addition to which, events in the south naturally did nothing to reassure the Annamite politicians. Throughout the negotiations were hampered by the Annamite press—the French press was, of course, so censored that it was not allowed to make any mention at all of political matters—which published daily accounts of great "battles" going on in the south, recruiting propaganda for the Annamite army and wild accounts of French terrorism in the old days. They hardly mentioned the discussions then proceeding, and created the impression that it was only a question of time before they would be at war with the French "aggressors."

The political parties of Viet Nam are many and varied. They may, however, be broadly divided into two groups. The first and at present by far the most powerful is the Viet Minh, which is of the nationalistic-communistic persuasion. In fact, most of the notables of the existing Government are old members of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. The President, M. Ho Chi Minh, is fifty-six years of age, slight, mild and courteous of manner, simple in his mode of life, extraordinarily well read, speaks five languages, and has nearly forty years of revolutionary activity behind him; he is at present violently criticized at home for being too moderate, but still has the confidence of the mass of the people. The second group is the Dong Minh, which is nationalistic, pro-Chinese, anti-French and anti-Communist. The present party came into being under Chinese sponsorship in Southern China in 1942, and includes many of the old revolutionaries who had taken refuge there. It arrived back in Tonkin amongst the impedimenta of the Chinese Army of Occupation. One of the

satellite parties of this group, the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang, an old nationalist party which was responsible for the revolts of 1930 and was suppressed by the French with very great severity, has a considerable following, and represents the most vehement critics of the Government—of which it is technically part. Certain extremist elements of this party are engaged in terrorist activities with a view to making settlement by discussion impossible. It counts among its members many of the pro-Japanese section who supported the Government of Bao Dai after March 9.

The situation became so critical at the end of January, with more than sixty murders or assaults in six weeks, that M. Sainteny was forced to send a cable to Paris requesting that the whole question of the efficacy of Chinese occupation be brought up before the United Nations Congress then in session. This was backed up by telegrams from the British and American Observers to their respective Governments.

Towards the end of February it became known in the north that a French landing was imminent. On the 28th the Franco-Chinese treaty was signed. By this the Chinese were granted part of the port of Haiphong as an outlet for the products of South China and a number of other concessions. In the military agreement, signed some days later, provision was made for the relief of all Chinese forces in North Indo-China by French troops.

On March 6 an agreement was signed in Hanoi between M. Sainteny and M. Ho Chi Minh. There is little doubt that the decision of the Annamite President to sign was influenced by the signature of the Franco-Chinese agreement and by the knowledge that a French invasion force was off Haiphong. By its terms the French recognized the existence of Viet Nam as a republic "within the Indo-Chinese Federation and in the bosom of the French Union" (textual), having its own army, government, finances, etc. In return the Annamites agreed to receive the French Armies in a friendly manner, and to allow them to relieve the Chinese troops in maintaining law and order. It was also agreed that after preliminary discussions had taken place at Dalat (near Saigon) a final agreement covering all questions would be signed in Paris. On the vexed question as to whether Cochin-China was or was not part of Viet Nam, there was to be a referendum which the French agreed to respect. While all recognized the value of the agreement as a means of preventing bloodshed, it was, initially at least, unpopular with both sides. The Annamites were naturally alarmed, and, after the months of intensive propaganda they had undergone, baffled, by the arrival unopposed of the great General Leclerc with over 10,000 men and what must have seemed to them overwhelming equipment; while the French, particularly the old colonials, also felt that all was lost. "An Annamite Government," they said, "means Annamite police. How can we continue commerce or production when we are completely at the mercy of our employees and when even a thief caught red-handed goes unpunished?"

On March 18 the French Army arrived in Hanoi itself without incident. The delight and relief of the French population can easily be imagined, and it was only slightly dampened by the sight of an Annamite flag beneath the French flag on all the leading vehicles. This must also have caused a good deal of resentment to the troops, who only a few weeks previously had been collecting the same flags as battle trophies!

From the outset, however, the French did everything possible to convince the Annamites of their sincerity in the observance of the terms of the preliminary agreement. At the request of M. Ho Chi Minh they agreed to most of the Chinese military posts in Hanoi itself being relieved by Annamite soldiers. A Franco-Annamite liaison was set up in an attempt to settle swiftly any incidents which occurred. At this juncture, however, it became obvious that while Ho Chi Minh himself and his immediate entourage genuinely wished for a friendly settlement, the turn events were taking was causing great discontent amongst the extremists in the V.N.Q.D.D. Party. It should perhaps be explained that, apart from being able to cause embarrassment to the Government by acts of terrorism in Hanoi, the influence of the V.N.Q.D.D. was very strong in some of the outlying areas of Tonkin. Moreover, in all these outlying areas the authority of the old French resident had been assumed by local revolutionary committees, whose "Presidents" only carried out central government directives when they agreed with their own ideas and when indeed they received them at all. The

two main themes of the Annamite propaganda machine at this time were : that the final agreement in Paris must be signed without delay. This was in order that the discussions should take place before the Chinese troops left Indo-China. The other cry was : that Cochin China was an integral part of Viet Nam. The importance of Cochin China to the Republic is paramount, particularly as the Annamites wish to run their country as an economic entity. Without the revenue which was derived from the Yunanfu Railway and the Customs on the Chinese border, and with little hope of being able to get the output of the coalmines at Hongay anywhere near its pre-war level, it is doubtful if Tonkin and Annam could be self-supporting. Cochin China, with its enormous rice exports and increasing rubber output, would, however, probably enable them to balance the budget.

In May the conversations at Dalat took place. To the casual observer they could scarcely have been a greater failure. Suffice to say that agreement was not reached on any single major point, but they did serve some purpose in that they enabled each side fully to understand the position to be adopted by the other.

The position today is that the Chinese Armies, after almost interminable delays, have finally left the whole of the territory of Indo-China. The Republic of Viet Nam exists, consisting for the moment of Tonkin and Annam. Representatives of the "Government of National Unity," headed by M. Ho Chi Minh, are in Paris, where discussions are proceeding. On the whole, prospects of an agreement being reached are thought to be good. In Indo-China itself conditions are gradually improving, although the economic recovery of the country can scarcely be said to have begun. The French Military Authorities continue to show an astonishing degree of forbearance, and the extremist elements still threaten to throw the country into a turmoil if they do not approve of the decisions reached in Paris.

In the rest of the Indo-Chinese Federation the situation is much more favourable to the French. In Cochin China the natives have formed a Provisional Autonomous Government, entirely pro-French, and it looks as if when—and if—a referendum is held they will vote for Autonomy. In Cambodia and in Laos the situation is stabilized, with these States having a degree of self-government with French advisers.

Of the future this much may be said. The complete French control of Indo-China is a thing of the past. It is even doubtful whether, with the loss of the Chinese Customs and transport charges on the Yunanfu Railway, and the difficulty of exploiting the Hongay mines under an Annamite régime, it will be worth while for French colonial settlers to try and trade in Tonkin or Annam. It seems probable, however, that the French will be obliged to maintain considerable strength in the north until the Annamites are able to maintain law and order on their own and protect themselves. The deep-seated political disunity which exists today, as well as the complete lack of civic sense amongst the junior ranks of the present Annamite Administration, seems to indicate that this will not be for some considerable time. It must be borne in mind that the French have lost an enormous amount of "face" *vis-à-vis* the natives : firstly, by their crushing defeat at the hands of the Japanese; and, secondly, by the indignities which have been heaped upon them with impunity by the Annamites themselves. The present attitude of the French authorities on the spot may in the long run convince those who are interested of their good intentions, but the character of the Annamite is such that he only really loves or respects those whom he fears. Although in the large cities a considerable body of the population has become affluent as the result of robbing the French, there is little doubt that in the country areas the ordinary little farmer with his few acres of rice paddy is a good deal worse off than before. Under the old French system he was ruled with reasonable fairness via the Mandarinate. Now he is completely at the mercy of the local Revolutionary Committee, who in many cases are quite openly engaged in enriching only themselves. He is unable to circulate freely, and as nothing comes out of the towns he is forced to live entirely on what he produces himself. In addition to all this he is, in common with all the rest of the population, liable to become a victim of the complete lawlessness which prevails throughout the country. The French colonials should, however, be able to continue to operate in Cochin China, Cambodia and parts of Laos, and as these are by far the richest areas of Indo-China the country should still yield a very considerable profit.

SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE

VI.—MR. T. S. ELIOT

BY DR. RANJEE G. SHAHANI

MUST poetry always remain identical with itself, or must it, like all living things, have its adventures and mutations? In other words, is newness here possible?

But what do we mean by newness? I should say (having obtained no light from the dictionaries) that it is an originality of the individual who, dealing with the great fundamental themes, seeks personal affirmation but—and let us note this well—in a direction common to other individuals. Here a useful parallel may be drawn with that strange new Physics called Relativity. To Einstein we are indebted for the elaboration of the theory. In the eyes of the general public he appears as an initiator: but, however startling his achievement, it is not a freak that he has given us but an attitude that has convinced the mind of humanity. Real originality is, then, a universalizing tendency.

This tendency manifests itself again and again, or at least from time to time, in the sciences. Is anything similar possible in poetry?

No. Why? Because the material of poetry cannot be other than itself. Poetry is poetry, from the Vedic times to our own day.

It is perfectly clear that such reasoning, which is quite sound, tends to eliminate the possibility of all "essential newness" in poetry. Nevertheless, it is true that, however impossible it may appear *a priori*, some great and decisive innovations in the history of poetry appear undeniable to an impartial observer. Think of Petrarch, the inspirer of Chaucer, or of Wordsworth and Coleridge.

Now, when we consider certain indisputable results and a certain line in the development of modern French poetry; when we review the happiest moments of Mallarmé, Laforgue, Verlaine, Appolinaire, Valéry, we cannot deny the existence of a note of newness (I should prefer to call it an extension of the province of poetry). The poetic impulse has been directed to regions hitherto unexplored, canalized in ways which somehow transcend personal leadings, or, better still, which unite in the consciousness, more or less vague, of universal humanity. A prevailing tendency, to which one has given different names, according to the models adopted, such as "chimismes lyriques" or "magie verbale" or "attraction musicale," thanks to which poetry, eager to "take from music its good" and renouncing more and more the popular denotation of words, aids itself by the creative power of music to suggest its mystery, yet not to express it, for that would be to destroy it. These are but varying attitudes of the same striving, whose most complete expression is found in Rimbaud. That Rimbaud himself has acknowledged his failure does not disprove the existence of the fact asserted.

This alleged fact is that modern poetry is not adapted to be sufficient unto itself—it does not rest satisfied with being the winged interpreter of the truths laid down by philosophy (which was, to a certain extent, the ideal of mediæval poetry, as also of Milton)—nor to be the mere expression of human passions and sentiments. It attempts to become, on the one side, a kind of Ethics, *to transform life* (as Rimbaud put it); and, on the other, to rival openly with philosophy, inasmuch as it is its ambition to seize the inner essence of things, to affirm itself as a new instrument of Metaphysics, to put man in direct contact with Being, above the levels of the discursive intellect.

Such, crudely put, is the ideal and ambition of French poetry between the two wars. That there is much confused thinking in the programme needs no demonstration. In the first place, poetry and music belong to disparate worlds: any encroachment of the one upon the province of the other can do nothing but harm to both. Secondly, the idea that poetry is a kind of Ethics, and, as Rimbaud asserted, is to transform life, is an impossible declaration; for Ethics has nothing to do with our topic: it is an ideal construction of Good and Evil.

The ambition of this French poetry (there are other schools now), in so far as it

sought to extend the scope of its subject-matter, was an interesting experiment. But it is the performance that counts, not the mere promise. Only in one case, that of Valéry, did success attend his efforts. But this is not a discussion of inter-war French poetry. Enough, I believe, has been said to indicate its general character.

How about England? Here, as we all know, most artists, especially those of the younger generation, suffer from "French 'Flu"—that is, whatever the French think today the English think tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. So New Poetry has been with us for some time. Why, there are writers who indulge in musical patterns of words that no one understands—including themselves. But this does not worry them in the least: they are, they think, burning incense at the altar of the Great Mallarmé.

Now T. S. Eliot is said to be the high priest of this English school. No greater mistake was ever made. Eliot is no mere copyist. I did not agree with Mr. Stephen Spender when he suggested it. An artist may take the colours on his palette from various sources, but what of that? It is the new unity that matters. Eliot, like Chaucer and Shakespeare, has borrowed the materials of his craft, but he has transformed them into something rich and strange. After all, as Synge said, all art is collaboration. I would go farther and suggest that appreciation and creation are, at bottom, the same.

However, there is no doubt that Eliot is the most French of the English poets. Just because Eliot is the most French of the English poets—I shall explain this as I go along—he has never been properly understood. Round him has raged a furious controversy, his admirers alleging him to be the most significant figure among modern English poets, while others maintain that he is no poet at all. Mr. Hugh Ross Williamson tells us flatly that the poetry of the future will be unintelligible without an interpretation by Eliot; on the other hand, I have been assured by some of the most distinguished writers of our generation that Eliot is "bogus."

In these circumstances it is only right to judge the man by what he has produced. His work, and his work alone, shall be my theme. His other activities will be dealt with in passing, in so far as they bear upon his artistic output.

"Just as love of the Good moved A. E.," said to me Sturge Moore (I am quoting from my *Intimate Journal*), "so fear of the Evil has always moved Eliot. Hence, while the one went to the esoteric thought of India, the other has sought rest in the Catholic Church. . . . This antithesis is seen even in their politics. A. E. was a co-operative socialist; Eliot, like Charles Maurras, whom he resembles so much, has harked back to tradition and authority. The difference between the two is the difference between spiritual wholeness and spiritual malaise. . . ."

This is true enough, but not quite. I don't think Eliot is afraid of Evil. He is fully conscious of it, and that is a different matter altogether. In fact, it is a sign of mental vigour not to ignore Evil. It is there. We must face it.

The attitude of Eliot is easily intelligible. He belongs to a generation that went through the torment of the first world war. After what he had seen it was difficult for him to shut himself up in an ivory tower and murmur, eyes shut, mouth open:

God's in his heaven—
All's right with the world. . . .

No, Eliot could not take for granted the goodness of man. He was shocked by what he had encountered. Evil was a reality, the most terrible reality that one could think of.

Eliot examined human life with a pitiless lucidity. He found that it could be rotten and sordid, at best a thing of shreds and patches. This knowledge worried him. And when he gazed around at the contemporary scene he beheld mostly sleepy souls. Too bad! Eliot tried to awaken us to the cruel and fearful realities. Here, to my mind, lies part of his importance. As Thomas Hardy, who was no dummy, said in a poem of mingled humour and scorn:

Therefore, since the world has still
Much good, but much less good than ill,
And while the sun and moon endure

Luck's a chance, but trouble's sure,
I'd face it as a wise man would,
And train for ill and not for good.

It is wise to see things without blinkers. Eliot has consistently done so. In this he is, to my mind, more French than English.

Consider Thomas Hardy. He was content to endure stoically the farce of life. Eliot is not satisfied with this negative attitude. Of him we may say:

The wounded surgeon plies the steel
That questions the distempered part;
Beneath the bleeding hands we feel
The sharp compassion of the healer's art
Resolving the enigma of the fever chart.

Life is full of discords and discrepancies. Eliot knows that. But he looks for "the still point of the dance"—for "central peace at the heart of endless agitation."

The search is long and wearisome. At last Eliot realizes that there is no horror in human existence except what we bring into it. It is the Will that is the Devil of the modern world. This is so because our impulses are radically egotistical:

I said to my soul, be still, and let the darkness come upon you
Which shall be the darkness of God. . . .

I said to my soul, be still, and wait without hope
For hope will be hope for the wrong thing; wait without love
For love would be love of the wrong thing; there is yet faith
But the faith and the love and the hope are all in the waiting.

To live truly, we must learn to die. This was Jesus' own injunction. But it would be a ghastly travesty of that great saying to deny the claims of the intellect. Eliot has never ceased to think. Only one who is given to brooding could have written:

And under the oppression of the silent fog
The tolling bell
Measures time not our time, rung by the unhurried
Ground swell, a time
Older than the time of chronometers, older
Than time counted by anxious worried women
Lying awake, calculating the future,
Trying to unweave, unwind, unravel,
And piece together the past and the future,
Between midnight and dawn, when the past is all deception,
The future futureless, before the morning watch
When time stops and time is never ending;
And the ground swell, that is and was from the beginning,
Clangs
The bell.

Again:

For most of us, there is only the unattended
Moment, the moment in and out of time.
The distraction fit, lost in a shaft of sunlight,
The wild thyme unseen, as the winter lightning
Or the waterfall, or music heard so deeply
That it is not heard at all; but you are the music
While the music lasts.

Here thought reaches its acme and produces its own appropriate music. I seem to hear not the dulcet notes of the flute, but the clang and crash of cymbals. What other modern English poet gives us the same effect?

But although Eliot is intellectual as few are, he knows the limits of intellectuality. He admits frankly :

The only wisdom we can hope to acquire
Is the wisdom of humility : humility is endless.

Goethe said the same thing : " You must renounce." " *Neti, neti* " (" Not this, not that "), suggested the Upanishadic seers.

In brief, Reason is a tool, a marvellous tool, but worth no more than the men who use it. It is faith that sustains the soul; and faith is a beautiful phenomenon : its rightness or wrongness has nothing to do with anything. Whatever satisfies our sense of holiness is justified, be it the creed of a Hottentot or another.

That Eliot has been influenced by Hindu thought there is no doubt. He says :

And do not think of the fruit of action.
Fare forward.

And he goes beyond :

Not fare well,
But fare forward, voyagers.

That is the message of the Gita. But is there any real difference between Christism and the inwardness of Hinduism or Buddhism? All Oriental doctrines—and we are apt to forget that Christianity is an Oriental doctrine—are, in essence, one. A. E. thought so; Romain Rolland thought so; and I believe Eliot thinks so.

I have much more to say about the deeper impulsions of Eliot, but what I have suggested will do. Let me come to his art.

Eliot is said to be obscure. Now, as he himself explained to me, there are three kinds of obscurity : when the writer talks about something that he himself does not understand; when the writer creates deliberate smoke in order to appear cleverer than he is; when the writer has to deal with problems for which language, the instrument of common sense, is utterly inadequate. Now no one will deny that Eliot belongs to the third class : he says things that cannot be fully expressed; they can only be suggested. He knows that words are but a dim glow of the fire within us :

That was a way of putting it—not very satisfactory :
A periphrastic study in a worn-out poetical fashion,
Leaving one still with the intolerable wrestle
With words and meanings. The poetry does not matter.
It was not (to start again) what one had expected.

Shakespeare and Chapman, too, knew that all fine things are enveloped in a mist born of their very perfection. Recall " *The Phoenix and the Turtle* " and certain lines of " *The Shadow of Night*." The darkness that we find in the work of Eliot is not due to the withholding of taper and flame, but to the melting of his thought into the night of things.

Eliot's poetry is said to be prosaic. It hasn't the music of Shakespeare or Shelley or Swinburne. That is perfectly true; yet the matter does not end there.

Examine French poetry. It is, on the whole, prosaic—prosaic in the English sense. Valéry, under the influence of Baudelaire, broke away from the French tradition and approximated to the models of England. Eliot, on the other hand, belongs to the French school. Hence his seeming prosiness. But the truth is that he has introduced to the English-speaking world the harsh and complicated harmonies of French poetry. To the French, I find, English poetry appears too flowery and limp. " Take away Keats's adjectives," said to me Emile Legouis, " and not a great deal remains." I am afraid this applies to most English poets.

Eliot believes, like the French masters, in the bare bones of poetry. He is French, not only in his technique, but, as I said before, in his vision. Nature and nurture have combined to produce this result.

What, in fine, is the contribution of Eliot to English poetry? Nothing less than the carrying of the spirit of France to his adopted native land. No wonder Eliot's effects seem to many "unprecedented."

Eliot's prose writings throw much light on his poetry, but I have not the space to examine them here. It is sufficient to say that he is always clear, learned, balanced, and perspicacious. I confess, however, that I do not share his theories and enthusiasms. Eliot is rooted in tradition; my view is that everybody is more or less a traditionalist, for even a revolutionary must spring off from some given point when he takes a jump. This point is always supplied by society, which is the *fons et origo boni atque mali*. But a genius is he who is in the stream and yet out of it; he is the one who hears the music that is unperceptible to other ears.

Eliot places Dante and Virgil highest among the poets of the world. I wish I could accept this verdict; I cannot. Dante is perfect in a limited way; and I am not sure that he is always sincere. Concerning Virgil, he who has read him in Latin must admire his verbal magic; but he was no lamp. Of thought beyond the Categories he knew nothing. Shakespeare was infinitely greater. And I must say that some of the Eastern poets—Indian, Chinese and Persian—touch heights and depths that the Western artists have not even dreamed of. But let that pass.

When I met Eliot I found before me a charming man, who had no kind of pose whatever. Indeed, what struck me most about him was his modesty. He answered any questions I asked him as simply and directly as he could. And he showed no surprise when I differed from him on this or that point. On the contrary, he seemed anxious to know what I thought on this or that matter. This is merely another way of saying that conversation with Eliot is easy, natural, a question of give and take. He does not pretend to be an oracle. And he is in no way dogmatic. He advances his opinions shyly, but without any mock reserve.

His voice is soft and hesitant, and he has a very pleasant smile. In all he says he tries to give the shade of a shade, the nuance of a nuance, the fragrance of a fragrance. He is subtle in thought and hypersensitive in feeling. It is a pleasure to know him. He reminds me, all said and done, of the eagle I once saw at the Zoo in Bombay, its eyes fixed on the sun and its great wings beating up against a cage too small to hold them.

LITERATURE IN ANNAM

HOW A POPULAR LITERATURE WAS BORN OF FRENCH INSPIRATION

BY PHAN GIANG

BEFORE the invention of "Quốc-ngũ"—a phonetic transcription into the Roman alphabet of the Annamite idiom—by the missionary father Alexandre de Rhodes, Annamites learnt the Chinese characters, read the Chinese classics, wrote poems in Chinese, and showed themselves good pupils more or less without imagination. Literature spoke a language unknown to the people. To answer their spiritual needs the people, who were no longer content to transmit from one generation to another by verbal means the songs of the fields and rivers, then invented "Chu-nôm," a transcription of the Annamite tongue, in characters partly Chinese and partly phonetic, which obeyed no fixed rule and of which the pronunciation was often guesswork or a simple matter of custom. This mode of transcription of the language was acceptable only because of the urgent need felt by the people to preserve their songs and stories for entertainment, consolation, or to satisfy their need for escape. But letters—like the literature of France, tied to Latin in the Middle Ages—despised this popular invention, and continued to think and write in Chinese—that is to say, in a code for which Nature had not intended them.

This scorn of the national tongue explains the absence, before the invention of "Quốc-ngũ," of notable works. The people, who alone used the language of the country, were neither sufficiently refined nor sufficiently persevering to purify it and to make of it a real instrument for literary creation. The works which have come to us from this period are by men of letters who consented to write in "Chu-nôm," finding thus their natural means of expression. The most celebrated of these, nicknamed "The father of Annamite literature," Nguyen-Du, author of *Kim-vân-Kiều* (this romance in verse has been translated into French by M. René Crayssac of the French School of the Far East), did not, nevertheless, break away from Chinese influence. The subject, the characters of his romance, are Chinese. In spite of his prodigious talent as an innovator, his work contains too many Chinese explosions—sometimes translated, sometimes not—too many allusions to Chinese mythology. The feeling of the romance—a long poem perfectly composed—is connected with Confucianism and Buddhism.

Many years after the introduction of "Quốc-ngũ" in schools educated Annamites hesitated between the two tendencies. Those of the old school clung jealously to Chinese, while the young initiated themselves into the beauties of French and tried their hands in the language of Racine. The latter, though they came to write to perfection like M. Pham Quynh, Minister of Education in Annam, showed themselves, like their predecessors who had been faithful to Chinese, to be good pupils, lacking any great initiative, lacking any link with the people or the communion with them which is a *sine qua non* of significant literary creation.

After many fruitless discussions on the literary value of the Annamite language the translations of Molière, Voltaire, Montesquieu, etc.—by Nguyễn van Vinh—ended by inspiring confidence. These translations marked, so to speak, the achievement of spiritual contact between our people and France. From that time "Quốc-ngũ," having been blazed abroad, in default of literary works, weeklies and reviews written in our language, were the only means of culture for the people.

Not until 1930 did there flower a young literature full of promise, rich and significant, which had broken with the past and exercised a moral hold over the masses. It would be impossible to mention all the names, to analyze the principal works in the space of a summary. I shall therefore leave aside the tales, the historical stories, etc., and shall speak briefly only of poetry and the social novel—that is to say, writing which does not offer men escape, but helps them to find themselves and then to understand their surroundings, and incites them to transform themselves so that they may act on those surroundings.

The publicist Phan-khôi was the first to counsel Annamite poets to give up the Chinese rules of versification and to create each his own versification as a musician invents his own rhythms. For the first time in a Confucian country, where man is considered only as an element in the social order (prince, subject, father, son, husband, etc.), they sing of pure love without constraint, not love directed by duty and seen through the prism of Confucian principles, but the love which is of the heart, of the soul, and of the flesh. These young poets were all schooled in French literature. The influence of Victor Hugo is clear in Huy Thông. Xuân Diệu recalls at times the Comtesse de Noailles. Thé Lu makes one think of Baudelaire.

But the first place is held by the social novel, which studies man in his surroundings instead of taking him as an independent entity, as in poetry, and from this fact enjoys immense credit with the mass of readers. In this genre the French influence is complete from the point of view of composition and form. The unity of action of the French novel built up of a sense of proportion and a love of classification is respected. The novelists write in everyday language, invent styles, render expression more supple. One of their merits, however, is that of having made a choice. They resist the extreme psychology of the Russian, the ideological novel of Dostoevsky, the conception, in the manner of Gide, of a novel encumbered with several groups of characters, all the foreign influences in the modern French novel. Nor have they wished to make the merely possible live as André Gide desires to do in his *Journal des Faux Monnayeurs*. They depict everyday life, giving it style and generalizing the situations. They show the individual struggling with the family (in the grand sense), the arbitrary conception of mediæval Confucian morality which takes no

account of the intimate sentimental needs of man, diminished and locked in silence in the Annamite society. They wish to give to woman her place in society, as wife and mother certainly, but also as a feeling and thinking creature. The ideal of human liberty and responsibility that they preach to the people they owe certainly to French influence. But in doing this they preserve strict realism, persuaded as they are that art must impose constraints upon itself. They portray more than they preach, suggest more than they display. Their teaching emanates from the lives of their characters.

Two subjects occupy them most: love shackled by traditional morality and the misery of the peasantry. Khai Hung in *Nua Chung Xuân* (At the Springtime of Life) depicts for us the misfortunes of a young girl subjected to the Confucian morality, and Nhật Linh in *Doan Tuyet* (The Farewell) the difficulties met with by a young woman in revolting against this morality. *Bùn Lầy Nước Đông* (The Mud and the Marsh), by Nhật Linh, on the peasants, inspires us with profound pity for these "Nhàquê," who live without joy and without distraction like beasts of burden.

It is impossible to foresee whether the young popular Annamite literature, which has now acquired solid bases, will escape soon from the French influence. But one thing is certain: our novelists and our poets, who are teaching our people to feel, to reflect, and thus to find themselves, so as to become one day free and responsible human beings instead of remaining vague and anonymous elements of the mass, have served as interpreters of the best forms of French civilization.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BIRD'S-EYE SURVEY OF HISTORY IN GREATER ASIA TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE-AGES.

(Reviewed by E. W. HUTCHINSON)

From the date of Russia's entry into the World War until Japan capitulated last August French men of letters in Indo-China remained cut off from contact with the West. Even before 1942 the war in Europe had deprived the Parisian publishers, de Boccard, of a long-awaited volume on S.E. Asia's past history from Professor G. Coedès, Directeur de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi. In Hanoi itself the members of the Far-Eastern School were permitted to carry on their labours without interruption until March 9, 1945, the day when the French administration of the country was supplanted by Japanese and Annamese. During the ensuing twelve months until the re-entry of French troops into Hanoi on March 10, 1946, members of the School would appear to have received milder treatment than that which befell their colleagues in the south, from whom they were, however, completely isolated during the whole period of the Chinese occupation, now happily ended. In 1944 the Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi, thanks to the retention of a small stock of pre-war paper, previously condemned for damage which was found to involve only the upper layers, was able to publish a limited edition of the book which Coedès had been preparing for Paris before the war. Its title is *Histoire Ancienne des États Hindouïsés d'Extrême-Orient*. A few copies have reached Paris and the French Institut has already conferred the Giles prize for 1946 upon its author. Presentation copies are at last on their way to London, but since some time must elapse before a second edition can be prepared an English version of the chronological paragraphs of the concluding chapter is reproduced below with the author's consent. As he states in his Preface, the contents of the preceding twelve chapters are here summarized in a manner calculated to display the benefits which were enjoyed by all who were heirs to the Hindu civilization introduced among their ancestors in the remote past by a relatively small number of Indian colonists, the creators of Greater India.

The author presents his facts century by century from the second to the early years of the sixteenth. His field is limited, as the title implies, to those lands whose art, laws, language and religion were affected by India. He excludes Toggking and Annam because of their Chinese orientation; while Assam, being merely a prolongation of Bengal, has likewise no place here.

In his *Histoire de l'Asie* Grousset blazed the trail in 1922, but without attempting a chronological synthesis which is Coedès' personal contribution to the subject in general. The basic authorities consist, on the one hand, of excerpts from the voluminous histories of China; on the other, of inscriptions. The modern authorities cited are as follows: For *Cambodia and Funan*, P. Pelliot, G. Maspéro, B. R. Chatterji, and, above all, the author himself, whose qualifications fully entitle him to present the history of Cambodia in up-to-date form; this he does, but disclaims any intention of attributing a preponderant rôle to Cambodia. For *Champa*, the principal modern authorities used by him are G. Maspéro and R. J. Majumdar; for *Burma*, A. P. Phayre, G. E. Harvey, G. H. Luce; for *Siam*, W. A. R. Wood and P. N. Bose; for *Laos*, P. Le Boulanger; for *Malaya*, G. Ferrand, R. C. Majumdar, Nilakanta Sastri, R. O. Winstedt, R. Braddell; for *Sumatra-Java*, N. J. Krom.

Those who look in vain for any element of romance in the presentation of such characters as Airlanga, Harijit, or Anoratha in the text will doubtless applaud the author's policy of confining it to a plain statement of demonstrable fact. He thereby unquestionably enhances the scientific value of his essay; furthermore, he avoids any possible injustice towards the many historical figures known to us only through the medium of inscriptions, as is the case throughout almost the whole of Cambodian history, whose records, inscribed on stone, leave little room for the romantic element which lends interest to written annals. The fact that no such records have survived in Cambodia is no proof that her leading figures were deficient in the qualities ascribed to the heroes of neighbouring lands whose annals have come down to us. Thus the summary which follows consists of a collection of facts whose synchronization is here for the first time determined, and thereby serves to enhance the value of the contents of the preceding twelve chapters.

The second century of the Christian era witnessed the establishment in S.E. Asia of the first Hindu monarchies. The oldest and, thanks to China's historians, the best known were *Funan* and *Lin-yi*! At that period Funan, the forerunner of Cambodia in the Mekong delta, was extending its conquests into the Malay Peninsula. It would appear that it consisted of a federation of small Hinduized States (if not a single empire) under rulers known as Lords of the Mountain (*Sailendra*). Lin-yi (Champa) was then engaged in an attempt to extend northwards from its original nucleus in the Hué district, which brought it into armed conflict with the Sino-Annamese of Tongking, and was the first episode in an age-long struggle between the Cham (with their Indian background) and Annam, the product of Chinese civilization.

Halfway through the fourth century a new stream of emigration poured eastward from India as a result of Samudragupta's conquests in the valley of the Ganges and in Southern India. One of the consequences was the appearance of an Indo-Scythian emigrant, who took possession of the throne in Funan; another was a general recrudescence of Hindu culture overseas, the Pallava of Kanchi being the pioneers. This in its turn was responsible for a crop of inscriptions contrasting strongly with their paucity in the earlier period—if we may judge from the few which have survived. These newer inscriptions reveal the existence of several small Hindu States in Borneo and Java; they also throw new light upon Chinese references to Funan and Lin-yi between the fourth and sixth centuries, a period of supremacy for Funan while China of *The Three Kingdoms* and the *Six Dynasties* was passing through troubled times.

In the middle of the sixth century the power of Funan broke. . . . From the ruins emerged the Khmer kingdom (*Kambuja*) in the lower Mekong. Further to the west appeared two new powers, the *Món* in the Menam Valley, which became the cradle of a kingdom known as Dvaravati, and the *Pyu* in the Irrawadi Valley. The weakness of China under the *Chin* and *Ch'en* permitted Champa to obtain control of both sides of Cloud Pass. Mention in the Chinese chronicles of *Ho-ling* (Kalinga) as a part of Java may be the natural consequence of Pulakesin's and of Harsha's con-

quests in Kalinga on the Orissa coast, which forced some of the inhabitants to emigrate eastwards overseas.

At the end of the seventh century a new era set in with the birth and rapid growth of the Srivijaya kingdom in Sumatra (Palembang)—one of the remoter consequences of the dismemberment of Funan. Throughout the eighth century Cambodia was in disorder, with a sharp dividing line between the highlands and the daltalands; in Champa the centre of government was withdrawn to the south. In the second half of the eighth century the Shiva-ite rulers of Java were suddenly forced to give place to a Buddhist dynasty, which restored the ancient title of Lord of the Mountain (*Sailendra*) and covered the land with imposing Buddhist monuments. They would seem to have obtained control of the sea routes as far afield as Cambodia, while corsairs from Sumatra-Java appeared off the Indo-China coast and raided it from north to south. These signs of unrest followed upon the rise to power of the *T'ang* dynasty in China, and marked the zenith of Buddhism in Java, corresponding with the expansion of Mahayanist Buddhism in India from the Nalanda University, which enjoyed the protection of the Pala dynasty in Bengal.

The ninth century opens in 802 A.D., with the liberation of Cambodia from Javanese suzerainty and the return of its former dynasty, which founded the House of Angkor—a power to be reckoned with in Further India for the next four hundred years.

The waning of Sailendra Buddhist influence in Java contributed its share to these events in Cambodia. The earlier Shiva-ite dynasty, which the Sailendras of Java had forced to retire eastwards, returned to the centre, which was vacated by the Sailendra, who, after reducing the Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya in the mid-ninth century to the status of vassals, moved over there themselves and maintained their seat of government in Srivijaya for several centuries. Meanwhile, during the first quarter of the ninth century in Burma, the Môn in the south founded their capital city at Pegu within a few years of the foundation by the Burmans of their capital at Pagan.

Throughout the tenth century Angkor continued to flourish: in Champa, the centre of gravity shifted north again under the Indrapura dynasty; Srivijaya made good as a maritime power by gaining undisputed mastery of the Straits between Sumatra and her neighbours, which coincided with the decline of Chinese prestige at the end of the *T'ang* and throughout *The Five Dynasties*. China recovered at the end of the century when *The Sung* came into power. She then regained sufficient strength to intervene once more in the southern seas, where the Sailendras in Sumatra were attacking Mataram, a kingdom firmly established in Eastern Java.

The eleventh century produced, during its first three-quarters, a crop of dynamic personalities and of events which had a bearing upon the future. In Cambodia in 1002, Suryavarman founded a new dynasty which encroached into the Menam Valley, then occupied by Môn. His reign was almost exactly contemporary with that of Airlanga, the hero from Bali, who rescued Java from the anarchy which had arisen in consequence of Srivijaya's aggressive attitude. Profiting by the defeat inflicted in 1025 upon Srivijaya by Chola raiders from South India, Airlanga was able to turn the tables upon Srivijaya and force an alliance with himself upon her. No sooner had Airlanga and Suryavarman departed from the stage in the mid-eleventh century, we find Anoratha in Burma extending the frontiers of Pagan into the Irawadi delta at the expense of Pegu. The Môn civilization and the Hinayanist Buddhism which he there acquired were brought back by him to Pagan and firmly implanted in his Burmese kingdom.

In the final quarter of the eleventh century Cambodia, Champa and Burma alike were free from any threat from China owing to the weakness of the declining *Sung* dynasty in China. In Cambodia, Suryavarman II in 1082 founded a new dynasty at Angkor and laid the foundations of *Angkor Vat*, a foretaste of the ultimate splendour she attained a century later after she had recovered from the shock caused by a daring raid upon her capital by the Cham fleet in 1177. In Burma, Anoratha's successors enlarged their frontiers, filling Pagan with monuments. In the Straits the Sumatran kingdom continued to flourish as a great sea power. In Java, the Kadiri kingdom, which succeeded Airlanga, was left free to pursue a peaceful policy.

At the end of the twelfth century Cambodia recovered rapidly from the effects of

the Cham raid in 1177, attaining the summit of her greatness under the rule of Jayavarman VII, the famous temple-builder. Retaliating upon Champa, he overran and annexed it, only holding it, however, for twenty years; after this decadence began to set in. In Burma, India's civilizing influence came in the form of Singhalese Buddhism, which King Parâkrâma-bâhu revived: it threw out off-shoots over the whole peninsula of Indo-China during that century from Burma. In Sumatra, the early thirteenth century witnessed the first signs of Srivijaya's coming disintegration, when Malayu (the modern Jambi) made ready to supersede Palembang as capital. In Java in 1222 the Kadiri kingdom gave place to that named *Singhasari*, an event which synchronized with a decline of Hindu influence and a resurgence of the underlying Indonesian element.

In the thirteenth century, from the year 1260 onwards, the Mongols, after the decline of the *Sung*, enjoyed a hundred years of conquest. Their attempts to dominate the southern sea, which began that year, gravely affected those territories. Like the Mongol militarists, the Mongol court adopted a policy of breaking up the old Hinduized countries into small native fiefs. Under the influence of this policy the T'ai subjects of Cambodia in the Menam Valley obtained independence, beginning with Sukhot'ai in the north-west. The annihilation of the Pagan monarchy in 1287 by the Mongols favoured T'ai expansionist movements in Burma, in the Môn lands of the upper Menam, also in the Cambodian Provinces of the lower Menam and Mekong. The Cham withdrew from their outposts to the north of Cloud Pass. In Java, in 1292, the empire of Majopahit was founded. The pressure jointly applied by it and by the Sukhot'ai T'ai advancing into the Malay Peninsula caused the remnants of the Sailendra kingdom to break up. The Muslim incursion from the north-west into India was faithfully reflected in the progress of Islam throughout the island fringe of Further India, and sounded the knell of Hindu culture in outer India, while the Buddhism of Ceylon, brought in from Burma, made rapid strides in the Menam and Mekong Valleys.

During the first half of the fourteenth century the T'ai confirmed their hold upon the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Already the dominant force in Burma and the upper Menam Valley (Sukhot'ai and Lan Na), they founded the Lao kingdom of Lan Ch'ang on the Mekong, and, later on, the Ayudhya monarchy, which absorbed that of its northern neighbour, Sukhot'ai. Thanks to the prestige of Cambodia as a great Power, these—her former vassals—inherited all that remained of her Hindu civilization. In the south, Majopahit enjoyed an unchallenged suzerainty: the days of Srivijaya were numbered and the end of Hindu influence was in sight.

In the second half of the fourteenth century the decline of Mongol power led in S.E. Asia to the regrouping of the smaller States within the sphere of influence, either of Ayudhya in the north or of Majopahit in the south.

In the fifteenth century the withdrawal of the Cambodians from Angkhor and of the Cham from Vijaya are unmistakable proof of the southward drive of T'ai and Annamese against the ancient Hinduized kingdoms of Cambodia and Champa.

In the early sixteenth century Islam became supreme in Java about the year 1520, and the remnants of Hinduism betook themselves to Bali. Nine years earlier Malacca, heir to the former commercial supremacy of Sumatra, had been occupied by the Portuguese.

The volume is well stitched and bound in a stout wrapper of manila paper. It contains 368 pages octavo, printed in clear type: 8 pages of Introduction, 331 pages of text, 29 pages of Indices (15 pages for index of geographical, ethnological and archaeological references; 10 pages for index of personal names; 2 pages for religious; 1 page for literary; 1 page for linguistic index).

The text is printed above numerous footnotes, and the volume includes genealogical tables of the Cambodian and Majopahit kings; also five sketch maps: (1) general map of India, the Indo-China Peninsula and Insulinda; (2) the Indo-China Peninsula; (3) Cambodia; (4) Insulinda; (5) Central and Eastern Java.

RECENT BOOKS ON SOUTH-EAST ASIA

REVIEWED BY EDWIN HAWARD

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA. By Charles Robequain. (New York: *Oxford University Press*.) \$4.00.

This valuable study is issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Isabel Ward has done her translator's work well, and John Andrus and Katrine Greene have added a Supplement to bring the author's work into focus with the war-time developments in Indo-China.

It is fortunate that the student has an opportunity of reading this authoritative and well-balanced survey of an important territory in S.E. Asia. After the disasters in the Far East there was much facile criticism of the European powers who had made themselves responsible for developments in Malaya, Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies respectively, and France perhaps had to bear even a fiercer criticism than Great Britain or the Netherlands. Perhaps this was partly due to the realization that the Fall of France gave the Japanese the opportunity of using Indo-China, not only as a rehearsal ground for the eventual assault on the Anglo-American Allies, but also to provide the actual springboard of the attack on Malaya from the rear. The succinct account of Japanese exploitation in making hay while the sun of France ceased to shine over Indo-China is not the least of the services rendered by the Supplement. Japanese occupation has brought misery to Indo-China in many ways, but it is possible that when France returns it will be found that some of the problems which were beginning to be so pressing in their economic significance will have been to some extent solved by the temporary linking up of Indo-China's economy with other parts of S.E. Asia. The view taken in this Supplement is that one result of the war may be a more well-rounded and better integrated economy, fitting more efficiently into the trade and the economic development of the Western Pacific.

This fits in with M. Robequain's comprehensive review of the development of Indo-China under French direction for the space of about half a century. There is a similarity of the problem of Indo-China with that of India in that the undoubted progress made by the French in raising the standard of living by development of the country and communications, construction of irrigation canals and the like, has been set off by the productivity of the people. The very needs of this era of industrial development have tended to lay emphasis on one form of industrial activity. The author considers that a planned industrialization is not likely to be the single or the most efficacious remedy for over-population. More, he thinks, can be expected from agricultural progress, which in turn depends on the colony's internal prosperity, the continued improvement of irrigation and farming methods, and the effectiveness of the popular credit and co-operative systems.

In a treatise devoted exclusively to economic and financial matters there is no place for discussion of cultural activities, on which score alone Indo-China owes much to French genius and archaeological research, buttressed by that admirable French characteristic—appreciation of the importance of the arts in human affairs. Still, even in this limited range there is plenty of material in this book for revising hasty judgments of French administrative achievements in Indo-China. The picture drawn is certainly that of a colonizing force which has not been unmindful of its responsibilities, has definitely improved the standard of living of the people, and has laid the foundations of future prosperity and progress when the period of reconstruction begins with the Japanese out of the picture.

THE OLD BURMA ROAD. By Dr. Neville Bradley. (Heinemann.) 9s. 6d. net.

Lady Crum has rendered a service by so understandingly recording the memories of a veteran missionary in travelling over the road which was the predecessor of maintaining communications between China and Burma before the more famous and more recent road came into existence.

These impressions of travel between the two countries some ten years ago are

vivid and delightful, and it is reasonable to suggest that even though the road now may be littered with the corpses of derelict motor lorries and possibly the fuselage of an enemy aeroplane, some of the experiences which Dr. Bradley had can be repeated when, in time of peace, travellers can make the same leisurely journey.

SIAM : THE CROSSROADS. By Sir Josiah Crosby. (*Hollis and Carter.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The radio critics often declare that as a medium for revealing personality the radio has considerable advantage over any other. People may disguise their faces, they may even use their voice to imitate other people, but they cannot eliminate from their own natural voices the disclosure of their general attitude to humanity. The writer sometimes manages in his medium to achieve just such a self-revelation. Sir Josiah Crosby is one. This important contribution to our knowledge of S.E. Asia gives a clear impression of the essential fairness and balance of the author's judgment. For forty years he watched, as he says, "the impressive pageant of events in the Far East." He spent the greater part of that career in Siam. In recording his views on the tragic story, Sir Josiah shows a remarkable detachment. Never does he permit himself to indulge in recriminations or self-pity. Yet the story is one which tells how the labours of a lifetime were brought to nought by the Japanese avalanche.

The Japanese unconsciously paid tribute to this long experience when reporting his repatriation in July, 1942, after eight months' internment in Siam. The Domei News Agency telegraphed from Bangkok a reference to the "British Minister who displayed a formidable ability to conciliate Thailand." His admiration of the Thais, indeed affection for them, does not make Sir Josiah blind to some of their defects, but his criticism is so temperate and well balanced that it seems to take the form of avuncular advice rather than of paternal reproach. The currents of opinion that have rushed round the world and have affected S.E. Asia make it quite impossible for the future of Siam to be looked at except through democratic spectacles, but whether the form of democracy dear to the West, where, incidentally, it has not always been workable, will eventually govern the post-war policies of Siam, must be left to be seen.

Here is material in rich measure for guidance on the political issues, regarding Siam's actions in the war. Sir Josiah is strongly entrenched in reality and generous in appreciation of the tragic position of a small people submerged in the maelstrom of Japan's aggression.

He justifiably demands our sympathy for a kingdom which has managed to preserve its independence, has cultivated and appreciated British friendship, and of all countries in the East has been freer than most from periodical waves of xenophobia.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

TRAVEL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIANS IN AMERICA

A CORRECTION

THE Editor received too late for publication in the July issue a letter from Mrs. Watumull, Chairman of the Distribution Committee of the Watumull Foundation, regarding an article by Sir Robert Holland in the issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for April, 1946.

In this letter (from Los Angeles, California) she controverts the statement in the article that while the foundation sponsored in 1945 under the auspices of the National Committee for India's Freedom had on the cultural side essentially laudable objects—namely, the foundation of professorships and travelling scholarships—candidates would naturally require backing from the Congress Party agencies, and new outlets would be available for anti-British propaganda.

The Editor desires to give due publicity to Mrs. Watumull's correction that the Foundation has no political affiliations whatsoever, that scholars are selected solely on the basis of merit, and that in order to avoid all political entanglements applications are considered by a selection committee composed of eminent American and Indian scholars and scientists resident in the United States. Dr. Robert Livingston Schuyler, Professor of History, Columbia University, Dean Harry J. Carman, also of Columbia University, and Dr. Harlow Shapley, the great astronomer, are members of this committee. The following constitute the Indian Advisory Board: Mr. Watumull Jhamandas (Chairman); Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Director, Cotton Technological Laboratories, Bombay; Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, Director, Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, Delhi; Sir J. C. Ghosh, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore; Dr. S. K. Mitra, Wireless Laboratory, Calcutta; Dr. J. N. Mukherjee, Professor of Chemistry, University College of Science and Technology, Calcutta; Dr. M. N. Saha, of the same College; Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Benares Hindu University; Colonel S. L. Bhatia, I.M.S.; Dr. H. N. Kunzru, Servants of India Society; and Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.

Bulletin of the Imperial Institute

A Quarterly Record of Progress relating to Agricultural, Mineral and other industries, with Special Reference to the Utilisation of the Raw Materials of the Dominions, India and the Colonies.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF CURRENT ISSUE

Vol. XLIV, No. 2, April-June, 1946

ARTICLES on The Paper-making Properties of Yawa Fibre; The Relationship of the Geological Survey to the Mining Industry of Malaya.

NOTES on Cashew Nuts; Sabadilla as an Insecticide; Mineral Production of Southern Rhodesia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Uganda; Geological Work in Tanganyika.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES of Agriculture, Forestry, Insecticide Materials of Vegetable Origin and Mineral Resources.

BOOK REVIEWS

LONDON: IMPERIAL INSTITUTE, SOUTH KENSINGTON, S.W. 7

Price 2s. 6d., by post 2s. 9d.

Annual Subscription, 10s., post free

EMPIRE EXHIBITION

THE PUBLIC EXHIBITION GALLERIES of the Imperial Institute, which cover 50,000 square feet, contain comprehensive collections illustrating the natural resources, industries, scenery and life of each country of the Empire overseas. Open daily (except Sundays and Bank Holidays) from 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m.

AN EMPIRE FILM LIBRARY and a series of LANTERN SLIDES of the Empire are maintained by the Institute, which also has a Cinema where films of Empire interest are shown from 3.30 to 4.15 p.m. (admission free).

STORIES OF EMPIRE PRODUCTS (illustrated leaflets on various commodities), EMPIRE POSTCARDS and SCHOOL MUSEUM SPECIMENS OF ECONOMIC PRODUCTS are obtainable on application.

Address your inquiries to the Secretary, Imperial Institute, London, S.W. 7. Tel.: Kensington 3264

